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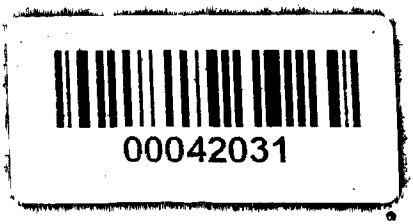
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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra).* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE project of writing the "Ancient History of Northern India from the Monuments" has long occupied my thoughts, but the duties of my office do not permit me, so long as I remain in active service, to devote the time and attention necessary for the execution and completion of so arduous an undertaking. There is, indeed, little prospect that my project will ever be fully carried into effect by me. Be that as it may, I have made some small progress in the collection of materials, and have been compelled from time to time to make detailed preparatory studies of special subjects. I propose to publish these studies occasionally under the general title of "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History." The essay now presented as No. I of the series is that which happens to be the first ready. It grew out of a footnote to the draft of a chapter on the history of Candra Gupta II.

V. A. SMITH,
Gōrakhpur, India.

*July*, 1896.

The great mosque built by Quṭb-ud-dīn 'Ībak in 1191 A.D., and subsequently enlarged by his successors, as well as its minaret, the celebrated Quṭb Mīnār, stand on the site of Hindu temples, and within the limits of the fortifications known as the Fort of Rāi Pithaura, which were erected in the middle or latter part of the twelfth century to protect the Hindu city of Delhi from the attacks of the Musalmāns, who finally captured it in A.D. 1191.[1] These buildings are situated about nine miles south of modern Delhi, or Shāhjahānābād, and lie partly within the lands attached to the village of Mihiraulī (Mehraulī).

"The front of the *masjid* [mosque] is a wall 8 feet thick, pierced by a line of five noble arches. The centre arch is 22 feet wide and nearly 53 feet in height, and the side arches are 10 feet wide and 24 feet high. Through these gigantic arches the first Musalmāns of Delhi entered a magnificent room, 135 feet long and 31 feet broad, the roof of which was supported on five rows of the tallest and finest of the Hindu pillars. The mosque is approached through a cloistered court, 145 feet in length from east to west and 96 feet in width. In the midst of the west half of this court stands the celebrated Iron Pillar, surrounded by cloisters formed of several rows of Hindu columns of infinite variety of design, and of most delicate execution."[2]

The presence of the infinitely various Hindu columns is explained by the fact that the mosque was constructed out of the materials of twenty-seven Hindu temples, of

[1] I use the conventional form Delhi for the name of the imperial city, though Dihlī is the more accurate spelling according to Muhammadan usage. The ordinary Hindī spelling is Dillī.

The best account of the numerous cities now known collectively as Delhi is that given by the late Mr. Carr Stephen in his excellent work entitled "The Archaeology and Monumental Ruins of Delhi" (Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876). A general sketch-map of the ruined cities will be found in that book and in Cunningham's "Reports," vol. i, pl. xxxv. The true date of the capture of Delhi by the Muhammadans is A.D. 1191 (ibid., p. 160, note).

On several matters the guidance of Carr Stephen is to be preferred to that of Cunningham.

[2] Cunningham, "Reports," i, 186.

which some are known to have been Vaiṣṇava and some Jaina.[1] These temples were, with slight exceptions, utterly overthrown, so that one stone was not left upon another. The exceptions are that the lower portion of the surrounding walls of the raised terrace on which the mosque stands is the original undisturbed platform of a Hindu temple, on the exact site of which, in accordance with the usual practice, the mosque was erected; and that the tall pillars immediately behind the great arch are in their original position.[2]

The floor of the mosque itself, the "magnificent room" above described, "consisted of two layers of well-dressed stone close set, nine and ten inches thick respectively, resting on a basis of rubble-stone of enormous dimensions and indefinite depth, the excavation having been carried down over fourteen feet without coming to the bottom of the layers of rubble-stone. These two layers of dressed stone extend throughout the entire area of *masjid* [mosque], courtyard, and cloisters of inner inclosure. In the courtyard, however, these layers are overlain by another layer of stones of irregular shapes and sizes, and evidently belonging to various portions of some ruined structure; the consequence of this is that the level of the courtyard is higher than the level of the floor of [the] *masjid* and cloister."[3] It is, I think, impossible to doubt that Mr. Beglar is right in the opinion that the Muhammadans left intact the beautifully-constructed double flooring resting on its massive rubble foundation, and that they are responsible for the superficial layer of broken material which overlies the floor of dressed stone in the courtyard.[4]

[1] The fact of the destruction of the twenty-seven temples is stated in the inscription over the eastern entrance of the courtyard of the mosque, and is fully corroborated by an examination of the pillars, one of which bears the date 1124 (V.S.), equivalent to A.D. 1067–1068. (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, pp. 175, 177, 179; and vol. v, Preface, p. v; Carr Stephen, p. 41.)

[2] Cunningham, "Reports," vol. v, Preface, p. ii.

[3] Ibid., p. 27. This passage is written by Mr. Beglar. By "inner inclosure" the writer means the original mosque of Quṭb-ud-dīn, as distinguished from the later additions of Iltitmish (Iyaltamish, Altamsh) and of 'Alā-ud-dīn.

[4] "Reports," vol. v, p. 32; Carr Stephen, p. 40.

The Iron Pillar stands in this courtyard at a distance of ten or eleven yards outside the great arches of the mosque.[1] Until Mr. Beglar, in 1871, excavated the base of the pillar, most exaggerated notions of its size were current. Sir Alexander Cunningham himself believed the total length to be not less than sixty feet, and the weight to exceed seventeen tons. Equally mistaken notions were current concerning the material of the pillar, which, probably on account of the curious yellowish colour of the upper part of the shaft, was commonly believed to be a casting of brass, bronze, or other mixed metal. An accurate chemical analysis made at Cunningham's instance, left no room for doubt as to the material.[2]

It is now established beyond the possibility of doubt that the material of the pillar is pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity, and that the monument is a solid shaft of wrought iron, welded together. Flaws in many parts disclose the fact that the welding is not absolutely perfect.

The total length of the pillar from the top of the capital to the bottom of the base is 23 feet 8 inches. Twenty-two feet are above ground, and only 1 foot 8 inches are below ground. The weight is estimated to exceed six tons. The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 inches, and the upper diameter is 12·05 inches, the diminution being 0·29 of an inch per foot. The capital, which is of the bell pattern, is 3½ feet high.

The base is a knob or bulb, slightly irregular in shape, 2 feet 4 inches in diameter, resting on a gridiron of iron bars, soldered with lead into the upper layer of dressed stone of the pavement. The bulb does not penetrate the lower layer of dressed stone. The column is, therefore, supported by the upper layer of the old Hindu floor, and the superficial layer of broken stone laid down by the

[1] "Reports," vol. i, pl. xxxviii.
[2] Ibid., p. 170.

Musalmāns.[1] It is now further steadied by a small stone bench or platform, which has been recently built round the base on the surface of the floor.

The capital consists of seven parts, namely, a reeded bell, like that of Budha Gupta's monolith at Eraṇ, a thin, plain disc, three discs with serrated edges, another thin, plain disc, and a square block.[2] Judging from the analogy of the Eraṇ monument, where a similar square block serves as pedestal to a statue, it is probable that the Iron Pillar was originally surmounted by an image of Viṣṇu, the god to whom it is dedicated. The block is now meaningless, and the absence of any trace of the image is easily explained by the fact that the monument stands in the precincts of a mosque. Reeded bell capitals, more or less similar, are found on other pillars both of the Gupta period and of the much earlier age of Aśōka.[3]

The style of the pillar and the form of the characters of the inscription, considered together, permit no doubt that the monument was erected in the Gupta period. Prinsep was of opinion that it should be dated in the third or fourth century A.D. Fergusson ascribed it to one of the Gupta emperors. Bhau Dājī was inclined to date it a little later. Dr. Fleet points out that the characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the panegyric on Samudra Gupta on the Allāhābād Pillar. The well-marked top lines of the letters on the Iron Pillar, which were once supposed to mark a later date, are also found in Kumāra Gupta's Bilsad inscription ("Gupta Inscriptions," pp. 43 and 140).

The bottom line of the inscription, which covers a space about 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, is at

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, p. 169; vol. v, p. 28, pl. v. The plate gives a plan and section of the base of the pillar drawn to scale. See also Fergusson, "Eastern and Indian Architecture," p. 508; V. Ball, "Economic Geology of India," pp. 338, 339; Carr Stephen, p. 16.

[2] My description of the capital of the Delhi pillar is based on a good photograph and personal knowledge. The Eraṇ pillar has been described by Cunningham, whose plate is lithographed from a photograph ("Reports," vol. x, p. 81, pl. xxvi). A facsimile of the Iron Pillar is in the Indian Museum at South Kensington.

[3] E.g., the Kahāoṁ and Bhitarī pillars of Skanda Gupta's reign, and the Lauṛiyā pillar of Aśōka. (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. i, pls. xxv and xxix.)

a height of about 7 feet 2 inches above the stone platform in which the pillar is now fixed. The deeply-cut characters are in excellent preservation, and, with one exception, the engraving is correct.[1]

The inscription is a posthumous eulogy in verse of a powerful sovereign named Candra,[2] concerning whose lineage no information is given, and may be translated as follows:—

*Translation.*

"This lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was erected on Mount Viṣṇupada by King Candra, whose thoughts were devoted in faith to Viṣṇu. The beauty of that king's countenance was as that of the full moon [*candra*[3]];—by him, with his own arm, sole worldwide dominion was acquired and long held;—and although, as if wearied, he has in bodily form quitted this earth, and passed to the other-world country won by his merit, yet, like the embers of a quenched fire in a great forest, the glow of his foe-destroying energy quits not the earth;—by the breezes of his prowess the southern ocean is still perfumed;—by him, having crossed the seven mouths of the Indus, were the Vāhlikas vanquished in battle;—and when, warring in the Vaṅga countries, he breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him, fame was inscribed on [their] arm by his sword."[4]

[1] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 140.

[2] The document consists of six lines, or three stanzas, of the *Çārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

[3] A pun, as usual in Sanskrit verse.

[4] This translation is based on that of Dr. Fleet, who has been so anxious to secure verbal accuracy that his meaning is difficult to grasp. In order that my readers may not feel doubts as to the accuracy of my version, Dr. Fleet's is here appended.

"He, on whose arms fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vaṅga countries, he kneaded (*and turned*) back with (*his*) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (*him*);—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

(Line 3.) "He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (*his*) enemies, like (*the remnant of the great glowing heat*) of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (*bodily*) form to the land (*of paradise*) won by (*the merit of his*) actions, (*but*) remaining on (*this*) earth by (*the memory of his*) fame;—

(Line 5.) "By him, the king—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm, and (*enjoyed*) for a very long time; (*and*) who,

The only passage of which the rendering can be considered in the least doubtful is that rendered by Dr. Fleet "having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Viṣṇu," and by me, "whose thoughts were devoted in faith to Viṣṇu." The word *bhāvēna*, which we translate "in faith," is actually *dhāvēna*. The earlier translators regarded this word as a proper name, and supposed the name of the king commemorated to be Dhāva. But the construction of the sentence scarcely admits of this interpretation. The use of the two names Dhāva and Candra for the one person in such a brief record, without a word of explanation or amplification, would be intolerably harsh composition, and it is to my mind quite incredible that the writer intended to give the king two names. The correction from *dhāvēna* to *bhāvēna* appears to be both necessary and certain. The error is easily explained by the fact that a very slight slip of the engraver's tool was sufficient to convert the character used for *bh* into a form which may be read as *dh*.[1]

The purport of the record is, therefore, known with certainty; and the difficulties of interpreting it are of a historical, not a philological, nature.

The facts recorded are, that the pillar was erected in honour of Viṣṇu on Mount Viṣṇupada (Viṣṇu's foot) by a monarch named Candra, who had long enjoyed world-wide sovereignty, but was deceased at the time when the inscription was engraved, and that this sovereign had

having the name of Candra, carried a beauty of countenance like (*the beauty of*) the full moon—having in faith fixed his mind upon (*the god*) Viṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set up on the hill (*called*) Viṣṇupada."

The translation of the words *abhilikhitā khaḍgēna kīrttir-bhujē*, "fame was written on [his] arm by the sword," is plain enough, but the meaning is obscure. Prinsep, who used an inaccurate text, supposed the pillar itself to be referred to as "the arm," and that "the letters cut upon it are called the typical cuts inflicted upon his enemies by his sword, writing his immortal fame" (J.A.S.B., vii, 630, quoted in Cunningham, "Reports," i, 170). The poet probably did intend to suggest that the pillar was the uplifted arm of Candra, as well as the standard of Viṣṇu. The Allāhābād Pillar is called "an arm of the earth" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 10). I have suggested another interpretation in the text.

[1] "I read his name preferably as *Bhāva*, the letter *bh* having got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel. The letter is different from every other *dh* in the inscription." (Cunningham, "Reports," i, 171.) This observation is correct. The letter *dh* occurs in six other places.

defeated a hostile confederacy in the Vaṅga countries, and had, after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu, or Indus, vanquished the Vāhlikas.

The probable meaning of these statements will now be considered.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* places the countries Vaṅga, or Vāṅga, and Upavaṅga, in the south-east division; and incidentally mentions several times the Vāhlika country and people, the name being variously spelled as Vāhlika, Vāhlīka, Bāhlika, or Bāhlīka. Dr. Kern translates the word as Balkh, but, as Dr. Fleet observes, that rendering cannot well be applied to the record of Candra's exploits (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, pp. 174, 192, 193). The tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Balūchistān.

"The Vaṅga countries" presumably mean Bengal, or Baṅga, including the Upavaṅga, or Bengal minor, of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. The province of Baṅga, according to Cunningham, "was bounded by the Brahmaputra on the west, the Ganges on the south, the Megna on the east, and the Khasia hills on the north. It contained the old cities of Dhākka and Sunārgaon." ("Reports," xv, 145.) The expression "the Vaṅga countries" may, therefore, be fairly interpreted as meaning Lower Bengal generally.

The identity of the Candra who fought campaigns in Lower Bengal and across the Indus has not hitherto been conclusively determined. Dr. Fleet is inclined to identify him with Candra Gupta I, but this identification seems absolutely impossible. The list of Samudra Gupta's conquests proves that the dominions of his predecessor, Candra Gupta I, were of moderate extent, and it is incredible that his arms ever penetrated either into Bengal or Balūchistān. The fact that the Iron Pillar is situated in the village of Mihraulī, the name of which is a corruption of Mihirapuri, suggested to Dr. Fleet the alternative conjecture that the monarch commemorated might have been himself a Mihira. The Mihiras (or Maitrakas) were "a branch of the Hūṇas" (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 361). Dr. Fleet,

therefore, thinks it possible that Candra may be an unnamed younger brother of Mihirakula (*circa* A.D. 515–544), whose existence is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

This conjecture does not seem to fit the language of the record. The White Hun chief Mihirakula was a very powerful personage, but his younger brother could not have claimed the sole supreme sovereignty of the world.

The alphabetical characters belong to what Dr. Hoernle (who is probably now the greatest authority on Gupta palaeography) calls the Gupta variety of the North-Eastern alphabet. The Indian inscriptions in this character range from the time of Samudra Gupta (Farīdpur inscription of *Dharmāditya*) to the year A.D. 467 in the reign of Skanda Gupta (Garhwā inscription dated G.E. 148, No. 66 of Fleet). Dr. Hoernle points out that nearly all the inscriptions in the North-Eastern alphabet are crowded together in the home-provinces of the Gupta empire, and belong to the reigns of Candra Gupta II, his son, and grandson. The only inscriptions in this alphabet which come from western localities are the Udayagiri Cave inscriptions of Candra Gupta II (No. 6 of Fleet) and this Mihraulī inscription of Candra. Dr. Hoernle, therefore, unhesitatingly ascribes the Iron Pillar to Candra Gupta II, and assigns it the approximate date of A.D. 410 (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxi, pp. 42–4). In spite of the wording of the Iron Pillar record, which departs widely from the ordinary formula of the Gupta inscriptions, I am convinced that Dr. Hoernle is right, and that the mysterious emperor Candra can be no other than Candra Gupta II, in whose reign the Gupta empire attained its climax. But the date fixed by Dr. Hoernle is a little too early.

The latest dated inscription of Candra Gupta II (Sāñcī, No. 5 of Fleet) is dated G.E. 93, and the earliest inscription of his son and successor, Kumāra Gupta I, is dated G.E. 96 (Bilsad, No. 10 of Fleet). The accession of Kumāra Gupta I and the demise of his father must, therefore, have taken place at some time during the years 93 to 96 of the Gupta era. The possible error is very slight if

the death of Candra Gupta II is dated in G.E. 95, equivalent roughly to A.D. 413.

The erection of the pillar by Candra Gupta II, assuming his identity with Candra, may be assigned to that year, and the posthumous inscription commemorating Candra's victories, which was presumably executed by order of his successor soon after Candra's decease, must be dated not later than A.D. 415.

The fact is unquestionable that Candra Gupta II professed a special devotion to Viṣṇu. One of his favourite titles was *paramabhāgavata*, "the most devout worshipper of the Divine." The term *Bhagavat*, or Divine, may be applied to any god or object of worship, but it is specially appropriate to Viṣṇu, and in this inscription of Candra is applied to that form of the Deity. Dr. Fleet has proved that *paramabhāgavata* must be regarded as an exclusively Vaiṣṇava title, and equivalent to *paramavaiṣṇava*.[1]

This title was used by Candra Gupta in two inscriptions, and in the legends of four types of his varied and extensive coinage.[2] It continued to be used by his son Kumāra Gupta I, and his grandson, Skanda Gupta.

The erection of the Iron Pillar as "the lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu" by Candra Gupta II, and its dedication by Kumāra Gupta I, both princes who professed a special devotion to the god honoured, are natural and appropriate acts.

The use of the name Candra alone in the Iron Pillar inscription instead of the full form, Candra Gupta, is easily paralleled. For instance, Candra Gupta II himself uses indifferently the titles Śrī Vikrama and Śrī Vikramāditya; and many other examples might be quoted.[3] The name Candra standing alone actually occurs on a series of minute

[1] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 28.

[2] Namely, the Mathurā and Gaḍhwā inscriptions (Nos. 4 and 7 of "Gupta Inscriptions"); the Javelin, Horseman to Right, and Horseman to Left types of the gold, and the Vikramāditya types of the silver coinage. The silver coins belong to a period subsequent to the conquest of Surāṣṭra.

[3] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 9, note, where instances are given.

coins, those of the vase type, which are certainly approximately contemporary with the Iron Pillar inscription. I have now no doubt that these coins must be assigned to Candra Gupta II.[1]

When to all these arguments is added this, that it is impossible to indicate any other sovereign of the period to whom the language of the inscription could be applied, the conclusion is inevitable that the Candra who set up the Iron Pillar, and whose exploits are briefly commemorated in the inscription on that monument, was beyond doubt Candra Gupta II.[2]

This determination is of very considerable historical importance. It settles within a year or two the date of a very remarkable and interesting monument, which has always attracted the wonder of travellers, and has become the object of more intelligent admiration since the difficulties attending its construction have been understood. Many of the older travellers supposed the pillar to be a casting made of brass or bronze, but the discovery that the material is pure malleable iron, which must have been forged, has filled experts with admiration of the mechanical skill capable of accomplishing so great a work. "It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest foundries of the world, and even now there are comparatively few where a similar mass of metal could be turned out."[3]

Another iron pillar, which may be of the same age, exists at Dhār, the ancient Dhārā, now the chief town of

[1] V. A. Smith, "Coinage," pp. 143, 144.

[2] I reject absolutely the suggestion of Bābū Nagēndra Nātha Vāsu that Candra of the Iron Pillar is to be identified with the Mahārāja Candravarman, son of Mahārāja Siddhavarman, who recorded a brief dedicatory inscription in characters of the Gupta period on the Susuniā hill, seventeen miles SSW. of the Rānīgānj railway station in the Bānkurā District of Bengal. That chieftain, who is styled "lord of the Puṣkara lake," was probably the Candravarman mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription as one of the kings of Āryavarta conquered by Samudra Gupta (Proc. A.S.B. for 1895, p. 177). He may have been king of Kāmarūpa, or Assam. It is very improbable that the Puṣkara lake in Ajmīr can be that referred to in this inscription from Lower Bengal, as the Bābū assumes that it is.

[3] Valentine Ball, "Economic Geology of India," p. 338.

the Dhār State in Central India.[1] So far as I know, these two are the only notable iron pillars in existence. The worldwide belief in the special power of iron to counteract demoniacal influence[2] probably recommended the use of that material for the Delhi and Dhār pillars.

The Mihraulī inscription is also of interest because it confirms the fact of the exceptionally long reign of Candra Gupta II, which had been inferred from a study of his extremely varied coinage. The inscription distinctly affirms that the emperor had enjoyed the sole sovereignty for "a very long time" (*suciram*), and the fact thus affirmed, which is fully in accordance with the other evidence, may be accepted without hesitation. The magniloquent phrase, "sole supreme sovereignty of the world," must, of course, be interpreted with due limitations, as meaning merely the suzerainty of India north of the Narbadā. Nothing yet discovered indicates that Candra Gupta II repeated his father's incursions into peninsular India. The campaigns in Bengal and west of the Indus are known only from the Mihraulī record, and probably occurred at a late period of the reign, subsequent to A.D. 400. The earlier years of the reign were fully occupied with the permanent subjugation of Mālwa and Kathiāwār, or Surāṣṭra, and the consolidation of the extensive territories acquired by Samudra Gupta.

The questions whether or not the Iron Pillar occupies its original position, and if not, where that position must be sought, and when the pillar was removed, remain to be considered, and, if possible, answered.

According to local tradition, Delhi was deserted from B.C. 57 until the year 792 of the Vikrama era, equivalent to A.D. 735–6, when a city was founded by a prince of the Tōmara clan, variously named Ānanga Pāla [I] and Bilan

[1] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 140, note 2. No detailed description of this pillar is known to me. Dr. Fleet observes that "there is no ancient inscription on it; unless it is completely hidden under, and destroyed by, a Persian inscription that was engraved on it when the Musulmans conquered that part of the country."

[2] Crooke, "An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," p. 191. Allāhābād, 1894.

Dē. Abūl Fazl, in his summary, gives the date as 429 of the era of Vikrama, which, if corrected to the Gupta era, is equivalent to A.D. 747; and an inscription on the Iron Pillar itself is said to state the date as 419, which, interpreted in the same way, is equivalent to A.D. 737.[1] The popular belief is that this Ānanga Pāla I set up the Iron Pillar where it now stands.[2] But the popular belief takes no account of the inscription of Candra, the date of which has been ascertained to be approximately A.D. 415, and the pillar was certainly actually erected only a short time before that date. It is, therefore, more than three centuries older than the period assumed by tradition for Ānanga Pāla I. I confess I have the greatest doubts as to the reality of the existence of this personage.

The first Ānanga Pāla of whom we possess any real knowledge is the chieftain called by Cunningham Ānanga Pāla II. A contemporary inscription of his is recorded on the Iron Pillar itself. This brief record is engraved in three lines, in the Hindī language, in characters similar to those of the mason's marks on the pillars of the colonnade of the great mosque. One of these pillars, No. 12, bears on one face the word *Kacal* in Nāgarī letters, and on another the date 1124 (V.S.), equivalent to A.D. 1067–8. The record on the Iron Pillar in similar characters is as follows:—

*Saṁvat Dihali* 1109 *Ang Pāl bahi*—"In Saṁvat 1109 [A.D. 1052–3] Āng [Ānang] Pāl peopled [founded] Delhi."[3]

The date of this Ānanga Pāla, the so-called Second, is, therefore, known with certainty, and the pillars of a temple erected in his reign still remain.[4] A tank near the Quṭb

[1] These traditions are discussed by Cunningham, "Reports," i, p. 137 seqq., and Carr Stephen, p. 11 seqq. The inscription on the Iron Pillar, which is said to give the date for Ānanga Pāla I as Saṁvat 419, has not been published. Abūl Fazl (Gladwin's "Ayeen Akbari," ii, 96) refers the date 429 to the Vikrama era, but Cunningham is probably right in interpreting the date as referable to the Gupta-Valabhi era.

[2] Chand is said to connect the legends of the Iron Pillar with Ānanga Pāla II. (Carr Stephen, p. 17.)

[3] Cunningham, "Reports," i, 151.

[4] Cunningham assigns him a reign of thirty years, A.D. 1051 to 1081; but the exact limits are not known. (Ibid., p. 149.)

mosque also bears his name, and tradition has preserved the names of a number of his descendants. Cunningham shows that the building operations of this Ānanga Pāla at Delhi were almost contemporaneous with the conquest of Kanauj by the Rathōrs, and that it was probably in consequence of that conquest that Ānanga Pāla established himself in Delhi.

Not a single historical event can be connected with any of the names inserted by the genealogists between Ānanga Pāli I and Ānanga Pāla II. Cunningham, who believed in the reality of the first Ānanga Pāla, and laboriously endeavoured to extract facts from the fictions of Hindu bards, admits that, "with the solitary exception of the Iron Pillar," there are no existing remains that can be assigned with certainty to the old Hindu city of Delhi. He fancied that one pillar, bearing a figure either of Buddha or of a Jain hierarch, might possibly be old, but, after a minute examination on three successive days, came to the unwilling conclusion that there is nothing now existing older than the tenth or eleventh century. The natural inference, to my mind, is that nothing older ever existed on the site. Cunningham was firmly persuaded that the Iron Pillar stood in its original position, and that the existence of such a monument implied the existence of an ancient city. He also cherished the illusion that there must be some historical foundation for the fictions which Hindu bards love to pass off as traditions handed down from a remote past, and could not bring himself to admit their absolute worthlessness. Quṭb-ud-dīn prided himself on having used up for his mosque the materials of twenty-seven temples of the idolaters. He was perfectly indifferent whether the temples dated from the eighth or the eleventh century, and, if buildings of the eighth century were in existence in his time, traces of them would now be visible in the mosque cloisters. But everything to be seen there is in the late mediaeval style, and may be referred approximately to the time of Ānanga Pāla II in the middle of the eleventh century.

In short, the building of old Delhi, that is to say, a town in or near Rai Pithaura's Fort, including a group of richly decorated temples, by Ānanga Pāla in the middle of the eleventh century, is a verified, certain fact, and the supposed foundation of a city on the same site by an Ānanga Pāla, in or about A.D. 736, is an unverified myth, unsupported by evidence and opposed to archaeological facts.

The reasonable inference from the known facts seems to be that when Ānanga Pāla, in A.D. 1052–3, recorded on the Iron Pillar his foundation of the city, he himself set up the pillar, and that the homonymous ancestor, with whom so many foolish legends are sometimes associated, is as fictitious as the legends. Chand's version, which associates the foolish legends with Ānanga Pāla II, is more reasonable, if the epithet reasonable may be applied to fiction. It is extremely improbable that Ānanga Pāla in the eleventh century found the Iron Pillar standing in a waste, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that any buildings of the fifth century, from the beginning of which the pillar certainly dates, ever existed on the spot. From these premises the conclusion necessarily follows that Ānanga Pāla brought the pillar from somewhere else, and set it up to adorn his new city, and to add sanctity to his temple of Viṣṇu. He acted, in fact, in the same way as kings have acted in all ages. Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq took immense pains to move Aśōka's monoliths from Meerut and Topra to Dehli, and from Kauśāmbi to Prayāg, just as long afterwards Napoleon and other princes have thought no trouble too great to obtain possession of Egyptian obelisks for the decoration of their capitals.

The manner in which the Iron Pillar is fixed into the pavement is not, as Dr. Fleet fancied, an argument against the theory of the removal, but a strong argument in its support. The pavement, as has been proved above, is the eleventh-century pavement laid down by Ānanga Pāla, and covered over by a layer of rubbish due to Quṭb-ud-dīn. Into the surface layer of that pavement the Iron Pillar

is clamped by an iron grating secured with lead solder. The pavement certainly does not, like the pillar, date from the fifth century. It seems obviously to be the flooring of the great mediaeval group of temples destroyed by the Musalmāns. These iconoclasts were eager to overthrow the superstructure of the idol-covered temples, but had no motive for interfering with the massive flagged pavement resting on well-tried foundations of unknown depth. There is no reason to suppose that the pillar was ever disturbed since it was set up in that pavement, and it seems to my mind evident that it was set up at the time when the pavement was laid down.

These arguments are in themselves sufficient to prove that the pillar cannot occupy its original position. They are confirmed by an equally cogent argument drawn from the language of Candra's inscription. That document expressly states that the pillar was erected on the lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu, on a mount or hill (*giri*), known by the name of Viṣṇupada. This language necessarily implies that the monument was erected in a conspicuous, commanding position on the summit of a hill sufficiently isolated to bear a distinctive name. The pillar now stands in a practically level courtyard, situated in a depression with rising ground on each side. No violence to language could possibly justify the application of the term "hill" to the present site of the monument, and when the writer of the inscription said that the pillar was set up on the hill, it is impossible to doubt that he stated an obvious fact. Consequently the pillar must have been moved from its original site on a hill to its present site in a hollow.

The hill on which it was originally set up bore the name of Viṣṇu's Foot, presumably because it boasted of a rock bearing impressions reputed to be the footmarks of the god. The place where the hill known as Mount Viṣṇu's Foot existed must have been a well-known spot frequented by Vaiṣṇava pilgrims, within the Gupta dominions, and not very remote from Delhi. All the

conditions of such a position are satisfied by Mathurā. That city is less than eighty miles from the Quṭb Mīnār, was within the boundary of the Gupta empire, has many hills and mounds in or adjoining the city precincts, is one of the most ancient cities of India, and has been from time immemorial the site of famous temples of Viṣṇu, and a centre of Vaiṣṇava worship. Inscriptions both of Candra Gupta II, who erected the Iron Pillar, and of his son, Kumāra Gupta I, who inscribed it, have been found at Mathurā.[1] For these reasons it seems to me to be extremely probable that the Iron Pillar was originally erected at Mathurā. The Katra mound, where the magnificent temple of Viṣṇu, under the name of Kēśava, once stood, may very probably prove to be *Viṣṇupadagiri*, the Mount of Viṣṇu's Footmark, mentioned in the inscription.

To sum up, my conclusions are—

1. The tradition that Delhi (that is to say, a city near the Quṭb Mīnār) was founded or refounded by Ānanga Pāla I in or about A.D. 736, is untrustworthy, and not supported by evidence. It is probable that Ānanga Pāla I is a myth.
2. Delhi (in the sense stated above) was certainly founded, or refounded, by a prince named Ānanga Pāla in A.D. 1052–3, who then constructed a group of temples. The floor of the platform of that group still exists as the floor of the Quṭb mosque and courtyard. The Iron Pillar is clamped into that floor, and was set up when the floor was laid down.
3. The Iron Pillar was moved from its original site by Ānanga Pāla in or about A.D. 1050.
4. The original site of the pillar was at or near Mathurā, on the top of a hill or mound known as Viṣṇupada.
5. The pillar is a solid mass of pure malleable iron weighing over six tons, not cast, but constructed by a welding process.

[1] Mathurā Stone Inscription of Candra Gupta II (No. 4, "Gupta Inscriptions"); Inscription dated G.E. 113 (No. 39, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 198).

6. It was originally surmounted by a statue, which was probably removed by the Muhammadans.
7. It was set up by Candra Gupta II, at the close of his reign, in honour of his favourite divinity Viṣṇu.
8. Candra Gupta having died before the inscription could be prepared, the pillar was inscribed by order of his son and successor, Kumāra Gupta I, in or about the year A.D. 415.
9. The inscription establishes the historical facts that Candra Gupta II enjoyed a very long reign, and that he waged successful wars against a confederacy in Lower Bengal, and against the Vāhlikas, west of the Indus.

ART. II.—*Samudra Gupta.* (A specimen chapter of the projected *Ancient History of Northern India from the Monuments.*) By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following history of the reign of the great conqueror, Samudra Gupta, who was emperor of Northern India, and made extensive, though temporary, conquests in the south, about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era, is offered as a specimen of the author's projected "Ancient History of Northern India from the Monuments." Though that projected history may never be completed, I venture to think that fragments of it may not be altogether valueless, and that they may suffice to prove that even now the materials exist for the construction of an authentic and fairly readable "History of Ancient India."

The general plan of the projected work requires the exclusion from the text, so far as possible, of all dry archaeological dust, and the banishment of such unpalatable matter to footnotes or separate dissertations. Candid criticism and helpful suggestions will be welcomed by

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*12th July*, 1896.

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## *Samudra Gupta, circa* A.D. 345–380.

The conjecture may be permitted that at the time of the death of Candra Gupta I his favourite son Samudra was absent from court, and that this circumstance had enabled Kācha to seize and hold the throne for a short period,

which probably did not exceed a year or two. The accession of Samudra Gupta, "the son of the daughter of the Licchavis," may be approximately dated in A.D. 345. The young monarch was fully convinced of the truth of the Oriental doctrine that a king who desires the world's respect cannot rest upon his father's laurels, but is bound to extend his borders, and attack and subdue neighbouring powers. To this task of "kingdom-taking"[1] Samudra Gupta devoted his long reign and great abilities. He was evidently a ruler of exceptional capacity, and skilled in the arts of peace no less than in those of war. Though the impartial historian cannot accept as sober fact all the magniloquent phrases of the courtly poet Hariṣēṇa, who was commissioned by the filial piety of Samudra Gupta's successor to celebrate the victories and glories of the conqueror, it is manifest that the hero of the panegyric was a prince of extraordinary accomplishments, and that his career was one of almost uninterrupted success and military glory.[2]

The laureate's commemoration of the musical accomplishments of his hero is curiously confirmed by the rare and interesting Lyrist coins struck early in the reign of Samudra Gupta, which depict the king seated on a high-backed couch playing the Indian lyre.

[1] *mulkgīrī* in Persian.

[2] This panegyric (*praçastī*) is engraved on the pillar now in the fort of Allahabad, on which a copy of the edicts of Aśōka is also inscribed. "The inscription is non-sectarian, being devoted entirely to a recital of the glory, conquests, and descent of the early Gupta king Samudragupta. It is not dated; but, as it describes Samudragupta as deceased, it belongs to the time of his son and successor, Candragupta II, and must have been engraved soon after the accession of the latter [i.e. about A.D. 380]. Its great value lies in the abundant information which, in the conquests attributed to Samudragupta, it gives as to the divisions of India, its tribes, and its kings, about the middle of the fourth century A.D." The historical portion of the record is in nearly perfect preservation. The inscription consists of thirty-three lines, of which the first sixteen are in verse and the rest in prose. The language is good classical Sanskrit. The inscription possesses special literary interest, because it is one of the earliest long compositions in classical Sanskrit to which a definite date can be assigned with confidence. The panegyric was composed by Hariṣēṇa, who held several high offices at the court of Candra Gupta II, and the inscription was engraved under the superintendence of an official named Tilabhaṭṭaka. The metres of the metrical portion are *Sragdharā*, *Çārdūlavikrīḍita*, and *Mandākrāntā*. (Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," No. 1, pp. 1–17, pl. i.)

The allied art of poetry also claimed the sovereign's attention, and, if we may believe the panegyrist, the numerous compositions of the royal author were worthy of a professional poet.[1] The works of several princely Indian poets are extant, but unfortunately not a single line of Samudra Gupta's poems has been preserved to enable the modern critic to judge how far they deserved the favourable verdict of the laureate. We are also told that the king delighted in the society of the learned, and employed his acute and polished intellect in the study and defence of the sacred Scriptures, as well as in the lighter arts of music and poetry.[2] These statements the historian must be content to accept as they stand, and, while recognizing that they are coloured with the flattery which kings love to receive, and courtly poets love to bestow, he will admit that the panegyric has a basis of fact, and that its subject was a sovereign of no ordinary merit.

Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill to which Samudra Gupta attained in the accomplishments which graced his leisure, it is evident that the serious occupation of his life was war and conquest. At an early period of his reign he set up a claim to be the paramount sovereign of Northern India, and revived the ancient and imposing ceremony of the Sacrifice of the Horse, the successful celebration of which proved the validity of the celebrant's claim to universal sovereignty. According to accepted tradition, the termination of the great war of the Mahābhāratas, and the final victory of the Pāndavas, had been signalized by the celebration of this solemn rite, and no Indian monarch could have a higher ambition than to renew in his own person the legendary glories of the heroes

[1] Line 5. "The fame produced by much poetry."
Line 15. "And even poetry, which gives free vent to the mind of poets; all these are his."
Line 27. "Who established his title of king of poets by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned people."

[2] Lines 5, 15, 27, 30.

of the national epic. The ceremony was after this manner: —"A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies, and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country, the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph, with the vanquished Rājas in his train; but if he failed, he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After the successful return a great festival was held, at which the horse was sacrificed, either really or figuratively."[1]

The fact that Samudra Gupta successfully renewed this ancient rite, which had long fallen into desuetude, is abundantly proved both by the inscriptions[2] and the coins; and is probably commemorated by the statue of a horse now in the Lucknow Museum, and inscribed as being "the pious gift of Samudra Gupta." Possibly the sacrifice took place in the north of Oudh, where that statue was found.[3] The commemorative coins, though of the same weight as the pieces issued for ordinary currency, are evidently medals struck on the occasion of the great festival which celebrated the conclusion of the sacrifice, and were probably then distributed to the officiating Brahmans. Samudra Gupta is recorded to have given away vast numbers of cows and great sums in gold, and it may reasonably be assumed that the Horse Sacrifice occasioned an exceptional display of his habitual generosity. The medals exhibit on the

[1] Dowson, "A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology," etc., s.v. Aswa-Medha.

[2] The restoration of the practice of the horse sacrifice is referred to in three inscriptions, viz. the Bilsar pillar (No. 10); the Bihār pillar (No. 12); and the Bhitarī pillar (No. 13). The passage in line 2 of the last-mentioned record runs thus: "Who was the giver of many millions of lawfully acquired cows and gold; who was the restorer of the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice, which had been long in abeyance" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 54).

[3] V. A. Smith, "Observations," p. 97, and frontispiece. The image was found near the ancient fort of Khairigarh, in the Khērī district, on the frontier of Oudh and Nepāl.

obverse an unattended horse, and on the reverse a standing female figure carrying a fly-whisk. The legends are appropriate, and recite the monarch's title as king of kings, and his claims to have conquered the earth, and to have asserted his power to celebrate the sacrifice. Ten or twelve of these curious pieces are known to exist.[1] The Lyrist medals, already noticed, are closely related in numismatic details to the horse-sacrifice medals, and were very probably struck on the same notable occasion.[2] The beautiful and exceedingly rare medal-like pieces which exhibit the victorious king in the act of slaying a tiger, belong to the same early period of his reign, but were probably struck before the celebration of the imperial sacrifice, for on them the king's title is given simply as Rāja.[3] Though his father had not hesitated to call himself "king of kings," it would seem that Samudra Gupta was too proud to use that title until he had won the right to it by force of arms, and asserted his right in the face of the world by the ceremony which could only be performed by the successful claimant to universal dominion. The Horse Sacrifice of Samudra Gupta may be approximately dated in A.D. 350. No doubt it was celebrated long before his more distant conquests were achieved. The claims to "universal dominion" and to "conquest of the whole earth" must, of course, be understood with reasonable limitations.

We may safely assume that the capital of Samudra Gupta, at least in his early years, was Pāṭaliputra, and that from that city his conquests were pushed westward.[4]

[1] These coins have been very fully described by the author in "Coinage," p. 65; "Observations," p. 97. The obverse legend includes the title *Rājādhirāja*, and a boast of the conquest of the earth. The reverse legend is *açvamēdha parākramaḥ*, "with the power of the horse-sacrifice." The style of these medals, which connects them with the medal-like Tiger and Lyrist types, indicates an early period in the reign.

[2] V. A. Smith, "Coinage," p. 67; "Observations," p. 100.

[3] V. A. Smith, "Coinage," p. 64; "Observations," p. 96; "Further Observations," p. 6 (168). Only three of these pieces are known.

[4] The fact that Pāṭaliputra was the Gupta capital was suggested by Cunningham in 1880 ("Reports," vol. xi, p. 153), and was distinctly asserted ten years earlier by Mr. Wilton Oldham ("Hist. and Statistical Memoir of the Ghāzīpur District," part i, p. 38). The detailed proofs of the fact were first given by the author in his essay on the "Gold Coins of the Imperial

The forger who three or four centuries later prepared a grant purporting to have been issued by Samudra Gupta in the ninth year of his reign from the "victorious camp at Ayōdhyā, full of great ships, and elephants, and horses," was doubtless quite right in assuming that Ayōdhyā was a very likely place in which to find the ever-moving court of the conquering monarch.[1] As his conquests extended, Pāṭaliputra would have lain too far east to be convenient as a basis of operations. The great panegyrical poem, which is the principal authority for the reign of Samudra Gupta, was almost certainly engraved and published at Kauśāmbi on the Jamnā, twenty-seven miles west of Allahabad, and it is probable that in the latter part of the reign this ancient royal city was ordinarily the capital of Samudra Gupta. The capital of an Oriental despotism is the seat of the court for the time being. It is not the practice of Eastern monarchs to erect permanent headquarter offices for the departments of the administration, and so to establish a fixed capital, as distinct from the abiding-place of the sovereign. The permanent buildings on which an Eastern king is prepared to lavish countless treasures are ordinarily gorgeous palaces for his personal residence, vast tombs as memorials of individuals of the royal family, or temples which enable the court to conduct its worship with adequate magnificence, and prove to posterity the devotion and spiritual merit of the monarch. No degree of magnificence in such buildings saves the capital city from desolation once it has ceased to be the ordinary residence of the despot. Such was the fate of Pāṭaliputra. It was difficult to rule Mālwa and

Gupta Dynasty" (J.A.S.B., vol. liii, part i, 1884, pp. 159–163). Dr. Fleet was inclined to throw doubt on the fact ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 5), and to revert to the earlier and erroneous view that Kanauj was the Gupta capital. He has been answered by Dr. Bühler ("On the Origin of the Gupta-Valabhi Era," p. 13).

[1] The forged grant purporting to have been issued by Samudra Gupta from his "victorious camp" at Ayōdhyā was probably prepared about the beginning of the eighth century. The seal is evidently genuine, and must have at one time been attached to a genuine grant of Samudra Gupta. There is, therefore, reason to hope that other contemporary documents of his reign may yet be found ("Gupta Inscriptions," No. 60, pp. 254–7, pl. xxxvii).

Guzerāt from the ancient seat of the kings of Magadha, and when Samudra Gupta and his successors were obliged to pitch their victorious camps in cities nearer to the setting sun, all its monuments of kings of the olden time could not save Pāṭaliputra from neglect, and rapid desolation and ruin.[1]

The exact chronological order of Samudra Gupta's extensive conquests cannot now be determined. The boasts on his coins that "His Majesty is victorious, having vanquished the cities of his enemies in a hundred great battles"; that "His invincible Majesty has conquered and subdued the earth"; and that "the king of kings is armed with the axe of Death," seem to have but slightly, if at all, exaggerated the facts.[2]

Samudra Gupta's predecessor, Candra Gupta I, had already, as has been seen, claimed the rank of suzerain, and had probably established his power over all the regions of Magadha or Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, a considerable part of Oudh, and the eastern districts of the territory now known as the North-Western Provinces. In other words, his rule may be considered to have extended from Campā (Bhāgalpur) on the east, along the valley of the Ganges, to Prayāga (Allahabad) on the west. A definition of the extent of the dominions of an Oriental monarch must not be understood in exactly the same sense in which the definition of the territory of a modern European ruler is understood. The Oriental king rarely attempts to administer in detail the more distant provinces of his dominions. His practice is to make occasional inroads on his neighbour's territories, and if successful to exact from their rulers homage and tribute. So long as such homage and tribute are paid the conqueror reckons his neighbour's territories as his own,

[1] The substitution of Kauśāmbi for Pāṭaliputra as the capital of the Gupta empire will be more fully discussed in the next chapter.

[2] The first of the legends quoted is found on the Javelin type coins, the second on the coins of the Archer type, and the third on the Battle-axe coins, which actually exhibit the king as the incarnation of Death, carrying the fatal axe. (Smith, "Coinage," pp. 69–72; "Observations," pp. 101–2.)

and is ordinarily content to leave detailed administration in the hands of the local kings and chiefs. Occasionally, as in the exceptional case of Aśōka, conquest was more thorough and permanent, and the suzerain could venture to administer even the most distant of his provinces through viceroys appointed by himself. The empire of Aśōka was, during the lifetime of that great sovereign and his father, so far consolidated that even the remote provinces of Taxila in the Panjāb, and Ujjain in Mālwa, could be controlled by viceroys deputed from Pāṭaliputra; and the emperor's edicts, prepared in the imperial chancery, commanded obedience from the Himālaya to Mysore, and from the shores of the Indian Ocean to those of the Bay of Bengal.[1] But such consolidation is rare in Indian history.

The Eraṇ (Airikiṇa) inscription of Samudra Gupta (*circa* A.D. 360) is, unfortunately, mutilated and undated. What remains of the record is sufficient to prove that at some period of his reign Eraṇ, which is now included in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces, formed part of the dominions of Samudra Gupta. The phrase which describes Airikiṇa as "the city of his own enjoyment" probably implies that the king had personally visited the locality.[2]

The only other contemporary record of Samudra Gupta, besides the coin legends, is a worn inscription on a seal, which is of no historical importance.

[1] Aśōka himself was viceroy of Taxila during the reign of his father, Bindusāra, and, according to legend, Aśōka's son Kumāla resided at Taxila (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. ii, pp. 112, 113, 149, quoting Burnouf, "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien," pp. 361 and 40; Hiuen Tsiang, in Beal's "Records of Western Countries," i, pp. 139–143). The Yavana Rāja, Tuṣāspa, was Aśōka's governor in Surāṣṭra, or Gūjarāt (Rudradāman's Jūnāgarh inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vii, p. 262).

[2] Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," No. 2, p. 18, pl. iia. Eraṇ was one of the most ancient cities of India, and some of the coins found there appear to be older than the time of Aśōka. The buildings there seem all to date from the Gupta period (Cunningham, "Reports," vol. vii, p. 88; vol. x, p. 76 seqq.). The coins are described by the same author ("Reports," vol. xiv, p. 149; "Coins of Ancient India," p. 99, pl. xi). The coin, of which the legend is read from right to left, is commented on by Bühler in his paper "On the Origin of the Indian Brāhma Alphabet," pp. 3, 43 (Sitzungs B. Kais-Akad. der W. in Wien, Band cxxxii, 1895).

The history of his reign mainly rests on the information supplied by the great panegyrical poem by Hariṣēṇa, inscribed on the Kauśāmbi (Allahabad) pillar after the death of Samudra Gupta, by order of his son and successor, Candra Gupta II, in or about A.D. 380, as described above.[1]

The poem classifies Samudra Gupta's conquests under six heads. It affirms (1) that he "violently exterminated" nine named kings of Āryavarta, besides many other unnamed kings of the same region; (2) that he compelled all the kings of the Forest Countries to become his servants; (3) that he captured and then liberated twelve named kings and other unnamed kings of the South; (4) that he exacted homage and tribute from five Frontier kingdoms, and (5) from nine named, besides other unnamed, Frontier tribes; and, lastly, (6) that he received acts of respectful service and complimentary presents from five distant foreign nations, and also from the inhabitants of Ceylon and other islands.

Although it is at present impossible to identify all the countries, kings, and peoples enumerated by the poet, enough can be identified to enable the historian to form a fairly accurate notion of the extent of the dominions and alliances of the greatest of the Gupta emperors.

Āryavarta means India north of the Narbadā river, as distinguished from the South (Dakhan, Deccan), or India beyond that river, and corresponds to the modern word Hindustān.[2] In this vast region Samudra Gupta is recorded to have "violently exterminated" nine kings who are specified by name, besides others not named. The nine, arranged in alphabetical order, are as follows: (1) Achyuta, (2) Balavarman, (3) Candravarman, (4) Ganapati Nāga, (5) Matila, (6) Nāgadatta, (7) Nāgasēna, (8) Nandi, and (9) Rudradeva.

[1] The detailed reasoning on which the identification of the countries and kings conquered by Samudra Gupta is based will be found in the author's dissertation entitled "The Conquests of Samudra Gupta," not yet published.

[2] See Fleet's note in "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 13. The name Narbadā is also written Narmadā, and, in less precise form, Nerbudda.

There is some reason to suppose that Achyuta was the king of Ahichatra, the modern Rāmnagar, in the Barēli district of the North-Western Provinces. Ganapati Nāga was certainly the sovereign of Padmāvatī, the modern Narwar, situated on the Sindh river between Gwālior and Jhānsī. The remaining names in the list have not yet been identified.[1]

The "kings of the forest countries," who became the conqueror's servants, must mean the chiefs of the wild country on the banks of the Narbadā in the hills and jungles of the Vindhyan ranges. A later inscription refers to the existence of eighteen forest kingdoms in this region, which corresponds to the territories known in modern times as Southern Bundelkhand, Rīwā, and portions of the Central Provinces and Central Indian Agency.

The court poet's assertion that his master won glory by "capturing and then liberating" the kings of the South implies that the southern conquests of Samudra Gupta were not of a permanent nature. Probably he encountered and defeated a confederacy of the twelve princes of the far south, whose names and kingdoms are enumerated.[2]

[1] Candravarman may be, and probably ought to be, identified with the Mahārāja Candravarman, son of Mahārāja Siddhavarman, lord of the Puṣkara lake, who recorded a brief dedicatory inscription on the Susuniā hill, in the Bānkurā district, seventeen miles SSW. from the Rāniganj railway station (Proc. A.S.B. for 1895, p. 177). The Puṣkara lake referred to may be the well-known sacred lake of that name near Ājmīr, but this is not probable.

[2] The enumeration, arranged alphabetically, is as follows:—

| *Kingdom.* | *King.* |
|---|---|
| 1. Avamukta | Nīlarāja. |
| 2. Dēvarāshṭra | Kuvēra. |
| 3. Ērandapalla | Damana. |
| 4. Kāñchī | Viṣṇugōpa. |
| 5. Kēraḷa | Manṭarāja. |
| 6. Kōsala | Mahēndra. |
| 7. Kōṭṭūra | Svāmidatta. |
| 8. Kusthalapura | Dhanañjaya. |
| 9. Mahākāntāra | Vyāghrarāja. |
| 10. Palakka (Pālakka) | Ugrasēna. |
| 11. Pishṭapura | Mahēndragiri. |
| 12. Veṅgī | Hastivarman. |

Five of the twelve kingdoms in the poet's list can be identified with certainty.

Kāñchī comprised the country in the neighbourhood of Madras, and the name is familiar to modern geographers in the corrupt form Conjeveram.

Kēraḷa was the ancient name of the Malabar coast between the Western Ghāts and the sea, the fertile strip of country where the Malayalam (Malēalam) language is spoken, and which is now divided between the British districts of South Kanāra and Malabar, and the native states of Cochin, Travancore, and the Bībī of Cannanore. It extended to Cape Comōrin (Kumārin) at the extremity of the peninsula.

The kingdom of Kōsala, which must not be confounded with the territories of the same name in Northern India, comprised the upper valley of the Mahānadī river and much of the surrounding hilly country. It corresponded with the eastern and central districts of the Central Provinces and parts of Orissa. The capital was Sirpur (Śrīpura), in the modern district of Rāipur.

Kōṭṭūra may be identified with the Pollāchi subdivision of the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency. The beryl mines of Padiyūr, which were famous in the Roman world at the beginning of the Christian era, were probably included within the limits of this kingdom.

Pishṭapura and Veṅgī are now respectively represented by the Pittāpuram town and chieftainship in the Godāvarī district, and by Vēgi, or Pedda Vēgi, in the same district. The ancient kingdom of Veṅgī consisted of a strip of country extending along the shore of the Bay of Bengal between the Krishṇa (Kistna) and Godāvarī rivers.

The rulers of five "frontier countries"—Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Kartṛipura, Nēpāla, and Samataṭa—are recorded to have paid homage and tribute to the emperor. The positions of Ḍavāka and Kartṛipura are not known. Samataṭa was the ancient name of Lower Bengal, the region in which Calcutta and Jessore are now the chief cities. Nēpāla retains its name unchanged, and still

jealously guards its internal independence. Kāmarūpa was the ancient name of Assam. The mention of Lower Bengal, Nēpāl, and Assam as frontier kingdoms, outside the limits of the empire, proves that the direct rule of Samudra Gupta did not extend to the mouths of the Ganges, or include the Himalayan ranges.

The distinction drawn between the frontier kingdoms and the frontier tribes enumerated in the same verse is interesting. The poet evidently means that the tribes named were, like the kingdoms, located on the frontiers of the empire; and his distinction between tribal territories and kingdoms proves that in the fourth century of the Christian era a large part of India was occupied by tribes which, though far removed from a savage condition, were not organized as kingdoms. This inference, suggested by the language of the poet, is confirmed in the case of three of the tribes named by distinct epigraphic and numismatic evidence that they were organized under special tribal constitutions, and not as monarchies.

Nine tribes are enumerated in the poet's list.[1] The Abhīras appear to mean the inhabitants of the ancient Hindu province of Ahīrwāra, the region in which the town of Jhānsī occupies a central position. The Madrakas dwelt in that portion of the Panjāb now known as the Richna Doāb, between the Chenāb and Rāvī rivers. Some authorities extend their territory westward to the Jhēlam and eastward to the Biās river. Their tribal capital was the famous city of Sangala or Sākala. The Mālavas were the people of the country now known as Mālwa. Bēsnagar, near Bhīlsa, was the capital of Eastern, and Ujjain was the capital of Western Mālwa.

The Yaudhēyas were a warlike and powerful people, who occupied the tract still known as Johiya-bār along both banks of the Satlaj on the border of the Bahāwalpur state. The limits of their territories may be roughly indicated as probably comprising the cities of Agra, Delhi, Sahāranpur,

[1] (1) Abhīra, (2) Arjunāyaṇa, (3) Kāka, (4) Kharaparika, (5) Madraka, (6) Mālava, (7) Prārjuna, (8) Sanakānika, (9) Yaudhēya.

Lūdiāna, Lahore, Bahāwalpur, Bikanīr, and Jaypur. Their power appears to have lasted for several centuries, from probably B.C. 100 to A.D. 400.

The positions of the other tribes mentioned are not known with certainty.

Notwithstanding our inability to understand in all its details the contemporary record, the information available is amply sufficient to warrant the definition with approximate accuracy of the limits of Samudra Gupta's Indian empire. On the north that empire extended to the base of the mountains of Nēpāl. The eastern limit must have been either the Kōsī (Kusī) river, or the Brahmaputra, more probably the former.[1] The southern frontier must have run a short distance south of the Ganges, nearly parallel to that river, excluding the wilder parts of the hilly country of Chutiā Nāgpur, thence along the Kaimūr Hills to Jabalpur, and thence along the Narbadā to the Betwā river, the boundary of the Mālava country. The western boundary was approximately marked by the Jamnā and Betwā rivers, and by a line connecting the cities of Agra, Mathurā, Delhi, Ambāla, and Lūdiāna.

To express the same result in other words, the empire included the whole of the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and Bihār, Northern and Central Bengal, part of Rīwā, the northern districts of the Central Provinces, and the south-eastern corner of the Panjāb between the Jamnā and the Satlaj.

The emperor received tribute from, or exercised influence in some form over, all the kingdoms and tribes which touched this extensive frontier. His political intercourse and alliances extended over a still wider circle, and brought him into relation with distant foreign powers. We are told that, in addition to the inhabitants of Ceylon and other islands, the nations, or dynasties, named Daivaputra,

[1] For a discussion of the vast changes during historical times in the courses of the Bengal rivers see Mr. Shillingford's valuable paper "On Changes in the Course of the Kusī River" in J.A.S.B., vol. lxiv, pt. i (1895), p. 1, and Proc. A.S.B. for Feb. 1895.

Shāhi, Shāhānushāhi, Śaka, and Muruṇḍa acknowledged the power of the conqueror by offering him presents of fair maidens and "garuḍa tokens,"[1] and by tendering other acts of homage. The allusion to Ceylon and the other islands is probably mere rhetoric; but reduced to its narrowest and most prosaic dimensions, the poet's statement may be taken to mean that Samudra Gupta enjoyed friendly relations with the other powers named, and exchanged complimentary presents with them, after the ordinary manner of Oriental princes.

The list of foreign powers enumerated is differently interpreted by the authorities.

In my opinion the Shāhānushāhi of Hariṣēṇa were the Kushān princes who then governed the provinces of Balkh and Kunduz on the Oxus, north of the Hindu Kush. These princes issued coins imitating the early Sassanian mintage, and were probably tributaries of the Sassanian monarchy. The Kushān chief who sent an embassy to Samudra Gupta was probably Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, who aided Shāhpur (Sapor) II in his war with Rome, and was present at the siege of Amida in A.D. 358.[2]

The princes who assumed the Sanskrit title Daivaputra certainly ruled territories on the confines of India proper, and may safely be interpreted to mean the Kushān kings of Gāndhāra, whose kingdom included the western Panjāb and the Kābul valley, and of which the capital was Peshāwar.

The title Shāhi was used by so many dynasties for many centuries that it is impossible to decide with certainty who the Shāhi king was with whom Samudra Gupta corresponded. I am disposed to regard him as one of the Kushān chiefs who occupied territory in the direction of Kandahār.

[1] Dr. Fleet supposes the term *garutmad-anka* to refer to the Gupta gold coins, or *dīnārs*, of which some types exhibit, among other devices, a standard surmounted by the fabulous bird, *garuḍa*, which appears to have been the special cognizance of the Gupta family.

[2] Cunningham gives the date as A.D. 358. Gibbon, while admitting that the chronology offers some difficulties, prefers A.D. 360.

The Śakas who sent ambassadors to Samudra Gupta may with tolerable certainty be identified with the Śaka Satraps of Surāṣṭra, or Kāṭhiāwār, on the extreme west of India. The reign of the Satrap Rudrasēna (A.D. 348–376) was almost exactly conterminous with that of Samudra Gupta. The conquest and annexation of Surāṣṭra by the son and successor of Samudra Gupta will be narrated in the next chapter.

There is some reason to suppose that the Muruṇḍa tribe was settled on the southern frontier of the empire.

ART. III.—*A Greek Embassy to Baghdād in* 917 A.D. Translated from the Arabic MS. of Al-Khaṭīb, in the British Museum Library. By GUY LE STRANGE.

IN the early years of the tenth century A.D. the Emperor Leo VI, surnamed the Philosopher, gave much scandal to the ecclesiastics of Constantinople by his fourth marriage with the beautiful Zoe; a fourth being naturally a degree worse than a *third* marriage, and this the Eastern Church had lately "censured as a state of legal fornication," for reasons which Gibbon discusses in chapter xlviii of the "Decline and Fall." However, "the Emperor required a female companion, and the Empire a legitimate heir," and so, since he had found himself again a childless widower, Leo the Philosopher promptly celebrated his fourth nuptials, the patriarch Nicholas notwithstanding, who, having refused his blessing, was exiled. The fruit of this marriage was Constantine, surnamed Porphyrogenitus, that is, Born-in-the-Purple, from the porphyry chamber in the palace at Constantinople, where he had first seen the light; and in the year 911 A.D., when of the age of six, Constantine VII succeeded his father on the throne.

During the next forty-eight years the government was carried on in his name, others ruling, and in the first part of the reign it was the Empress Zoe who, with her favourites, struggled against the clergy, and misgoverned the Empire. In those days, war with the Caliphate was chronic on the eastern border; Greek and Saracen in turn attacked, raided, and carried off captives to be held for ransom; but of late the fortune of war had rather favoured the Greek side. The Caliph contemporary with Constantine Porphyrogenitus bore the name of Muḳtadir; he had come to the throne in 908 A.D., at the age of thirteen, through

a palace intrigue, and during his reign of twenty-five years lived entirely under the tutelage either of his Wazīr, or of Mūnis, the Commander of the Armies. In the year 917, corresponding in the Moslem reckoning to 305 A.H., the Caliph found himself hemmed in by domestic rebellion, and though the expeditions of his generals over the border had latterly been somewhat more successful, he was in no way disinclined to come to terms with his adversary. The Empress Zoe, on her side, was for the moment equally desirous of peace, for she wished to withdraw many of the Greek troops from the eastern frontier, in order the better to encounter the Bulgarian hordes then threatening the empire in the opposite quarter. To obtain peace, therefore, Zoe despatched two ambassadors, nominally from the emperor, to Baghdād. According to the Byzantine chronicler Cedrenus, the two envoys were named John Rhadinos, the Patrician, and Michael Toxaras; they were commissioned to visit the Caliph, conclude an armistice with him, and arrange for the ransom of captives.

The reception given to the Greek envoys at Baghdād, is, as far as I am aware, nowhere described in the Byzantine Chronicles. The Moslem annalists, however, make much of this embassy from the Greeks, and though they frankly name the great sum which the Caliph paid for the ransom of their captive countrymen—it is nowhere even hinted by them that the Greeks found any Christian captives for whom to pay ransom—the Arab chroniclers enlarge on the fact that it was the Emperor of Constantinople who first begged for peace, and they then proceed to describe the imposing ceremony with which the ambassadors were received by the Caliph. Already, and even before the close of the third century after the Hijra, as is well known, the Caliphate was fast losing all political power; the outlying provinces were becoming permanently independent, and before the next century had run half its course Baghdād itself would be mastered, and the Caliph overshadowed by a succession of tyrannical Commanders-of-the-Guard, followed and dispossessed by c[illegible]

Generals out of the East, become sovereigns by the grace of the sword. At the beginning of this century, however, Muḳtadir could still pretend to be the Commander of the Faithful in Islam, and as such also pretended to treat the "King of Rūm," the Chief of Christian monarchs, as a suppliant for peace.

The Greek envoys arrived in Baghdād in Muharram 305, corresponding with July 917, and the following description of the manner in which they were received is translated from the Arabic text, incorporated by Al-Khaṭīb in his "*History of Baghdād.*"[1] This work was composed (451 A.H.) nearly a century and a half after the events described, but Al-Khaṭīb states that the text is derived from a certain Hilāl, who had collected together the various accounts set down by those, "worthy of credit," who had witnessed the event. He thus describes the scene, which affords us a curious picture of the Palace of the Caliphs at Baghdād:—

"Now in the days of Muḳtadir, ambassadors[2] from the Byzantine Emperor arrived; so the servants spread magnificent carpets in the Palace, ornamenting the same with sumptuous furniture; and the Chamberlains with their Deputies were stationed according to their degrees, and the Courtiers stood at the gates and the porticoes, and along the passages and corridors, also in the courts and halls. The troops in splendid apparel, mounted on their chargers, with saddles of gold or of silver, formed a double line, while in front of these were held their led-horses similarly caparisoned, whom all might see. The numbers

[1] Of the three MSS. of this work possessed by the British Museum (Or. 1,507, 1,508, and Ad. 23,319), the first is by far the best, but unfortunately lacks several pages in the very part describing the reception of the Greek Embassy; the second MS. is a modern transcript of the first, and hence gives no aid at this point; while the third MS., though it supplies the text of these pages, is so carelessly written as to be almost illegible. I have collated this last throughout with the MS. of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris (numbered in the new *Catalogue Arabe*, 2,128), without the aid of which the following translation could hardly have been made.

[2] In the text, the singular, dual, and plural forms are used alternately in reference to the ambassador or ambassadors; but at the close *two* ambassadors are mentioned, which agrees with Ibn-al-Athīr and the Byzantine chronicler. I have adopted the plural throughout, for convenience, in my translation.

present, under arms of various kinds, were very great, and they extended from above the gate (at the upper end of Eastern Baghdād) called the Bāb-ash-Shammāsiyya, down to near the Palace of the Caliph. After the troops, and leading to the very presence of the Caliph, came the Pages of the Privy Chamber, also the Eunuchs of the inner and the outer Palace in gorgeous raiment, with their swords and ornamented girdles.

"Now the markets of Eastern Baghdād, with the roads, and the house-tops, and the streets, were all full of the people who had come sight-seeing, and every shop and high balcony had been let for a price of many dirhams. On the Tigris there were skiffs and wherries, barques, barges, and other boats, all magnificently ornamented, duly arranged and disposed. So the Ambassadors, with those who accompanied them, were brought on horseback to the Palace (of the Caliph), which, entering, they passed direct into the palace of Naṣr-al-Kushawi, the Chamberlain. Here they saw many porticoes and a sight so marvellous to behold that they imagined the Caliph himself must be present, whereby fear and awe entered into them; but they were told that here was only the Chamberlain. Next from this place the Ambassadors were carried on to the palace where lived the Wazīr, to wit the Assembly of Ibn-al-Furāt,[1] and here the Ambassadors were witnesses of even more splendour than they had seen in the palace of Naṣr, the Chamberlain, so that they doubted not that this indeed was the Caliph; but it was told them that this was only his Wazīr. Thence they conducted the Ambassadors and seated them in a hall, with the Tigris on the one hand and gardens on the other; and the hall was hung with curtains, and carpeted all about, and cushions had been placed for them, while all around stood the Eunuchs bearing maces and swords. But after the Ambassadors had been taken through this palace also, they were called for to the presence of Muḳtadir the Caliph,

[1] The position of one of his palaces is described by Ibn Serapion, a contemporary: see J.R.A.S. for 1895, p. 283.

whom they found seated with his sons on either side of him, and here the Ambassadors saw a sight that struck them with fear. Then afterwards they were dismissed, and so returned to the palace that had been prepared for them.

"Now the following is another account, given by the Wazīr Abu-l-Kāsim 'Ali-ibn-al-Ḥasan—surnamed Ibn-al-Maslama, who had heard it from the Caliph Ḳāim, he having heard the narration of the Caliph Ḳādir, who related that his grandmother, Umm Abu Ishāḳ, the wife of the Caliph Muḳtadir, spoke thus in reference to these events. When the Ambassadors of the Emperor of the Greeks arrived at Takrīt (on the Tigris, about a hundred miles above Baghdād), the Commander of the Faithful, Muḳtadir, ordered that they should be detained there during two months. Then at length they were brought to Baghdād, and lodged in the palace called the Dār Ṣā'id, where they tarried two months more, before being allowed to come to the presence of the Caliph. Now when Muḳtadir had completed the adornment of his palace and the arrangement of the furniture therein, the soldiers were ranged in double line from the Dār Ṣā'id aforesaid to the Palace of the Caliph —the number of the troops being 160,000 horsemen and footmen—and the Ambassadors passed down between them until they came to the Palace. Here they entered a vaulted passage underground, and, after passing through it, at length stood in the presence of Muḳtadir, to whom they delivered the embassy of their master.

"Then it was commanded that the Ambassadors should be taken round the Palace. Now there were no soldiers here, but only the Eunuchs and the Chamberlains and the black Pages. The number of the Eunuchs was seven thousand in all, four thousand of them white and three thousand black; the number of the Chamberlains was also seven thousand, and the number of the black Pages, other than the Eunuchs, was four thousand; the flat roofs of all the Palace being occupied by them, as also of the Banqueting-halls. Further, the store-chambers had been

opened, and the treasures therein had been set out even as is customary for a bride's array; the jewels of the Caliph being arranged in trays,[1] on steps, and covered with cloths of black brocade. When the Ambassadors entered the Palace of the Tree (*Dār-ash-Shajara*, which will be described more fully below), and gazed upon the Tree, their astonishment was great. For (in brief) this was a tree of silver, weighing 500,000 Dirhams (or about 50,000 ounces), having on its boughs mechanical birds, all singing, equally fashioned in silver. Now the wonder of the Ambassadors was greater at seeing these than at any of the other sights that they saw.

"In an account, which has come down written by the hand of Abu Muḥammad, grandson of Muḳtadir, it is stated that the number of the hangings in the Palaces of the Caliph was thirty-eight thousand. These were curtains of gold—of brocade embroidered with gold—all magnificently figured with representations of drinking-vessels, and with elephants and horses, camels, lions, and birds. There were also long curtains, both plain and figured, of the sort made at Basinnā (in Khūzistān), in Armenia, at Wāsiṭ (on the lower Tigris), and Bahasnā (near the Greek frontier); also embroideries of Dabīḳ (on the Egyptian sea-coast) to the number of thirty-eight thousand; while of the curtains that were of gold brocade, as before described, these were numbered at twelve thousand and five hundred. The number of the carpets and mats of the kinds made at Jahram and Darābjird (in Fārs) and at Ad-Dawraḳ (in Khūzistān) was twenty-two thousand pieces; these were laid in the corridors and courts, being spread under the feet of the nobles, and the Greek Envoys walked over such carpets all the way from the limit of the new (Public Gate called the) Bāb-al-'Āma, right to the presence of the Caliph Muḳtadir;—but this number did not include the fine rugs in the chambers and halls of assembly, of the manufacture

[1] The word in the original is "ḳalābāt," which I can find in no dictionary; I translate it as equivalent to "ḳālab" in the plural.

of Tabaristān and Dabīḳ, spread over the other carpets, and these were not to be trodden with the feet.

"The Envoys of the Greek Emperor, being brought in by the Hall of the Great (Public Gate called the) Bāb-al-'Āma, were taken first to the palace known as the Khān-al-Khayl (the Cavalry House). This was a palace that was for the most part built with porticoes of marble columns. On the right side of this house stood five hundred mares caparisoned each with a saddle of gold or silver, while on the left side stood five hundred mares with brocade saddle-cloths and long head-covers; also every mare was held in hand by a groom magnificently dressed. From this palace the Ambassadors passed through corridors and halls, opening one into the other, until they entered the Park of the Wild Beasts. This was a palace with various kinds of wild animals therein, who entered the same from the Park, herding together and coming up close to the visitors, sniffing them, and eating from their hands. Next the Envoys went out to the palace where stood four elephants caparisoned in peacock-silk brocade; and on the back of each were eight men of Sind, and javelin-men with fire, and the sight of these caused much terror to the Greeks. Then they came to a palace where there were one hundred lions, fifty to the right hand and fifty to the left, every lion being held in by the hand of its keeper, and about its head and neck were iron chains.

"Then the Envoys passed to what was called the New Kiosk (Al-Jawsaḳ-al-Muḥdith), which is a palace in the midst of gardens. In the centre thereof is a tank made of tin (Raṣāṣ Ḳal'ī), round which flows a stream in a conduit also of tin, that is more lustrous than polished silver. This tank is thirty ells in the length by twenty across, and round it are set four magnificent pavilions with gilt seats adorned with embroidery of Dabīḳ, and the pavilions are covered over with the gold work of Dabīḳ. All round this tank extends a garden with lawns wherein grow palm-trees, and it is said that their number is four hundred, and the height of each is five ells. Now the entire height of these

trees, from root to spathe, is enclosed in carved teak-wood, encircled with gilt copper rings. And all these palms bear full-grown dates, which in almost all seasons are ever ripe, and do not decay. Round the sides of the garden also are melons of the sort called Dastabuya, and also other species. The Ambassadors passed out of this palace, and next came to the Palace of the Tree (Dār-ash-Shajara), where (as has already been said) is a tree, and this is standing in the midst of a great circular tank filled with clear water. The tree has eighteen branches, every branch having numerous twigs, on which sit all sorts of gold and silver birds, both large and small. Most of the branches of this tree are of silver, but some are of gold, and they spread into the air carrying leaves of divers colours. The leaves of the tree move as the wind blows, while the birds pipe and sing. On the one side of this palace, to the right of the tank, are the figures of fifteen horsemen, mounted upon their mares, and both men and steeds are clothed and caparisoned in brocade. In their hands the horsemen carry long-poled javelins, and those on the right are all pointed in one direction (it being as though each were attacking his adversary),[1] for on the left-hand side is a like row of horsemen. Next the Greek Envoys entered the Palace of Paradise (Ḳaṣr-al-Firdūs). Here there were carpets and furniture in such quantity as cannot be detailed or enumerated, and round the halls of the Firdūs were hung ten thousand gilded breastplates. From hence the Ambassadors went forth traversing a corridor that was three hundred ells in the length, on either side of which were hung some ten thousand other pieces of arms, to wit, bucklers, helmets, casques, cuirasses, coats of mail, with ornamented quivers and bows. Here, too, were stationed near upon two thousand Eunuchs, black and white, in double line, to right and left.

"Then at length, after the Ambassadors had thus been

[1] MSS. corrupt; added from Yāḳūt, II, 251.

taken round twenty and three various palaces, they were brought forth to the Court of the Ninety. Here were the Pages of the Privy Chamber, full-armed, sumptuously dressed, each of admirable stature. In their hands they carried swords, small battle-axes, and maces. The Ambassadors next passed down the lines formed by the black slaves, the deputy chamberlains, the soldiers, the footmen, and the sons of the Ḳāids, until they again came to the Presence Hall. Now there were a great number of the Sclavonian Eunuchs in all these palaces, who (during the visit) were occupied in offering to all present water, cooled with snow, to drink; also sherbets and beer (fuḳḳā'); and some of these Sclavonians went round with the Ambassadors, to whom, as they walked, or sat to take rest in some seven different places, water was thus offered, and they drank.

"Now one named Abu 'Omar of Tarsūs, surnamed Ṣāḥib-as-Sultān, and Captain of the Syrian Frontier, went with the Ambassadors everywhere, and he was habited in a black vest with sword and baldric. Thus, at length, they came again to the presence of the Caliph Muḳtadir, whom they found in the Palace of the Crown (Ḳaṣr-at-Tāj)[1] upon the Tigris bank. He was arrayed in clothes of Dabīḳ-stuff embroidered in gold, being seated on an ebony throne overlaid with Dabīḳ-stuff embroidered in gold likewise, and on his head was the tall bonnet called Ḳalansuwa. To the right of the throne hung nine collars of gems like the Subaj (which keeps off the evil eye), and to the left of the same were the like, all of famous jewels, the largest of which was of such a size that its sheen eclipsed the daylight. Before the Caliph stood five of his sons, three to the right and two to the left. Then the Ambassadors, with their interpreter, halted before Muḳtadir, and stood in the posture of humility (with their arms crossed), while one of the Greeks addressed words to Mūnis the Eunuch, and to Naṣr the Chamberlain, who were the interpreters of the Caliph, saying: 'But that

[1] See Ibn Serapion, J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 284.

I know for a surety that your Lord desires not that (as is our custom) I should kiss the carpet, I should verily have bowed and kissed it. But behold, I am now doing what your envoys have never been required by us to do, for verily this standing in the posture of humility (with the arms crossed) is also enjoined by our custom.' Then for an hour the two Ambassadors stood thus (before the Caliph), for they were twain, an older and a younger man, the younger being the chief Ambassador, while the elder was the interpreter; but the King of the Greeks had charged the business of the Embassy on the elder also, in the event of death befalling the younger Ambassador.

"Afterwards the Caliph Muḳtadir, with his own hand, delivered to the Ambassadors his reply to the King of the Greeks, which was copious and complete. The Ambassadors, on receiving this, kissed it in honour, after which the two Envoys went out by the Private Gate (Bāb-al-Khāṣṣa) to the Tigris, and together with their companions embarked in various particular boats of the Caliph, and went up-stream to where they had their lodging, namely, to the palace known as the Dār Ṣā'id. Here there were brought to them fifty purses of money, and in each purse there were 5,000 Dirhams (in all about £10,000), while on Abu 'Omar (the aforementioned Captain of the Frontier) was bestowed the Robe of Honour of the Sultan. Then the Ambassadors, being mounted on horseback, rode on their way: and these things took place in the year 305 A.H." Thus ends the account in Al-Khaṭīb.

With the facts recorded in the foregoing pages the chronicles of Ibn-al-Athir (VIII, 79) and of Abu-l-Faraj (Beyrout edition, p. 270) closely agree. The Embassy is there reported to have reached Baghdād in the month of Muharram of the year above mentioned, which corresponds to July, 917. As already stated, the Emperor of Constantinople requested, that, after an armistice had been agreed to, the Moslems should send and ransom such of their captive brethren as were in Christian hands. This

was to be done without delay, and Mūnis, the Eunuch who commanded the armies of the Caliph, was entrusted with a sum of 120,000 Dīnārs, or gold pieces, equivalent to about half that figure in pounds sterling. Accompanying the two Envoys, Mūnis proceeded to the frontier with a body of troops duly provided with rations and munitions. These troops, it would appear, were needed for making some further arrangements with the various governors of each frontier town in regard to the ransom—in other words, Mūnis forced these governors to supply additional funds. The paragraph in the chronicle ends with the significant phrase, "but as to the ransoming, this was left to the hands of Mūnis," and he alone doubtless could have told how the sums were spent.

ART. IV.—*Notice of an Inscription at Turbat-i-Jām, in Khorāsān, about half-way between Meshed and Herat.* By NEY ELIAS.

ای رحمت تو عُذر پذیر همه کس  ظاهر بجناب تو ضمیر همه کس
در گاهِ در تو قبله گاهِ همه خلق  لُطفت بکرشمه دستگیر همه کس
سرگشتهٔ بادیهٔ بی سرانجامی مُحمّد هُمایون
۱۴ شوال سنه ۹۵۱

O Thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all.
The mind of everyone is exposed to Thy majesty.
The threshold of Thy gate is the 'Qibla gāh' of all peoples.
Thy bounty with a glance supports everyone.
A wanderer in the desert of destitution,
Muhammad Humāyūn.
14th Shawāl, 951 A.H. (December 29, 1544).

I was not allowed inside the shrine inclosure at Jām, so sent my Mirza to look for the "Yādgār" of Humāyūn, which the Sheikh told me, was there. The Mirza brought back a copy of the inscription, and described the situation as follows:—"The above inscription is written, or rather painted, with black ink or some other composition, on an oblong slab of white Herat stone, which is fixed with mortar on to the top of the railing (partly built of plain and glazed bricks and partly of stone) enclosing the grave of Sheikh Jāmi, which is in the open air. The slab in question is about $\frac{3}{4}$ *zar'* (about 30 inches) in length and about 3 *girah* (8 inches) in breadth, the inscription running lengthwise. The surface bearing the writing is smooth

and polished. In some places the paint—or ink—has been removed, and it shows that the surface of the slab was first punctured with some pointed instrument, and afterwards the paint laid on. An old Khwāja told me that formerly this slab was fixed in the Diwān (arch) facing the Sheikh's tomb, but that afterwards it was removed from there and placed on top of the railing where it now stands. The Khwāja also said that he used to see the word *Hindi* written after 'Muhammad Humāyūn,' but that now it has been obliterated. *Sheikh Abdur Rahmān, one of the descendants of Sheikh-i-Jām, says that the inscription is believed to be in Humāyūn's own handwriting."*

The statement about the word *Hindi is doubtful. If* ever there, probably it was not written by *Humāyūn.* Otherwise, why is that word alone effaced? *And why so* late as the present generation?

The inscription attached is translated by Khan Bahādur Maula Baksh, Attaché at this Agency.

[This inscription belongs to the period when Humāyūn had fled before Sher Shāh, and was a wanderer and an exile in Persia. It is interesting that he should have offered up his prayer at the shrine of Aḥmad-i-Jām, for that saint was the ancestor of Ḥamīda Begam, the mother of Akbar. He was also, according to Abul Fazl, the ancestor of Humāyūn's mother, Māham. In Baillie Fraser's "Journey into Khorasan" (London, 1825), Appendix B, p. 39, there is an account of the shrine, and a curious explanation of the saint's title of Zhinda Fīl. Humāyūn's prayer seems to have been heard, for next year he conquered Kabul and Kandahar.—H. Beveridge.]

## Art. V.—*The Origin of the Phenician and Indian Alphabets.*

By Robert Needham Cust.

In the *Calcutta Review* of 1877, I published an Essay on the Phenician Alphabet, which was reprinted in Series I of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 1880. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1884, I published an Essay on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, which was reprinted in Series II of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 1887. As further light has been thrown upon the subject in the years, which have elapsed since 1877 and 1884, I return to this difficult, but interesting, subject, treating each branch of it separately.

### Part I. The Phenician Alphabet.

This is admitted to be the elder sister, if not the Mother, of all the Alphabetic systems in the world. I followed my lamented friend, François Lenormant, of Paris, in accepting the theory of De Rougè, of Paris, that this Alphabet was derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Ideograms. The theory seemed plausible; at least, it was something to take the place of nothing: some old Scholars shook their heads, and doubted.

In the thirty-first volume of the German Oriental Society, p. 102, Professor Deecke, of the Strasburg University, asserted a derivation of the Phenician Alphabet from the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary. It was quite possible from the chronological and geographical point of view, but I have never seen the theory worked out on Palaeontographical evidence; but I understand, that this is part of the theory of an illustrious German Palaeographist (Hommel), who is about to publish on the subject. I await his statement with

profound respect, as I have ever an open mind to receive new suggestions on this many-sided subject.

The origin of the Phenician Alphabet has been invested of late years with a new interest, owing to the united result of the speculations of the Higher Critics of the Old Testament, and the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Excavations. This is not the place for Theological discussions, and my argument is purely scientific. The question is:

(1) Did Moses commit the Law (say the Ten Commandments) to writing?
(2) If so, what form of Written Character did he use?

It is scarcely necessary to say, that no Phenician Manuscript exists earlier than the ninth century A.D.: that the square Character of the Hebrew only came into existence in the century preceding Anno Domini: that the early Phenician Alphabetic Character is represented by Inscriptions on Stone, of which the Moabite Stone, called Mesa or Dibon, is the oldest, in the ninth century B.C.; but it is a safe induction, that the use of this Character is at least a century older, as the form of the letters, and the execution, indicate a considerable period of experience and familiar use.

The date of the Exodus used according to Archbishop Usher to be 1494 B.C.; but our Vice-President, Professor Sayce, announces to us, at p. 242 of his "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," that the date of the death of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, is fixed by Dr. Mahler on Astronomical grounds at 1281 B.C.; consequently the Exodus, in the time of his successor, Menephthah, must have been still later, and it must have been well into the twelfth century B.C., when the Hebrews reached Palestine. Only three centuries intervene betwixt the Moabite Stone and the latest possible period, at which Moses could have committed his Law to writing, not only on stone, as is the case of the two Tables, but on papyrus, skins, or other material, as regards the rest of the writings attributed to him.

Dr. Mahler, however, seems to have changed his mind, for in a German pamphlet published at Vienna, 1896, which I have procured, he shows, that the Exodus took place B.C. 1335, in the thirteenth year of Rameses II. It is not necessary to assert, that Moses wrote with his own hand: all writing in the East is conducted through the agency of scribes, as it is in the offices of every servant of the Government of British India to this day, and clearly was the practice of Paul the Apostle, as at the close of one Epistle he draws attention to the fact, that he had written one passage with his own hand. Another large door is here opened: it is possible, that in grave matters word-by-word dictation may have been made use of, as to a Private Secretary, or to a typewriter; but all, who know the practice of India, can testify, that the presiding officer gives his orders in the roughest ungrammatical way, and the scribe renders this on paper in smooth, grammatical, and official, form, in whatever Language, or form of script, is required for the recipient.

But what form of Written Character did Moses use? It has always been up to this time presumed, that he used a form of the so-called Phenician Alphabet; at least, no allusion is made in the Old Testament to a change of script; therefore, if we get over the difficulty, that Moses did write, it must be presumed, until disproved, that he used the Phenician Alphabet.

It does not necessarily follow, that he could speak that form of the Semitic Family of Languages, which we call Hebrew, as he had dwelt the first forty years of his life as an Egyptian, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." When he migrated to the Kenites in Midian, he was mistaken for an Egyptian (Exod., II, 19), and lived forty years among this Semitic tribe, speaking their Language. At the age of eighty, for the first time, he lived with his own tribe, the Hebrews: what Language they spoke, is uncertain; unquestionably eleven of the sons of Jacob, who spoke Aramaic, and had four Aramaic-speaking wives, had married women of Canaan, and the Hebrew Language

is called the Language of Canaan, and died out of the mouths of men during the Exile, being replaced by the Aramaic. The deep water of the Captivity was the grave of the old Language of the Hebrews and the womb of the new. However, it is a matter of indifference what Language Moses used, and what form of the Hebrew Language was spoken during the Desert-wanderings by the Hebrews. They must have spoken in Goshen some Language intelligible to their Egyptian neighbours, as the Hebrew women borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver and gold, and raiment, which implies some verbal means of communication.

Now there is no manner of doubt, that during the century preceding the arrival of the Hebrews at the frontier of Palestine, the inhabitants of that Region, to whatever race they belonged, were not illiterate barbarians, like the tribes of South Africa in the nineteenth century, but had among them both scribes, who could wield the pen, engravers, who could engrave Inscriptions on stelae or pillars, and Libraries, in which these literary documents were collected. Moreover, there were two forms of script, representing the two great foreign Powers of the Nile and the Euphrates, who from century to century, down to the time of the Persian Monarchy, which conquered both Egypt and Mesopotamia, contended for the possession of Syria. One of these forms of script were the Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Ideograms, with Monuments of which Egypt teems; and the other the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabaries, the presence of which in Egypt has been revealed to us in these last days by the excavations of Tel el Amarna on the Nile. If it be boldly asserted, as a hypothesis, that Moses, by help of his scribes, made use of one or other of these forms of script, and that gradually, as time went on, they were transliterated into the Phenician Alphabet, a palaeographist could accept this as a working hypothesis, on the analogy of the Nâgari Veda, which we have under our eyes transliterated into the Roman Character; but on Scriptural grounds this cannot be accepted, as we are told, that on

the two Tables of Stone were written the Ten Commandments, and that these identical tables were kept in the Ark in the Temple at Jerusalem until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C. Thus a continuity of the very same Inscription is asserted.

Professor Sayce remarks in the "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," that it would be a miracle, if in that literary age Moses had not left written documents behind him. It is a strong expression to describe the limited power of writing, or capacity to read, the Egyptian and Cuneiform forms of script, possessed by a limited portion of the inhabitants of Syria, as constituting a literary age. I take an analogy from India: when we conquered the Panjáb in 1846, I had placed under my charge a virgin-district, in which no European had settled before that date, and in my office, seated at my feet, sate scribes, who took down my spoken orders, and engrossed them on native-made paper in the Nágari, Gurmúkhi, and Arabic, Written Characters, and in the Persian, Hindi, and Urdu, Languages, according to the requirements of the office; while close by me, seated at a table, was a Bangáli Clerk writing my letters in the English Language on English paper. This sounds exceedingly "literary," and it would be difficult to find a parallel in Europe; yet the scribes, who could do this, were few: each could read or write his own Written Character only: and of the crowds, who stood around, and dwelt in thousands in the towns and villages, not one in a thousand could read or write any Character at all. Under the orders of the Supreme Government of India I had to issue a Code of three new Laws:

I. Thou shalt not burn thy widows.
II. Thou shalt not kill thy daughters.
III. Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers.

If I had written these laws on a stone tablet, and placed it in a chest in the chief Hindu Temple, it would have been of little use for the guidance of the unlettered population, who committed these offences daily. As a fact,

*oral* instructions were given to the leaders of the people, and the Police, and they were made to obey them by prompt punishment of offenders.

Ranjit Singh, the sovereign of Lahore, was totally illiterate; and yet the Professor considers, that it would be a miracle, if Moses, who had sojourned forty years among the Kenites in the direction of North Arabia, and forty years of his youth and manhood as the reputed son of the daughter of Pharaoh, in Egypt, could not with his own hand, or by the hands of Hebrew scribes, born and bred in the house of Egyptian bondage, write Laws, and record events, in a Written Character, of the existence of which at that remote period we have no trace; and, what is still more remarkable, Solomon, when he built the Temple, though he had an Egyptian wife, who must have been familiar with Temples and Palaces covered with Inscriptions, and though he had the advantage of skilled workmen, supplied by Hiram, King of Tyre, in Phenicia, is not recorded to have placed one single Inscription of any kind on the walls and pillars of the Temple, nor has one scrap of Inscription earlier than the date of King Hezekiah been found as yet in Palestine. This looks very much as if, in that "literary" country two hundred years after the latest date possible for the arrival of the Hebrew in Palestine, nothing was known, even by powerful Kings, of the Phenician Alphabet.

And as to it being a miracle, if such a man as Moses had not left behind documents written by himself, what shall we think of the fact, that the three greatest, who bore the form of man, left no documents written by themselves behind: (1) Gautama Buddha, who died 543 B.C.; (2) Socrates, who died 399 B.C.; (3) Jesus Christ, whose appearance marks the great dividing epoch of the world? None have left behind them deeper impressions on the Human race; both the two last lived in a supremely literary age and environment, and both could make use of a different form of the Phenician Alphabet, yet neither left anything, neither are credited with the intention of

leaving anything, on papyrus, or parchment, or on stone, for the use of those who came after them.

In the account of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor we read, that Peter and his two companions beheld three great personages, and by some means not stated recognized the two elder ones, who had lived and died 800 and 1,400 years previously; yet all three conversed together on the subject of the Crucifixion, and their words were intelligible to Peter, a fisherman on the Lake of Tiberias, who spoke a Galilean Dialect, different from that spoken at Jerusalem. What linguistic means of communication did these three great personages make use of? Whatever Language Moses spoke, it could scarcely have been intelligible to Elijah, who spoke the Hebrew, used by Amos and Micah: could either of the two first have understood the Aramaic spoken by the third? So also as regards the Written Character used by them. We know that Jesus Christ could write, as it is mentioned that He did so, and his allusion to jots and tittles shows, that he referred to the square Hebrew Character, which we all know. Elijah was a contemporary of that king of Moab, who erected the Moabite Stone, and it was therefore possible, that he could write, though extremely improbable. At any rate, neither he, nor Elisha, though they were the greatest of the Hebrew Prophets, left a scrap of writing behind them; and yet we are told, that it would be a miracle, if Moses, who lived 600 or 400 years earlier, had not left written documents behind him.

Professor Sayce works a new mine, and suggests, that the Phenician Alphabet was not a Mother-Alphabet, created as a new invention, but was only the daughter of an older Alphabet, traces of which are found in Arabia: this is the great interest, which he has roused ("Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 39): "The explorations of Dr. "Glaser in South Arabia [Munich, 1889] have lately put "the question in a new and unexpected light. He has "recopied a large part of the Minaean Inscriptions on the "rocks and ancient Monuments of Yemen and Hadhramaut, "and has added more than one thousand fresh ones; they

"are in the Himyaritic Language, and in two different "Dialects, the Minaean and Sabaean." And he declares, that the Minaean Inscriptions are far older than the earliest known to us, that are written in Phenician Characters (p. 42). Instead, therefore, of deriving the Minaean Alphabet from the Phenician, it becomes necessary to derive the Phenician Alphabet from the Minaean. The Phenician Alphabet ceases to be the *Mother*-Alphabet, and becomes the daughter of an older one.

He then proceeds to show, from Philological reasons, that even, if this view of the matter be right, the Written Character of Egypt is still the ultimate source of the Alphabet, but by the intermediary of Yemen, and not of Phenicia (p. 45), and that it is extremely improbable (p. 45), that the Israelites at the time of the Exodus were unacquainted with Alphabetic writing.

These are bold assertions, which Professor Sayce makes on the authority of Dr. Glaser and Professor Hommel, both Palaeographers of the highest repute. I have the profoundest respect and admiration for my old friend Professor Sayce, and I have faithfully read every word, which he has published. Still, by this last assertion he takes my breath away, and I ask for time before I can accept this new and revolutionary departure. I ask for "More Light." I ask to see Dr. Glaser's statements in print, and to study them. I am extremely amenable to, and receptive of, new ideas, and am not the least bound by old-world prejudices. The allusions to one of the successors of Alexander the Great in the Inscriptions of Asóka, are sufficient, to my mind, to fix an approximate date for those Edicts. The scratchings at Abu Simbal of the Greek mercenaries of King Psammetichus, and the Inscriptions found at Naukratis in Egypt, and in the Island of Santorin, are sufficient, to my mind, to fix a date for the earliest known Greek Inscription. The allusion to Ahab, King of Israel, is a sufficient chronological stamp of the Moabite Stone. The Egyptian papyri, and the Assyrian clay-bricks, have established certain dates, which I am able to accept

provisionally. But these Arabian rock-Inscriptions have only been seen by one, or at most two, Scholars: the scaffolding is hardly strong enough to carry the weight of the new hypothesis.

Provisionally I must rest on the fact, that there is no evidence of Alphabetic writing earlier than the ninth century B.C. The Tables of Stone were reputed to be in the Ark and in the Temple, but seen by no one, and at the time of the destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar they disappeared. They were not carried by the exiles into Captivity, nor did they return, as both these facts must have been recorded. Modern excavators at Jerusalem may bring them to light; and hundreds of stone and clay documents, earlier than any date assigned to Moses, have been given up by the Earth to excavators. The form of the Written Characters would be of the highest interest: will they resemble Dr. Glaser's early Minaean Inscriptions, or the later stone of Mesa? How extravagant are the vagaries of good, pious, and yet ignorant, men, is evidenced by the statue of Moses, still on view in the Cathedral of Malta, holding in his hands the two Tables of Stone with the Commandments in the Hebrew Language, in the square Written Character only introduced in the last century B.C., more than one thousand years after Moses; and in the text the Second Commandment is missing, and the Tenth Commandment divided into two, to suit the requirements of a Church, which inculcated the worship of images, and an age, which was entirely devoid of a literary conscience.

Here I leave the subject, ready to receive any new contributions to Knowledge, but the date of the old Arabian Inscriptions must be fixed on evidence analogous to that, which has provisionally fixed the dates of the earliest, Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, Phenician, and Greek, Inscriptions. Thirty years hence my scruples may be laughed at, and fresh excavations may produce evidence, which Scholars will gladly accept. Nothing is so probable as what seems to be impossible. Our minds must be receptive.

Even supposing that Dr. Glaser does satisfy us of the existence of Arabian Inscriptions of a date earlier than the one now assigned to Moses, the twelfth century B.C., we have still to ask how Moses acquired the knowledge of this Alphabet during his forty years' residence among the Kenites. It is possible, that a religious leader of men in the nineteenth century could read and write Chinese or Hebrew, but we ask for some proof of the way, in which he acquired that knowledge. No doubt the art of the engraver, and the skill of the penman, were not unknown at that period in Egypt and Assyria, and in the intervening country of Syria, which was for centuries the scene of conflict for possession betwixt the great Kingdoms on the Nile and the Euphrates; but we really must ask how it happened in the sudden flight by night, without baggage-animals, of the two million Hebrews (such a number is required to make up 600,000 adult fighting-men), that they brought implements for engraving, and materials for writing; and behind that, whether in the house of bondage, where they had languished for centuries, there was any knowledge of reading or writing at all among the fugitives. And of what profit would be tables of stone, or skins of writing, such as the Synagogue-Rolls in the Museum at St. Petersburg, if no one, not even the Priests, could read them?

Inscriptions were indeed put up in all countries, to gratify the pride of Monarchs, in inaccessible places like the lofty rocks of Behistun in Persia, or to be lost sight of in caves, and rocks covered by moss, like the Inscriptions of Asóka, or buried away in the soil, as in Egypt; but the books attributed to Moses were meant to be the daily guides of released slaves in their new life, in a new country and new environment. If no one could read them, they would be useless. The power of reading and writing does not come as a congenital gift of God to Man, like speaking.

And we know that long before the pen and papyrus became the vehicle of communication to future generations, there was the Human tongue, and the Human memory. Oral

Tradition was the natural vehicle of ideas, tribal laws, and legends of an unlettered people. Such songs as that of Moses after the crossing of the Red Sea, and of Deborah after the defeat of Sisera, may well have been handed down from mouth to mouth in the very words, while legendary tales, such as that of Balaam and Balak, Ruth and Boaz, Jephthah and his daughter, may have come down in substance, each narrator refashioning the old story until the introduction of Alphabetic writing gave it a permanent place in Literature. We know, and all readily admit, that such was the case with Hindu Literature, exceeding in bulk the few records of the Hebrew Nation of an older date than the date of Amos, which for the present must be provisionally accepted as the earliest date on scientific grounds. We shall see further on, that a much later date is accepted for the earliest date of the Literature of the Indian Nation, which far exceeded in number the petty tribe of the Hebrews, and has left behind everlasting Monuments of its literary genius in every branch of Knowledge; and the same capacity of oral tradition seems sufficient in both cases. The question before us is not whether Moses propounded certain moral laws, and ritualistic by-laws, but in what form of script, if any, he gave them other support than the memories of the Priests and the people.

If Major Conder, or his fellow-workers in Palestine, could only disinter the two Tables of Stone, which may be somewhere beneath the soil on Mount Moriah, it would be a "find" surpassing all the marvels of the present century: here would be Monumental evidence of the script used by Moses. It must be recollected, that the Egyptian literary survivals of every kind entirely ignore the existence of their Hebrew slaves, and of their Exodus, and that there is no literary independent evidence to support the Hebrew narrative: it is not so as regards the narrative of the intercourse centuries later of the Hebrews with the Kingdoms in Mesopotamia.

We cannot assume in an offhand way, that such a thing must have been the case, because it ought, according to our

notions, to have been so. Let me take a modern analogy. Our late President of this Society, Sir Thomas Wade, was learned in all the wisdom of the Chinese, their Languages, and their Ideograms: he may possibly have known something of the Syllabic Cuneiform Character of Mesopotamia, as Scholars have asserted, that there existed some intercourse betwixt China and Mesopotamia, but there is no more connection betwixt the Chinese Ideograms and the Cuneiform Syllabary, than there was betwixt the Egyptian Ideograms and the Cuneiform Syllabary, though they came into juxtaposition before the Exodus. But can it be assumed, that, because our late President understood the Chinese and Mesopotamian script, he could have written books in the Nágari Alphabetic Character of India without any possible or alleged contact with the people of that country? Such was the position of Moses, as far as existing scientific evidence goes, as regards the Phenician Alphabetic Character, of the existence of which Character in the Mosaic epoch there is no proof. Nobody would rejoice more than I should, if the progress of excavations should enable me to cry out "*Peccavi*" and "*Εὕρηκα*": in what I write now it is,

"*Non quod volumus, sed quod possumus.*"

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## Part II. The Indian Alphabet.

It is obvious, that Dr. Glaser's theory, that a form of Alphabetic script, traces of which are found in Arabian Inscriptions of a very remote date, represents the *Mother*-Character, must have an important bearing on the channel of the origin of the Indian Alphabet. However, until that theory is expounded by competent Scholars, and receives acceptance, I must place it aside, with all due respect to the Scholar, or Scholars, who suggest it.

I find notices in the *Geographical Journal*, 1896, p. 659, of traces of the Phenician Character in Sumatra; in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 510, of

a connection between the Alphabetic writing in Japan and the Indian Alphabet; and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, of a Sinico-Indian origin of Indo-Pali writings: but I pass them by at present; I feel compelled to accept, for sake of argument at least, and provisionally, a Semitic, and therefore Western, origin of the old Indian Alphabets. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in 1884, I wrote a paper on this subject; and Hofrath Bühler, at page 2 of his Indian Studies, No. III, on the Indian "Brahma" Alphabet, describes it as "an exhaustive review of earlier opinions on that subject." It is unnecessary to go over that ground again. I restrict myself to noticing what advance has taken place since that date. Professor Weber had, in 1852, refused to admit the idea of an indigenous Alphabet in India, and this seems to be now accepted by competent Scholars. Differences of opinion on other details have arisen.

Monsieur Émile Senart, of Paris, contributed to the Journal of the *Société Asiatique* of Paris, in 1879, an important paper on this subject; and at page 895 of our own Journal for 1895 we have a paper from Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe on the subject of the "Semitic Origin of the Old Indian Alphabet," and Professor Rhys Davids is quoted as to the possibility of the people of India having borrowed their Alphabet from the people of Ceylon, who borrowed it from Semitic Traders, who, in the pursuit of Commerce, visited their shores. This is a mere hypothesis, but it has to be considered.

My essay of 1884 originally contained no opinion of my own. I was pressed to record an opinion, as I had combated the views of others; so I added the following lines:

I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the people of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel- and Consonant-Sounds by Symbols of a pure Alphabetic Character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

III. The *germs* of the Indian Alphabet are possibly to be found in the Phenician Alphabet.

IV. It cannot be ascertained with certainty upon the evidence before us by what channel, or through which branch of the Phenician Alphabet-stem, India received the *idea* or the *germs*.

Professor Dowson contributed a paper just before his death, 1880, to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiii, p. 102, 1881. He considers that the peculiarities of the Sútrá were such, that their production and transmission were almost impossible *without the use of letters*. That, as the Vedic Teachers instructed their pupils in the Rules of Sandhi, or Euphonic change, it was incredible, that the study could have been conducted with reference to Sounds only, without names for the Sounds or Symbols to represent them. He admits that there is no proof of this. He is strongly of opinion, that Pánini knew about writing: he lived about 400 B.C.: this leads him to the conclusion, that the Art of writing was practised by the Hindu five or six centuries B.C.

He does not think it incredible, that the Hindu, who were such masters of Language, and also invented Numerals, could not invent their own Alphabet. He thinks, that neither in the North or South Asóka have we the original Indian Alphabet; his only proof is that, in his opinion, such an Alphabet *ought to have existed*.

He admits, that writing was known in the West of Asia long before there is evidence of its existence in India, but the fame of the Art of conveying ideas by Symbols must have penetrated to India by the channel of Commerce, and the *idea* of an Alphabet reached India from without, though the practical application of the *idea* came from the Indians, at a considerable period later than the settlement of the Arians in India.

With all respect to my lamented friend Professor Dowson, this is a mere hypothesis, and in that resembles the theories of my illustrious friend Professor Sayce: it is the order, in which events, according to their idea of the fitness of

things, *ought to have taken place.* Dowson has a profound respect for the Vedic Teachers. Upon Sayce the personality of the Hebrew lawgiver makes a deep impression. We have to deal with the evidence of hard facts, and reasonable inductions from those facts. Let me illustrate this: it is a fact that the Moabite Stone has a date contemporary to King Ahab of Israel, and it is a fair induction that the skill, with which the letters are engraved on that stone, implies a knowledge of Alphabetic writing for one or more generations of engravers; to assert more is to venture into Cloudland.

Professor Max Müller, in his "History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 497, writes thus, thirty-six years ago: "There is not one single allusion in the Vedic Hymns "to anything connected with writing. Such, indeed, is "the case, with the exception of one doubtful passage, with "the Homeric Poems. Throughout the whole Brahmana "period there is no mention of writing materials, whether "paper, bark of trees, or skins. In the Sútra period, "although the Art of writing began to be known, the whole "Literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only; "more than this, Kumárila's remark, that the knowledge of "the Veda is worthless, if it has been acquired from writing, "amounts to condemning its use after it is known to exist. "However, the use of the word Pátila, or Chapter, for the "Sútra, a word never used in the Brahmana, lets in a side-"light. Its meaning is 'a covering,' the surrounding skin "or membrane; hence it is used for a tree, and is an "analogue of *liber* and *biblos*, and means 'book,' pre-"supposing the existence of the Art of writing."

Again, in 1878, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Max Müller writes that "there is no really Alphabetic written Literature "much earlier than 500 B.C.; all Poetry and Legends must "have been previously handed down orally. An Alphabet "may have been used for Monumental purposes, but there "is a great difference betwixt this and the use of it for Art, "pleasure, and Literature."

Hofrath Bühler qualifies these remarks by reminding us,

that since the date of the expression of these opinions by our learned Honorary Member, Max Müller, a great many new MSS., and a store of Buddhistic writings, have become accessible.

In his Essay "On the Introduction of Writing into India," Professor Max Müller remarks, that there were two kinds of evidence available for fixing the date of a script. I. An engraved tablet of stone or other metal, which tells its own tale by its environment, or by quoting certain names or facts of a date fixed by other methods. II. Allusion to writing in the pages of esteemed authors, such as in Pánini's Grammar, the Tripítaka of Buddha, or the Pentateuch. It is obvious, that the date of these esteemed writings must be first fixed by independent evidence, before they can themselves contribute evidence to the fact of the use of Alphabetic writing in the period of the reputed writer of the treatises. It is obviously working in a vicious circle to state first, that the Pentateuch is of the age of Moses, without giving independent external evidence, and then to assert that Moses could read and write, because it is so stated in the Pentateuch; and in this particular case there are no engraved stelae or metal tablets, which have come down to us, as is the case of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Indian Monuments.

Professor Max Müller concluded, that the knowledge of writing was known in India about 400 B.C., but that it was not at that date applied to Literature.

In the Introduction to the Vínaya Texts from the Pali, vol. xiii of "Sacred Books of the East," 1881, two very competent Scholars, Professor Rhys Davids and Professor Oldenberg, thus express themselves (pp. xxxii to xxxvi):

"There are several passages, which confirm in an indis-
"putable manner, the existence of the Art of writing at
"the time, when the Vínaya Texts were put into their
"present shape. . . . .

"Writing was in vogue at that time for the publication
"of official announcements, and the drawing up of written
"communications in private life. The Art was not confined

"to clerks, but was acquired by ordinary persons, even by "women. . . . .

"But for recording sacred Literature it had not yet come "into use. Nowhere do we find the least trace of reference "to Manuscripts amid the personal property, so to speak, of "the Buddhist Vihára, much less of ink, or pens, or leaves, "or writing materials.

"It is clear, that the Buddhist community did not think "of the possibility of using writing, as a means of "guarding against painful accidents; the Art of writing "had not been taken advantage of for the purposes of this "kind of Literature, but its use was wholly confined to "short messages or notes or private letters, or advertise-"ments of a public character, a result, which may have "been due to the want of any practical material, on which "to engrave the letters that were, nevertheless, evidently "known."

What approximate date do these Scholars assign to the older portions of the Vínaya? Their argument is founded on the fact, that there is no allusion in the Vínaya to the well-known Ten Points; had they existed, allusion must have been made to them; and absence of allusion proves that their date is anterior to the Council of Vesáli, where they were promulgated. This Council took place about one hundred years after the death of the Buddha, which, according to the Ceylon Chronicles, took place 218 years before the consecration of King Asóka, and will fall about 483 B.C. or thereabouts. The date of the Council of Vesáli may be fixed at about 350 B.C., and we thus arrive at the conclusion, that the Art of writing, as above described, was known at a date still earlier.

I quote the following extracts from Hofrath Bühler's Essay on "Past and Future Exploration in India" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, Art. XX, p. 656), as bearing on the date of the earliest appearance of Alphabetical writing in India.

"A real progress with the reconstruction of Indian "History can only be made if new authentic documents

"are obtained, such as are older than Asóka's, as well as "such as will fill up the great gaps, which occur in the "second and first centuries B.C., and in the third and "fourth centuries A.D. And such will be only found "underground, and partly only at a considerable depth.

"The expectation of Inscriptions in the fourth and "fifth centuries B.C. is by no means unfounded. Both the "literary and the palaeographic evidence shows, that the "Art of writing was known and extensively practised in "India for *several centuries before Asóka's time*, and there "are even some inscribed coins, which cannot be later "than the fourth century. . . . . The probability, that "writing was used, not only for marking coins, but for "longer Inscriptions, becomes very strong through certain "stories contained in the Buddhist canon."

What strikes the unprejudiced student is the purer air, and the greater freedom of independent judgment, tolerated and encouraged in discussing the basis, on which rests the structure of somebody else's Religious Convictions, compared to that which is allowed in discussing what relates to our own Religious Convictions.

The pious Hindu would protest against the idea, that his ancient Sacred Books were not written on the material available in the age and country, where his Prophets and Lawgivers resided, though the late Dr. Burnell, in his "South Indian Palaeography," justly remarked, that "in the North-West of India, the cradle of Indian Literature, no indigenous material for writing existed before the introduction of manufactured paper." The Vedic Fathers were as badly off for writing material, pen, ink, and material for reception of marks in ink, as the Hebrew Lawgiver in the Desert after the flight of his countrymen from the house of bondage in Egypt. Hofrath Bühler's learned paper, No. III of his "Indian Studies," is entitled "On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet," or, in the Vernacular Language, "Brahma Lipi," for the convenient legend soon sprang up in a credulous age, that the Creator of the World, Brahma, created the Art of writing,

in order to keep the affairs of the world in their proper course, or in order to remove doubts regarding legal transactions. Well done, Brahma, and Brahmans! The Hebrew Chroniclers shirked the dilemma; the Hindu boldly fabricated a legend. It is very helpful to a Religious conviction to have such legends. Mediaeval Europe is familiar with them.

The world has not advanced intellectually very much, for a thousand years later the followers of Mahomet asserted as a fact, that the Korán came down from Heaven in its actual form; and now, more than a thousand years later, the Theosophist derives his knowledge from Mahatma, old Indian sages, who appear suddenly to instruct him from some unknown residence in the Himaláya.

Unfortunately we find, on inquiry into the history of mankind, that, while on the one hand Articulate speech is a congenital gift to all for the purpose of differentiating man from animals, the Art of writing is essentially human, and the village child in 1900 A.D. has an Art forced by fear of the rod upon his fingers before he understands the object of it; an Art which Abraham certainly, and the composers of the Veda, never dreamed of. The Human memory, through the funnel of the Human voice, supplied, and well supplied, the absence of pen and writing materials.

But there comes a time in the History of all nations, when something more is required. The savage gets as far as messages by token, as marks on the sand, as branches broken off, or bark scraped off the tree, in the forest; and thus was suggested the idea of a more specific way to communicate with the absent, until some bolder spirits devised the marvellous conception of having communication with future generations still to be born. Thus Literature sprang into existence. The Pandits, who can from memory repeat the whole of long Prose and Poetic treatises, are but a survival of a period, when oral speech was the sole means of communication.

It is to me a subject of regret, that the names of the ancient Languages of India should have been changed. When I left India, and even to the date of the International

Oriental Congress at Leyden in 1883, the new names were unknown. I read a paper on the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, which was discussed for a day and a half by the assembled Scholars of Europe. The so-called Kharosthi was then known as the Arian, Ariano-Pali, Bactro-Pali, Gandhárian, or Northern Asóka; and the so-called Brahma was known as the Lath, Indian Pali, Indian, or Mauriya, or Southern Asóka. I was puzzled to find North Asóka called Kharosthi, until my friend M. Émile Senart assured me, that they were the same script. I think that it was a pity making the change. They may indeed be the native names, but both are in themselves objectionable. The only derivation, that Hofrath Bühler can give of Kharosthi is, that it is called after the name of its inventor, whose name means "Ass's lip," which is degrading; while, on the other hand, the reintroduction of the term Brahma Lipi into modern publications merely gives a new life in the minds of extremely conservative Hindu, that the Written Character was the invention of the great Creator of the Universe; in fact, a theological bias, which it is tried to eliminate from the History of the Phenician Alphabet, is unnecessarily introduced into the tangled scientific history of the Indian Alphabet, as in the Phenician.

*Sunt et sua fata sepulcris*: such is also the fate of theories connected with Sepulchral Inscriptions. The late Dr. Burnell, whose name is never mentioned except with affection and admiration, contended for the antiquity, and the independent antiquity, of the Vattelutto Alphabet in South India. But Hofrath Bühler sweeps it away in three lines in a Note to page 23 of his Essay, and, identifying it with the Pandya Cera Alphabet, he deems it to be a cursive form of the Tamil Alphabet, and therefore a derivative of the Brahma Alphabet. On the other hand, a new name has become conspicuous, the Bhattiprólu; the Inscriptions found in the Kistna District, in South India, in this form of script, supply many variations of form, and in the opinion of Hofrath Bühler

considerably strengthens his argument. I quote a description of this important "find" from a local paper:

"Dr. Bühler has succeeded, a Bombay paper says, in "deciphering the Inscriptions on the relic-caskets, which "Mr. Rea, Archaeological Surveyor to the Madras Govern- "ment, had recently the good fortune to discover in an old "tope, already searched, in the Kistna District. Mr. Rea "had noticed, that the caskets found by the explorers, "who preceded him, were at the side rather than at the "centre of the mound, and a judicious further exploration "led to the discovery of these additional caskets. The "Inscriptions on the caskets are, according to Dr. Bühler, "not later than 200 B.C., and may be a little older. "They reveal a system of writing, which is in some "respects radically different from the writing on the rock "of Asóka's Edicts at Junágar and elsewhere, and prove, "therefore, that these cannot be, as they have been "supposed to be, the earliest attempts of the Hindu to "write. Dr. Bühler believes, that the Art of writing had "been practised in India for centuries 'before the accession "of Chandragupta to the throne of Patálipútra,' or, in "other words, before the time of Alexander the Great. "There is something pathetic in the records that thus, "thanks to Mr. Rea and Dr. Bühler, are brought in these "latter days to light. We quote one, which declares "that 'Kura, Kura's father, and Kura's mother, have "joined to defray the cost of the casket and box of crystal, "in order to hold some relics of Buddha.' The casket "and the box of crystal have kept their charge till now, "and Dr. Bühler thinks, that there is little reason to "doubt, that the dust and fragment of bone they have "now given up are the dust and the bone of Buddha."

It is necessary, in this age of wonderful discoveries, and still more wonderfully-spun theories, to cherish in the intellect a strong capacity for doubt and mistrust. During the last six months the Religious world in England has been stirred by Professor Petrie's discovery of the word "Israel" on a Monument of King Menephthah, the

Pharaoh of the Exodus. Many serious difficulties are raised by the unlucky combination of Hieroglyphics, and it is to be hoped, that the real reading should be Jezreel, which seems better to explain the meaning of the words that follow. Similarly, the allusion to the bones of Buddha found in this Bhattiprólu relic casket is to be regretted. It would have been better, if the bodily tenement of the great Teacher had been drowned in the Ocean, or carried away by the winds, instead of surviving in this form, a tooth here, and a bone there, like the relics of a mediaeval Romish Saint. There is not much scientific veracity in such localities.

It is a singular fact, that the letters of the Kharosthi Alphabet are written in Semitic fashion from right to left, while the letters of the Brahma Lipi flow from left to right. However, too much stress must not be placed upon this fact, as, strange to say, the Ethiopic Alphabet is written from left to right, and the Greek Alphabet passed from one to the other, some Inscriptions being written in the boustrophédon fashion, one line to the right and the next to the left. Moreover, Sir A. Cunningham's Eran coin represents the Brahma Lipi flowing from right to left, a proof that both varieties were in use. Sir A. Cunningham found coins at Táxila, in the Gandhára District, with Inscriptions partly in the Kharosthi, and partly in the Brahma Lipi, proving that about 300 B.C. both forms of writing were used at the same time in the same places.

Hofrath Bühler, in his "Indian Studies," No. III, an Essay of ninety pages, exhausts the whole subject, and his work will ever remain a resting-place in the great discussion, as he sums up the result of the speculations of his distinguished predecessors, and contemporaries. Albert Weber, to whom he dedicates his Essay, was literally the first, who pronounced in favour of a Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet, and this seems now to be generally accepted; but Hofrath Bühler writes, that both passages in the literary works, and the characteristics of the oldest Alphabet, point to the conclusion, that the Indians extensively used

the Art of writing at least about three centuries before the time of King Asóka; this would mean 600 B.C.

No doubt the Hebrews were, at any rate not earlier than 800 B.C., freely using the Phenician Alphabet. They took their Sacred Books with them to Babylon, and found themselves in a country, where the use of the Cuneiform Syllabaries had prevailed for centuries. We have the great fact, that at a date later than the Captivity of the Hebrews, Darius, the son of Achaemenes, inscribed his tablets on the Behistun rock in Persian Cuneiform. We are told incidentally in the Book of Esther, that Xerxes, the son of Darius, issued letters to the Governors of his Provinces from India to Ethiopia according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their Language. Now, whatever date is assigned to the composition of this book (and it cannot reasonably be later than 300 B.C.), it is clear that, at the time of its composition, it was understood, that there were not only different forms of Language in each Province, but different forms of writing, and that India, the Panjáb, or the Gandhára country, the Region where both the Indian forms of writing were in use, was included in that Empire.

Hofrath Bühler dwells at great length upon the Literary evidence as to the antiquity of the Indian script, but he dwells also at length on the Palaeographic evidence. It appears to him, that the number of variations in the forms of the signs in the Asóka Edicts, which are assigned to the third century B.C, prove, that the Alphabet even at that time must have been ancient. The arguments are too technical and too lengthy to quote. He is satisfied, that both on Literary and Palaeographic evidence the Brahma Alphabet is the oldest in India, and may have been in common use even in the sixth century B.C. He sees clearly that, if this be the case, the theory, that South Arabia was the channel of communication of the Phenician Alphabet from the Semites to India would be untenable; but he has heard of Glaser, and Hommel also, and their assertions, that Arabia is the Mother-country of the Semitic Alphabet, no longer to be called Phenician, and he wisely remarks

that more light is required, and more time, in which sentiment I entirely agree.

But while he rests provisionally on the *terminus a quô* of the Moabite Stone, and accepts 800 B.C. as the earliest date, to which Phenician writing can safely be carried back, resisting the attempts of Professor Sayce to trace it back by the help of Glaser's Inscriptions beyond the date of Moses, he himself flies a kite of the same kind, and draws a cheque on the Bank of probability, and the fitness of circumstances. It seems to him, that some further considerations make it probable that the actual importation of the Semitic Characters into India took place at the same date as the Inscription on the Moabite Stone, about 800 B.C.; between the importation and the elaboration of the Brahma Alphabet there was a prolonged period, and the hand of the Grammarian is evident. The introduction of the Semitic signs was due to the merchant class, for they came most into contact with foreign Nations, and they had daily need of a means of recording their transactions. The Brahmans possessed their system of oral instruction for preserving their literary compositions and for teaching their pupils, but they gradually adopted the new idea, and developed it. Still, there was always a prejudice against writing, and in favour of oral transmission, which in fact constituted a monopoly.

I can hardly consider the arguments brought forward as sufficient to uphold so great a superstructure. For myself I am forced to relegate this theory to the same airy region, where I have already, with all feelings of respect, deposited Professor Sayce's theory with regard to the use of the Arabian Alphabet by Moses in the fourteenth century B.C., or, according to later calculations, based on the death of Rameses II, to the twelfth century B.C. It may be so, but I plead for time, and more light. The last ten years seem to have established the theory of a Semitic parentage of the Indian Alphabet; another decade may pile up proofs of the date of its birth, and of the channel, through which it developed itself from the Hieratic Ideograms.

M. Halévy is rarely absent on the occasion of great Scientific controversies. In 1885, in the *Journal Asiatique*, series viii, tome vi, Paris, he published the Essay, "Sur l'origine des écritures Indiens." In the same volume he published a Note "Sur l'origine de l'écriture Perse." In 1895, in the *Revue Semitique*, July, he published "Nouvelles observations sur les écritures Indiennes." I confine myself on this occasion to a notice of the last of the three documents, as it is the last word of the distinguished author, and this last word was elicited by the Essay "On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet" by Hofrath Bühler. I have the profoundest respect for both these Scholars, and a sincere and ancient friendship with the latter.

*It must be recollected*, that in the discussion of Indian subjects there are two companies: I. Those who have lived in India, and know the people, or, though they have never visited India, have made it their chief and serious study. II. Those, who take India as one Region of the Scientific world, and have made no profound study of its Literature. Hofrath Bühler belongs to the first class, and M. Halévy to the second. It is obvious, that there are advantages, and disadvantages, which belong to both sides. If to the first class India, a country of 280 millions, acquires an undue importance, when brought into contact with the whole Semitic world, the second class does not attribute to it sufficient importance.

I have already stated Hofrath Bühler's argument: I now proceed to M. Halévy's adversaria. The pith of his objections are, that the Brahma and Kharosthi Alphabets have a common Aramean source, and that the introduction of Alphabetic writing into India cannot be put back to the date suggested by Hofrath Bühler. The combatants are not unworthy of the great contention, in which they occupy different sides. The result is of no great importance to History or Literature, which is the only point of view, from which I look on the subject, and the depth of theological convictions and prejudices are not disturbed to the same degree as they are in the question discussed in Part I of this Essay.

Halévy quotes at great length his adversary's arguments, and opinions. He accepts with gratitude the pile of facts, which he has collected and set forth in his treatise, but rejects absolutely his two conclusions, (I) that a knowledge of the Art of writing existed in India before the time of Alexander the Great; (II) that the Brahma Alphabet was of a date anterior to the Kharosthi. He argues at great length, not only on the question of evidence, based on the shape of letters in Inscriptions, but also on the thorny side of Literary Chronology.

The Kharosthi has been the subject of a separate passage-at-arms between Hofrath Bühler and M. Halévy. The former, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal,* vol. ix, published an Essay on the "Origin of the Kharosthi Alphabet," which was reprinted in the October and November Numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* of Bombay in 1895. In the same year M. Halévy published in *La Revue Semitique* of October, 1895, Paris, "Un dernier mot sur le Kharosthi." Hofrath Bühler quotes the writings of those, who preceded him on this subject: Mr. James Prinsep's Essay, edited by the late Mr. Edward Thomas; the Alphabet by Dr. Isaac Taylor; and "The Coins of Ancient India," by the late Sir A. Cunningham. The last-named authority lays down that:

(1) The Kharosthi is an Indian Alphabet, not an alien.

(2) It held only a secondary position by the side of the Brahma Alphabet.

(3) Not a single Inscription has been found in it West of the Hindu Kúsh.

(4) The tract, to which the Kharosthi Inscriptions of the third century B.C. are exclusively confined, corresponds to the Gandhára country of ancient India: here this Alphabet must have originated.

Mr. E. Thomas points out the close resemblance of certain signs with the signs in the transitional Aramaic Alphabet; Dr. Isaac Taylor suggested, that the Achaemenian conquest of North-West India, about 500 B.C., led to the introduction of the Aramaic Alphabet into North India.

Hofrath Bühler assumes, that the Persian Satraps carried with them into India a staff of their own subordinates, who were accustomed to the use of the Aramean scripts: this would explain how the inhabitants of Indo-Persian Provinces were driven to utilize these Characters, though already possessed of a script of their own, viz., the Brahma. And, further, he is of opinion, that the Kharosthi did exist in India during the Achaemenian times, and did not originate after the fall of that Empire, and that the Kharosthi and Brahma Alphabets were used together in the Panjáb. This argument is worked out in great detail. He remarks, that it was not a literary or scientific Alphabet, but only of use for the requirements of ordinary life. He assumes the date of the earliest signs to be 500–400 B.C.

M. Halévy agrees that the Alphabet came into existence in Gandhára, as it was pretty well restricted to that Province, and that it was introduced by the Persian Satraps: the two authorities pass into opposing camps on the subject of the date, and M. Halévy places it as late as the time of Alexander the Great, 330 B.C. After a long argument with regard to each letter, in which it is impossible to follow with advantage either of the learned authors, M. Halévy lays down as the result of his inquiry the following four propositions:

I. The Kharosthi and the Brahma have for their common base the same Aramean Alphabet, viz., the Alexandro-Egyptian papyrus, to which also the Pehlevi of the Arsacides is traced back.

II. The Brahma is indebted to the Kharosthi for a series of consonants, and for the system of medial vowels.

III. Both these Alphabets are spontaneous creations, and not the result of a gradual development.

IV. Before the invasion of Alexander the Great, 330 B.C., there was no form of Alphabetic Character in use, either in Persia or in India.

We see that the drift of the argument of the French Scholar is to reduce the antiquity of the Indian script, and

that of the German Scholar is to expand it. My own view is, that the truth will gradually be found somewhere in the middle.

M. Halévy suggests a compound origin for the Brahma Alphabet as follows:

8 Consonants are derived from the Aramaic of 400 B.C.
6 Consonants, 2 Initial Vowels, the Medial Vowels, and Anuswára, are derived from the Kharosthi.
5 Consonants and 2 Initial Vowels are derived from the Greek.

The blending of these materials took place about 325 B.C.

It is well, that this memorable passage-at-arms between such redoubtable antagonists has taken place. Nothing is so dangerous for a theory, or a cause, as unanimous agreement of all. A Judge of Appeal once remarked to the Counsel, who pleaded that all the lower Courts were in favour of his client, "So much the worse for your cause, as it has not been fairly argued out." It seems to come home to the reader, that one is a European and the other an Indian, Scholar. Each has a something which the other has not: the one treats Alphabet as a Universal feature; the other an an Indian speciality. We remark the same antagonism in the case of a clergyman arguing about the early date of the Hebrew Alphabet, and the Scholar, who is *super Religionem*.

The spectacle is a moving one; there has been nothing like it in the History of the world, past or present. In the early centuries the form of Written Character, and Religious conception, were National specialities. The Egyptians had both, but neither of these wonderful developments got beyond the Kingdom of Egypt, and both died where they were born. In Mesopotamia there was a totally different form of Written Character and Religious conception: the latter died where it was born; the former, as we know from the excavations at Tel el Amarna, for a short period anterior to the Hebrew Exodus obtained an extra-territorial expansion, but it died childless, and for centuries

was utterly forgotten. Neither the Egyptian script, nor its Religious conception, died childless. From its script sprang, at some doubtful date, and in some uncertain manner, the germs of the great Alphabetic system destined to rule the World, and to which the Ideographic system of China is the sole antagonist in the nineteenth century. It appears from the admissions of the two great combatants, that it is conceded, that the people of India had no indigenous form of script, and at some doubtful date, and by some uncertain route, derived their idea, and their form, of script from Western Asia. The South Arabian route, which used to commend itself, is in suspense, until these new revelations of Inscriptions in Arabia are expounded. If proved to be of a date antecedent to Moses, they belong to a period long anterior to the date of the possible advent of the Alphabet in India, whether by land or by sea. The utmost that is claimed by Hofrath Bühler is something later than the date of the Moabite Stone (say 800 B.C.); the earliest possible date admitted by M. Halévy is 325 B.C.

About five hundred years is the rift of time, which yawns betwixt the two great Scholars. Something to my mind seems to depend upon the date, on which the Cuneiform script ceased to be used in Persia, and it is certainly an argument for a late date, that it is not enumerated in the 64 or 68 different Alphabets of the Buddhist and Jain. The absence of allusion to the Cuneiform script seems to render necessary a later date, when that wonderful form of writing had been forgotten, and been superseded by the Aramaic Alphabet, or its congener, the Yavanáni. If Darius used it for his Inscriptions at Behistun, it is a fair hypothesis, that his subordinates would have put up Inscriptions in the same script in India, just as at this day Inscriptions are put up by the British in the Roman Character, and on the death of the Emperor Augustus tablets were put up in different parts of the Roman Empire recording what he had done. Those which have survived are in the Greek Character.

Another consideration occurs to me: we make so much at our Epoch of the importance of the discovery of Printing, that we lose sight of the fact of the importance of the discovery of Writing for ordinary purposes of Life. Somehow or other the ancient men in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era did manage to commit to writing literary works, which will live for ever. In the centuries antecedent to the discovery of Alphabetic writing, say 800 B.C. for the Semites, 600 B.C. for the Greeks, 400 B.C. for the people of India, the world was a narrow one, and the voice of man reached to the extent of his environment. Travellers came back with wonderful tales, and delivered them orally; legends were oral, Instruction was oral; the Law was unwritten; the customs of the neighbourhood had the force of Law, and had in each case to be discovered. Even if some could write, could the majority of the ordinary citizens read? Writing might have been useful in those days for Monumental Inscriptions, State-Treaties, State-Records, mercantile business, but not for ordinary life. I have often wondered why Joseph in the pride of his power in a country, where Literature flourished, did not intimate by letter to his Father, that he was alive. It is clear, that there were communications between the countries, as the Hebrews heard that there was corn in Egypt. Perhaps the reason was, that neither Jacob nor his sons, who were nomad shepherds, nor anyone in the country, could read what was written. Nor is there reason to believe, that the Hebrews acquired a knowledge either of the Egyptian Ideograms, or of the Phenician Alphabet, during their sojourn in Egypt. They were cattle-breeders, brickmakers, and, as their own countrymen in after centuries wrote, "in the house of bondage." The Human race is born with the congenital power of speaking; the Census records the number of those who cannot speak. The power of writing is a Human acquisition after much labour. Without proof shown, we can no more accept the statement, that the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus, or the natives of India at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great,

could write and read, than we can in these last days assert, that the inhabitants of Central Africa, or Melanesia, could do so before the arrival of the Missionaries; let the proof be produced, not a mere theory *of what ought to have been.* As stated above, about 800 B.C. the Phenician Alphabet got into general use. Hosea and Amos wrote the books attributed to them about that date. Later on the mercenaries of Psammetichus, King of Egypt, left their names scratched on the legs of the great statues of Abu Simbal, in Upper Egypt, in the Greek Character. Herodotus, the father of History, wrote his immortal work about the close of the fifth century B.C. The people of India never attained the Art of writing History at all.

The evidential value of a long narrative handed down for many generations orally, and receiving accretions, and variations, and undergoing changes, as it passed from mouth to mouth, until it was at length committed to writing in its last stage of gradual development, cannot be compared in freshness with those contemporaneous tablets inscribed at the time, possibly looked at by the Monarch himself, who ordered them to be prepared, and which haughty Time has spared to be witnesses of undoubted genuineness, when the nineteenth century strives to arrive at a just conception of the degree of civilization, to which these ancient races had attained, and which the learned classes of the Greek and Roman periods in their supercilious egotism, and the schools of the European Middle Ages in their profound ignorance, chose to ignore.

By a happy conjunction of circumstances, in the Spring of the year 1843, I was with Professor Lepsius at the Pyramids in Egypt, and took my first elementary lesson in Hieroglyphics. In the Autumn of that year I met in Calcutta Major Henry Rawlinson, traversing India from Herat to Bombay to embark for Baghdad, and his desire was to copy the Cuneiform Inscriptions on Mount Behistun. I had never heard of Cuneiform before. In 1844 I visited Banáras, on my road up to Gandhára or the Panjáb, and heard for the first time of the great names of James Prinsep,

and King Asóka, and his Edicts. These three great intellectual puzzles were then only in germ, and the last half-century has made the world wiser, but we have still a good deal more to learn on each of these great subjects; and, when I think of the succession of great Scholars, whom I have had the honour of conversing with in each of these great παλαίστραι, and ἐργαστήρια, I feel pretty sure, that the next generation, or the one after it, will *know something*, as it has fortunately happened, that in things scientific there cannot be, as in things theological, any attempt to cough down, or sneer at, or put down by force, opposition. The Bulls of Popes, and the Articles of Churches, are of no avail to crush honest discussion. Scientific Truths will hold their own in spite of the ignorance and presumption of mediaeval Authorities, allowed too long to maintain their chains over the reason of mankind. "*E pur si muove*," was the remark of Galileo, when reproved for stating, that the Earth revolved round the Sun, which the Pope of that time considered to be contrary to Scripture-Truth. And the necessity for, and certainty of, an intellectual advance, will continue, until all things are known.

"*Magna est Veritas, et praevalebit.*"

ART. VI.—*The Story of Umm Ḥarám.* Edited in the original Türkish and translated by CLAUDE DELAVAL COBHAM, M.R.A.S., B.C.L., M.A.Oxon., Commissioner of Larnaca, Cyprus.

ABOUT four miles from Larnaca, in Cyprus, on the western shore of the great salt lake from which the town (Túzla) takes its Turkish name, stands the Khálat-i-[1]Sulṭán Tekyé, a much-frequented Moslem shrine. The situation is picturesque. The noble outline of the mountain of the Holy Cross (Santa Croce or Stavro Vouni) bounds the view on the west; and the domes and minaret, embowered in garden and grove, are not without grace, especially when seen reflected in the still waters of the lake. The shrine is held in great veneration by Moslems of every country; vessels carrying the Ottoman flag salute it as they pass, and the gardens are a favourite place of resort on Musalmán holidays. The whole is dedicated to a lady known as Umm Ḥarám bint Milḥán, whose body lies in this holy place.

Her tomb itself is of very great interest. Shrouded from curious eyes in sanctity and black velvet, it defies any accurate examination, but I may claim the merit of recognizing in it a prehistoric monument—tomb, temple, or treasury—bearing very close affinities to two other monolithic structures in Cyprus, known respectively as the Tomb of St. Catherine, near Salamis, and the Hagia Phaneromene, near Larnaca (Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. iv, p. 111, April, 1883). Of the three huge stones of which it is composed, one stands at the head, another at the feet of the corpse, while the covering stone is believed to hang

[1] Cf. p. 100 *infra*, l. 11, and n. 1 *ad calc.*

in air above its companions. The legend of these stones is told in the MS. which follows. The Tekyé has an endowment of 1800 donums of land, with a yearly subsidy of £58, and 3000 okes of salt.

Umm Ḥarám was buried there in the spring of A.D. 649, but we know nothing about the buildings of the Tekyé until 1760, when Meḥmed Ágḥá, Muḥaṣṣil of Cyprus, enclosed the tomb with a wooden barrier. His successor, 'Ajem 'Alí Ágḥá, replaced this in the following year by a wall with two gates of bronze; and before 1787 a stately mosque, with domes and two minarets (one fell in an earthquake some forty years ago), dwelling-rooms and fountains, arose to enhance the fame of the sanctuary. We owe these details to the "Viaggio da Gerusalemme per le coste della Soria" (Livorno, 1787) of the Abbé Gio. Mariti. Premising that the author quite unnecessarily supposes that Cypriot Moslems could have been misled by the error of Constantinos Porphyrogennetos, *περὶ θεμάτων*, xv, who makes "Abú Bekr the first Moslem who crossed over to Cyprus and made himself master of it, in the reign of Heraclius, adding that his daughter died there, and that the place of her burial is still shown," his account may be translated here:—"In the early years of the eighteenth century a dervish of a speculative turn discovered and dug out a commonplace Moslem tomb, and thought it might be a profitable business to inspire the shepherds who fed their flocks thereabouts with a veneration for the place. Old Cypriot Christians assert that it was he who, in furtherance of this project, circulated the story of miracles performed at the tomb.

"Mohammadans, however, hold that the tomb was underground, and being exposed by rains was found by some shepherds, to whom on entering it there appeared a lady of beautiful and majestic aspect, clothed in white and shining garments. They were astounded, but their fears were soon stilled by the lady, who blessed them and their flocks, and revealed to them that she was the aunt of Mohammad, and that her body lay in the tomb which

they had found. The vision, which they believed was sent by their Prophet, who wished to point out for their veneration his aunt's sepulchre, filled them with comfort and happiness, and thenceforth their flocks were ever more and more fruitful. The dervish no doubt had accomplices, who spread through the island the news of the discovery. Crowds rushed to the place: the sick were healed, the lame walked, and left for their homes in perfect health. Such virtue, it was said, lay in the mere touch of the stones.

"Offerings rolled in, and the dervish had wherewith to adorn the shrine he had created. His efforts, and the influence of certain devotees, procured him leave from the Government to build over the tomb a suitable dome, under which a few persons could assemble, as is customary throughout the East at the tomb of any notable saint."

All this scepticism is superfluous. The tomb, whatever its vicissitudes, is certainly the resting-place of Umm Ḥarám bint Milḥán, a historic personage, well known to the early Arab chroniclers. Her father, Milḥán the Anṣárí, had two daughters, the first Umm Suleym, who married Málik, and became the mother of Anas, whom she brought to Mohammad as a boy of eight, who spent his life in the Prophet's service, and became the great source of the Traditions. The second daughter, whose name is uncertain, was surnamed Umm Ḥarám. She married (1) 'Amr bin Qeys, who fought at Badr and was killed at Oḥod, and by him became the mother of 'Abdu'lláh and Qeys; and (2) 'Ubáda ibn aṣ-Ṣámit, to whom she bore a son called Moḥammad. 'Ubáda was one of the XII, of the LXX at 'Aqaba, fought at Badr, taught the Qor'án at Medina, was sent by 'Omar as teacher to Ḥimṣ, became first Qází of Palestine, and died at Jerusalem (some say at Ramla) A.H. 34, *aet. suae* 72. His surname was Abu 'l Walíd, and his nickname Al Ḥubla (the pot-bellied). These genealogical details, and the extracts which follow, I owe to the learning and kindness of my friend Mr. Guy le Strange, M.R.A.S.

*Baládhuri*, Kitábu 'l-Futúḥ, ed. De Goeje, pp. 152-4.—"Mu'áwiya, when Governor of Syria, asked leave of the Khalífa 'Omar to make an expedition over sea; but the Khalífa refused. When 'Othmán became Khalífa, Mu'áwiya wrote again asking for leave to make an expedition against Cyprus, saying how near that island was and how easy the matter would be; but 'Othmán answered that he knew what had been 'Omar's view of the matter, and would not grant leave. However, in A.H. 27 Mu'áwiya again wrote, showing how easily the conquest would be accomplished, and so at last 'Othmán replied granting leave provided that Mu'áwiya took his wife with him—otherwise he should on no account set out. So Mu'áwiya started from 'Akká, having with him many ships, and he carried his wife, Fákhita, with him; while 'Ubáda ibn aṣ-Ṣámit took his wife, Umm Ḥarám, daughter of Milḥán the Anṣárí. This took place in the year 28, after the winter was over (*i.e.* spring of A.D. 649), or some say in the year 29. . . . . Now on this first expedition was Umm Ḥarám, daughter of Milḥán, along with her husband, 'Ubáda ibn aṣ-Ṣámit, and as soon as they reached Cyprus she landed from the ship, and a beast (دابّة) was brought for her to ride. She, however, was thrown by this beast and killed; wherefore her tomb is in Cyprus, and it is called 'the Pious Woman's Grave.'

فقبرها بقبرس تدعى قبر المرأة الصالحة

*Ibnu 'l-Athír*, Chronicle, ed. Tornberg, iii, 75.—"In this expedition died Umm Ḥarám bint Milḥán, for her mule (بغلتها) threw her in the island of Cyprus, so that she broke her neck and died, declaring the truth of what the Prophet had told her how and where she should be the first of those to go beyond the sea."

*Abu 'l-Maḥásin*, ed. Juynboll, i, 95.—"With Mu'áwiya went 'Ubáda and his wife, Umm Ḥarám bint Milḥán; and she received martyrdom, for the Prophet had come to her,

and spoken to her and given her the good news of her martyrdom."

A few years since I obtained from the Sheykh of the Tekyé a copy of a MS. preserved therein which was said to embody all that was known in Cyprus concerning the tomb and its occupant. A second copy, superior in correctness and calligraphy, was given me later by the then Muḥásebejí of Evqáf, Aḥmed Khulúsí Efendi, who with his wife and daughter, his son-in-law and a servant, died of cholera on their return from the Hajj in 1893. This is the text now offered to the reader, and which I have followed in my translation. In the latter I have had the kind help of Mr. A. Utidjian, Chief Translator of Turkish Documents to the Government of Cyprus, and of Mr. E. G. Browne, M.B., M.A., M.R.A.S., Fellow of Pembroke College, and Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, who has most kindly consented to see this paper through the press.

The MS. bears no date, but the writer, Sheykh Ibráhím, seems to have embodied in it the notes left by his father, Sheykh Muṣṭafá, which were begun in A.H. 1177, and enlarged during a visit to Constantinople in A.H. 1210 (A.D. 1795).

The careful administration by the delegates of Evqáf, Mr. M. King, Commissioner of Nicosia, and Meḥmed Ṣádiq Efendi, of the revenues of the Tekyé, enhances yearly the outward dignity of the tomb and its surroundings, and its power to house and assist poorer pilgrims.

The publication of this text will ensure the preservation of a document of which probably not more than three or four copies exist, and the translation of so quaint an account of the life and miracles of this worshipful lady should be interesting to the many English visitors who are welcomed at her shrine.

[TRANSLATION.]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

The fulness of devotion to Umm Ḥarám, daughter of Milḥán: may the Merciful, the Most High and Holy One, be well pleased with her. Lauds without number and praise without limit are most meet to be ascribed to the Majesty of Him, the Self-Existent, who pours forth abundantly blessing and beneficence, who, having distinguished with perfect honour the noble companions and venerable female friends of Mohammad the chosen, crown of apostles and prophets, may the favour and blessing of God Most High be upon him, and having exalted them above all the elect and the vulgar, favoured them with perfect grace, and made them the source of many virtues.

The best of prayers and greetings innumerable are most meet and due to the beloved of God, the prince of Paradise, that ensample to the exalted prophets, the last and first, who illuminated the brilliant hearts of his chosen companions (may God be pleased with them all) with the light of *the saying*—"My companions are like the stars, and if ye follow anyone of them ye shall be led in the road of salvation": and made them to guide their adherents. He more especially delighted the taste and quickened the noble heart of Umm Ḥarám (may God accept her) with the pleasing announcement, "Thou art of the first." And, again, the same prayers and greetings are most fitting to all his family, companions, followers, and friends, who, through their intimacy with that personage of angelic endowments (to whom be the most perfect greetings), having been confidants of his secrets in his solitary retreats, have used their knowledge to confirm the sacred law; so that his followers received into God's mercy may be venerated until the day of judgment; and who in holy and religious war have made mighty effort, wherefrom Islam and the faith arose, and the Book and Qor'án came to light.

And then—This weak, poor, and lowly servant, abounding in faults, a suppliant for the mercy of his Lord, the Mighty One, a servant of the poor of Umm Ḥarám (may God be pleased with her), the Sheykh Ibráhím, son of Sheykh Muṣṭafá (the High, the Highest give them both pardon), has been honoured with the honour of being in the glorious service of that exalted lady, the intercessor interceded for, who (through the mercy of the Lord of the worlds and the guidance of the prince of the apostles) was made a manifestation of wonders and of sanctity, a source of chastity and purity of life. Sheykh Muṣṭafá Efendi, a pillar of the verifiers of truth, a quintessence of those who examine closely, a chief among the wise, my blessed and pardoned father, besides the beautiful account written by him in the year 1177 concerning the venerated intercessor, when on a visit in the year 1210 to the Threshold of Felicity[1] collected on loose sheets many accounts of acts of excellence and virtue, which he extracted and arranged from the books of Traditions, Biographies of the Prophet, Histories of the Companions, and Names of the Narrators existing in its libraries, and while still purposing to compile from these another greatly profitable volume, according to the saying "Death is a cup, and man the drinker," he drank of the cup of death, and delivered up his victorious soul. The mercy of God be upon him, mercy in abundance.

And now through the grace of the Lord of the worlds, and the inspiration of the aunt of the prince of the apostles, and the favour of the precious saints, having (in accordance with the interpretation preferred by the commentators on the sacred traditions, and with the tenor of the legends and histories) translated the sacred sayings copied and collected by the said deceased, and having arranged and written them down in three chapters and an epilogue, under the title "The End of Devotion to Umm Ḥarám," I present the same as a precious gift

[1] *i.e.* Constantinople.

to the present Muḥaṣṣil of Cyprus, Seyyid Ḥasan Ághá, a helper of the faith and despiser of the infidels. May it be that on condescending to peruse it, His Excellency, by reason of his perfect love to the honoured intercessor (may God be pleased with her), live free from cares and sorrows. And God is He who gives prosperity and guidance.

*Chapter I explains what differences exist in the holy name of this exalted lady (may God be pleased with her, and turn her intercession to our profit), and what was her relationship to the lord of the sons of Adam (may the favour and blessing of God be upon him).*

According to the distinct statement of al-Ḥáfiḏh al-Dhahabí,[1] in his book called *The Names of Traditionists*, her holy name is Rumeyṣa. In the *Jámi' aṣ-Ṣaghír*[2] it is expressly called Ramla; according to others it is Sahla. But most of the guardians of traditions say distinctly "*no name of hers is known*," but that her holy title is famous as Umm Ḥarám. This statement al-Ḥáfiḏh ibnu 'l-Ḥajar[3] sets forth precisely in his book, called *Iṣába*, on the names of the companions, and with this the statement of 'Alí al-Qárí[4] in his comment on the holy *Mishkát* is in full agreement. Umm Ḥarám is the same as Umm Muḥtarama, the honoured mother. The lord of men (may the favour and blessing of God be upon him) showed her perfect love in saying to her, "O my mother," and thence she is entitled "the honoured mother." The noble name of her father, one of the Anṣárs of the Banú Najjár, is Milḥán. Men still visit her house in Qubá,[5] saying, "it is the fortunate house of Umm Ḥarám": so it is a place of pilgrimage. Her august husband was 'Ubáda ibn aṣ-Ṣámit, whose surname was Abu'l-Walí. 'Ubáda was the first governor of the province of Palestine.

[1] *i.e.* al-Imám al-Ḥáfiḏh Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabí († A.H. 748 = A.D. 1347). See *Ḥájí Khalfa*, vol. i, pp. 288, 291, etc.

[2] Numerous works bear this title. See *Ḥájí Khalfa*, vol. ii, pp. 550–560.

[3] *Ḥájí Khalfa*, vol. i, p. 323, No. 810.

[4] *i.e.* Núru'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Sulṭán Muḥammad al-Qárí al-Makkí al-Hiraví († A.H. 1014 = A.D. 1605–6). See Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, p. 82.

[5] A quarter of Medina. See Beládhurí, pp. 2–5.

He died at the age of seventy-two years, and was buried in Jerusalem. And this exalted lady was the sister of Umm Suleym, the venerable mother of Anas ibn Málik. In certain histories it is said that Umm Suleym gave suck to the most honoured Prophet (may God be pleased with them both); and as to the kinship it is alleged by Abú Moḥammad ibn Quṭb ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ibráhím that verily our Prophet (may the favour and blessing of God be upon him) gave leave to the honoured mother to search on his holy head for lice, for being his maternal aunt he might be intimate with her, for her ancestors were of his tribe. According to a story derived from Ibn Wahb, she is called his aunt because she gave him the breast; and most of the guardians of traditions give preference to this tradition, and do not concern themselves with any other. And Umm Suleym was the foster-sister of Amína, as say sundry among the guardians of traditions. And in one of the traditions of al-Bukhárí it is said, "and she was his maternal aunt," making this kinship clear; and Umm Ḥarám, together with Umm Suleym, at most times tightened their belts and girded their loins for the service of the Prophet, showing perfect love. May God be pleased with them both.

*Chapter the Second sets forth the holy wars in which she took part, and the purport of the traditions about her.*

There is a story handed down by the servant of the apostle of God (may the favour and blessing of God be upon him), Anas ibn Málik, that that bulbul of the garden of eloquence, that nightingale of the flower-garden of fair speech (to him be the best of praise), honoured with a visit the fortunate house of Umm Ḥarám bint Milḥán (may the Merciful One be pleased with her), and after he had condescended to eat food, that sainted woman searched his august and sacred head for lice; and while thus laying down his sacred head, and proposing to make manifest much divine wisdom and heavenly mysteries, he fell asleep. Now when he rose up from his holy slumber with

a manifestation of joy and display of delight derived during that interval from the enjoyment of divine revelations and godly visions, that revered lady questioned him as to the cause of his smiles, and his perfect joy and cheerfulness. Thereupon that depositary of the divine secrets replied in sweet and life-giving speech: "From the presence of God came to me inspiration and good tidings: a company of those of my faith will, as though sitting on the seats and thrones of kings, spread holy war and forays, for the exalting of the word of God, with longing to approve themselves to God, and will conquer the isles of the seas, and the cities of the coasts thereof, and these of my people will enter into high heaven among those who enter first, without the trial of torment or chastisement. Thus from the presence of God inspiration and good tidings came to me." Thus saying, he gave that holy lady good news, and made her enlightened heart to rejoice. That honoured lady, too, growing eager for such high emprise, and, anxious to take her part with the victors by sea, proffered her request, and with "*Thou art of the first*"—an irrefragable word—was declared of the first of the troop which was to war at sea, and was thus gladdened with good tidings, and rejoiced in heart; and, according as the Prophet said, so it was. Hence it is clearer than the sun that the announcement that his followers would be stablished, that his religion would be made clear and manifest, that the believers would after his death enter upon expeditions and make war for the exalting of the faith, even to the subduing of many islands and cities, and that God Most High would make those who die martyrs worthy of entering Paradise with those who entered first therein, without torment or chastisement, is of the signs of prophethood and of the number of miracles.

*In Chapter Third is set forth when they went out to conquer, and from what quarters they came.*

In the twenty-seventh year of the Flight of the Prophet (to whom be the most perfect of greetings), under the

third Khalífa, 'Othmán ibn 'Affán (may God be pleased with him), leave and permission were given for the waging of war by sea; and Abu Dhar and 'Ubáda ibn aṣ-Ṣámit and his honoured wife, Umm-Ḥarám, and Shaddád ibn Aws,[1] and Abu 'l-Dardá, and Ṭalḥa and Sa'íd ibn Zeyd, and 'Abdu'lláh ibn Nawfal, who were of the greatest among the companions of the apostle of God, and the companions of 'Omar (may God be pleased with them), with very many soldiers, started from Medina, the illuminated, and entered Damascus; and by order of 'Othmán ibn 'Affán, Mo'áwiya ibn Abí Sofyán was appointed to the command. They arrayed a large body of troops and marched out of Damascus, and by way of visitation entered Jerusalem. And after the visitation, by way of Ramla they descended on Tripoli of Syria; and from the ports at Tripoli and the neighbourhood they collected ships and boats, and embarking on them, and circling about the seas, they came to the island of Cyprus. And on landing at a spot about two hours distant from the port of Túzla, the holy woman (may God be pleased with her) was set with all honour on a mule; and on arriving at the place where now her luminous tomb is seen, they were attacked by Genoese infidels, and falling from her beast she broke her pellucid neck, and yielded up her victorious soul, and in that fragrant spot was at once buried. And it is clear that that irrefragable prophetic word, "Thou art of the first," is of the number of the manifest miracles of Mohammad. It is by the perfect divine favour of the Giver of all gifts in the other world that the beloved of God and honoured Prophet (may the favour and blessing of God be upon him) has given life to the hearts of the believers by saying —"If any of the male companions or female disciples be buried in a holy place they will intercede for such dwellers in that place as are worthy of their intercession." So likewise in this life it is by the grace of God that—as it is said by the Imám Munáwí (on him be the mercy of

[1] See *Ibn Quteyba*, p. 159.

the Almighty), in his comment on the *Jámi' aṣ-Ṣaghír*—whenever the people of Damascus are sorely tried by droughts and other troubles, and with full trust appeal to that honoured lady, asking from the Giver of all good and munificence rain and rest, and deliverance from trouble and attack, the Dispeller of all cares and sorrows, God Most High, out of respect to that honoured lady, dispels their anxieties and troubles and grants them His rain and grace. And especially there is no doubt that for those who with earnest endeavour and in full faith make the customary and acceptable visitation to the honoured tomb and revered shrine which contain her sacred body, the Giver of blessings in unequalled wisdom satisfies all their needs. It is the perfect favour and grace of God Most High and Exalted that He has made the aunt of that most glorious of created beings an intercessor for the inhabitants of this island and the visitors who earnestly appeal to her, and that when we confide in her exalted person we attain all our desires and aims in this world and the next. What great fortune and felicity is this! *"This is the grace of God, which He gives to all His servants who seek it; and God is the Lord of the greatest grace."*[1]

*Conclusion, setting forth sundry of the miracles and graces of that exalted lady.*

One of the miracles of that exalted lady (may God be pleased with her) is this:—On her journey from Jerusalem to Ramla she alighted on her way as a guest at the house of a Christian monk. She beheld in the house three huge stones like columns, and to show a marvel and display saintship she desired to buy the said stones from the monk. The monk, fully persuaded of the impossibility of transporting the stones and carrying them away, gave them as a present to the exalted lady. She accepted them, and said—"Let them remain by way of trust; in

[1] Qur'án, lvii, 21.

due time they will be taken away," and departed. And on the evening of her burial the said stones, by the might of the Lord of the worlds, moved from their place, and walking in the sea—a wonderful sight—appeared in this fragrant place; and one of them set itself at her sacred head, one at her holy feet, and the other stone, as though suspended over them, rested there by the power of God. And now, if we look to be instructed, the elevation and juxtaposition with other stones of a stone so huge must be deemed an impossibility. It is, therefore, clear and manifest that the stone is suspended. These marvels are of the number of the prodigies and saintly works of that source of wonders, and of the signs of her high rank. And even now many holy marvels of hers are seen, and those witnessed by pilgrims who seek her trustfully, and by the servants who live about her pleasant shrine, are such as none may number and count. May God be pleased with her, and benefit us through her intercession. We pray Thee, O God, for uprightness in her service, and to exalt us under her banner, through the favour of the chief of the apostles; and praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds.

*Al-Fátiḥat.*

بسم اللّه الرّحمن الرحيم

نهاية الاعتصام لامّ حرام بنت ملحان رضى عنها الرّحمن تعالى وتقدّس، حمد نامعدود وثنای نامحدود اول واجب الوجود ومفيض الخير والجود حضرتلرينه احقدركه سر تاج رسل وانبيا محمّد المصطفى صلّى اللّه تعالى عليه وسلّم حضرتلرينڭ اصحاب كرامى[1] وصحابهٔ[2] ذوى الاحترامنى كمال احترام ايله ممتاز وجميع خواص وعوامه سرافراز قيلوب نعمت تامّه يه مظهر ونيجه فضائله مصدر ايلدى، صلوة ازكى وسلام لايُحصى محبوب خدا و پادشاه هر دوسرا ومقتداى انبيا حضرتلرينه احرى و اولا در كه اصحاب گزين رضوان اللّه عليهم اجمعين حضرتلرينڭ قلوب منيرلريني اصحابى كالنّجوم بايّهم اقتديتم اهتديتم انواريله ضيالنديروب امّتلرينه رهنما اولملريني انها على الخصوص ذائقهٔ امّ حرام رضى اللّه عنهايى اَنْتِ مِنَ ٱلاَوّلينَ خطاب مستطابيله متلذّذ وقلب شريفلريني احيا بيوردقلر وجميع آل واصحابى وَاتباع و احبابى اوزرلرينه اَلْيَقْدركه اول ذات ملكيّة[3] الصّفات عليه اكمل التحيّات حضرتلرينه قربيّتلرى حسبيله خلوتخانهٔ وحدتلرنده مَحْرم اسرار اولوب الى يوم القرار ابقآء شريعت مطهّره وتوقير امّت مرحومه اولنمسنه وسعلرين صرف برله جهاد وغزايه جدّ بليغ ايدوب اسلام وايمان طلوع وكتاب وقرآن ظهوره شروع ايلدى، وبعد بو عبد عاجز فقير وحقير عظيم التقصير الرّاجى عفو ربّى القدير خادم فقراى امّ حرام رضى اللّه عنها الشّيخ ابراهيم بن الشّيخ

[1] MS. كرامتى. [2] MS. صحابيه throughout. [3] MS. مليكة.

مصطفی عفی عنهما العلی الاعلی عنایت ربّ العالمین و هدایت سیّد المرسلین ایله مظهر کرامت و ولایت و منبع عفّت ونزاهت اولان شفیعهٔ مشفعه حضرتلرینك شرف خدمت فاخره‌سی ایله شرفیاب اولوب بیك یوز یتمش یدی سنه‌سنده عمدة المحقّقین و زبدة المدقّقین قطب العارفین مرحوم ومغفور پدرم الشّیخ مصطفی افندینك شفیعهٔ محترمه حقّ عالیلرنده تألیف بیوردقلری رسالهٔ لطیفه‌دن ماعدا بیك ایکیوز اون سنه‌سنده آستانهٔ سعادته تشریفلرنده موجود اولان کتبخانه‌لردن کتب حدیث وسیر نبوی وتواریخ صحابه و اسمآء رواة نام کتابلردن تنقیح وتصریح واوراق پریشان اوزرلرینه نیجه فضآئل ومناقبی جمع ایدوب بر مرتّب کثیر الفوآئد رساله دخی جمع ایتملری مراملری ایکن اَلْمَوْتُ کَأْسٌ وَالْنّاسُ شارِبُهُ منطوقنجه کأس موتدن نوش وتسلیم روح پر فتوح ایلدیلر رحمة اللّه علیه رحمة واسعة ' پس ایمدی بو اثناده عنایت ربّ العالمین واشارت خالهٔ سیّد المرسلین وهمّت پیران عزیزات ایله مرحوم مومی الیهك استنساخ وجمع ایلدیکی احادیث شریفلری شرح حدیثك مختارلری اوزره سیر و تواریخك تحریرلری وجه اوزره ترجمه واوچ باب و برخاتمه اوزرینه ترتیب اولنوب نهایة الاعتصام لامّ حرام اسمیله تسمیه قیلنوب معین دین و مهین کافرین حالا محصّل قبریس السّیّد حسن آغا حضرتلرینه هدیّهٔ بهیّه اوله‌رق تحریر و تسطیر وحضور عالیلرینه اهدا قلنمشدر ' اوله که مطالعه بیوردقلرنده شفیعهٔ محترمه رضی اللّه عنها حضرتلرینه محبّت کامله‌لری حسبیله هموم و غمومدن اَمین اوله‌لر و اللّه الموفّق والمرشد ' باب

اوّل ' سیّدهٔ مشار الیها رضی اللّه عنها ونفعنا اللّه بشفاعتها حضرتلرینڭ اسم شریفلرنده اولان اختلافاتی وسیّد ولدآدم صلّی اللّه علیه وَسلّم حضرتلرینه جهت قرابتلرینی بیان ایدر ' حافظ ذهبی آسماء رواة نام کتابنده جزملرینه گوره اسم شریفلری رُمَیْصاءُ وجامع الصّغیرده تصریح اولندیغنه گوره رُمَیْلَه در و بعضلره گوره سَهْلَه در لکن اکثر حفّاظ حدیث لَمْ یُعْرَفْ لَهَا اِسْمٌ دیو تصریح ایدوب کنیهٔ شریفه‌لریله مشهور در که ام حرامدر ' بو قولی حافظ بن حجر اسمآء صحابه حقّنده اولان اصابه نام کتابده تنصیص وتحریر ایتمشدر ' بوکا بنآءً علی القاری مشکاة شریف شرحنده بو قولی تصریح ایدوب موافقت ایتمشدر ' امّ حرامکه امّ محترمه معناسنه در سیّد البشر صلّی اللّه علیه وسلّم حضرتلری کندیسنه یا امّی دیوب کمال محبّت ایدرلرایدی آنڭچون امّ حرام کنیه‌سیله کنیه‌لنمشدر ' پدرلرینڭ اسم شریفلری ملحاندر انصاردن وبنی نجّاردن ' خانهٔ سعادتلری قباده در حالا امّ حرام حضرتلرینڭ سعادتخانه‌سیدر دیو زیارت ایدرلر زیارتگاهدر ' زوج مکرّملری عبادة بن الصّامت حضرتلریدر ' کنیه‌لری ابو الولید[1] قضآء فلسطینده اوّل والی اولان عباده در قدس مبارکه ده مدفوندر یتمش ایکی یاشنده وفات ایتمشدر ' وشفیعهٔ مشار الیها حضرتلری انس بن مالک حضرتلرینڭ امّ محترملری امّ سلیم حضرتلرینڭ قزقرنداشلریدر ' بعض روایتده امّ سلیم حضرتلری حضرت رسول اکرمی ارضاع بیورمشلردر رضی اللّه عنهنّ ' وَجهَتِ قرابتلری ابی محمّد بن قطب بن یحیی بن ابراهیمدن روایت ایدر که تحقیقا

[1] MS. ابالولیدر.

پیغمبریمز صلّی اللّه تعالی علیه وسلّم حضرتلری رأس شریفلرنده تفتّش قمّلی امّ حرام محترمه حضرتلرینه جواز ویردی زیرا خالاتندن اولوب محرمی ایدی زیرا جدّلری قبیله‌سندندر، ابن وهبدن روایت اولندیغنه گوره من جهة الترضاع خالاتندندر وبو قولی اکثر حفّاظ حدیث ترجیح وغیریه تصدّی ایتمامشلردر وامّ سلیم حضرت امینه‌نڭ رضاعاً قزقرنداشیدر دیو بعض حفّاظ روایت ایتمشلردر وبخاریڭ بعض روایتنده وَكَانَتْ خَالَتَهُ روایتی نسبًا خاله سی اولدیغنی اظهار ایدر وَ شفیعهٔ محترمه امّ سلیم حضرتلریله اکثر اوقاتده خدمت نبویده شدّ نطاق وتشمیر ساق ایدوب کمال محبّت ایدرلر ایدی رضی اللّه عنهن، باب ثانی غزایه تشریفلرینی وحقّنده وارد اولان احادیث شریفلرڭ مفهوملرین بیان ایدر، خادم رسول اللّه صلّی اللّه علیه و سلّم حضرتلری اولان انس بن مالك حضرتلرندن روایت اولنور که اول بلبل باغ بلاغت وعندلیب گلزار فصاحت علیه اکمل الصّلوة حضرتلری امّ حرام بنت ملحان رضی عنها الرّحمن حضرتلرینڭ سعادت‌خانه‌لرینه تشریف و بعد التلطیف اطعام بیوروب شفیعهٔ مشار الیها دخی رأس علیای مصطفویلرندن تفتّش قمّل ایده‌رك رأس شریفلرینی وضعاً نیجه حکمت ربّانی وکشوفات صمدانی تجلّیسنه اراده‌سیله نومه مباشرت بیوروب اول اثناده حاصل اولان کشوفات الهی وتجلّیات ربانینڭ صفاسندن اظهار سرور وابراز حبور ایده‌رك مقام شریفلرندن قائم اولدقلرنده شفیعهٔ محترمه وجه تبسّملرندن و کمال سرور وحبورلرندن سؤال بیوردیلر، اول واقف اسرار الهی دخی سکر نوال اولان ناطقهٔ حیات

مأللریله بیوررلرکه بڭا قبل حقّدن وحی وتبشیر اولوب بنم امّتلرمدن برجماعت ملوکڭ اسرّه واریکه لری اوزرلرنده استقرارلری وغلبه لری درون بحارده اولان جزآئری و سواحلنده واقع مدائنی اعلآءً لکلمات اللّه وابتغآءً لمرضاة اللّه غزا و جهاد ایده‌رك فتح ایده‌جکلری واول امّتلرم اصلا عذاب وعقاب اولنمقسزین دخول اوّلین ایله جنان عالیه‌یه داخلین اوله‌جقلری بڭا قبل حقّدن وحی وتبشیر اولندی دیو شفیعهٔ محترمهٔ یه تبشیر وَ قلب منیرلرین تفریح بیوردقلرنده شفیعهٔ مکرّمه دخی بو گونه عمله راغبه وجملهٔ غزاة بحردن اولمسنی قاصده اولوب استدعا بیوردقلرنده اَنْتِ من الاوّلین نطق لایُرَدّی ایله زمرهٔ غزاة بحرڭ اوّلیننندن اولمسنی تبشیر وتصریح وقلب شفیعهٔ تفریح وَ توشیح بیوروب و بیوردقلری وجه اوزره واقع اولدی ' پس ایمدی امّتنڭ ابقاسنی ودیننڭ ظاهر ونمایان اولمسنی واسلامڭ کندودنصڭره آعلاء دین ایچون غزا و جهاد ایدوب حتّی نیجه جزآئر و مدآئنی فتح ایده‌جکلرینی وغزاده شهید اولنلری حقّ سبحانه وتعالی بلاعذاب ولاعقاب دخول اوّلین ایله دار ثوابه مستحقّین ایتمسنی اخبار اعلام نبوّتدن وجملهٔ معجزاتدن اولمسی اظهر من الشّمسدر ' باب ثالث ' غزایه نه وقتده تشریفلرینی ونه طرفدن تشریف ایتدکلرینی بیان ایدر ' تاریخ هجرة نبویّه علیه اکمل التّحیّه‌نڭ یگرمی یدنجی سنه‌سنده خلیفهٔ ثالث عثمان بن عفّان رضی اللّه عنه حضرتلرینڭ زمان خلافتلرنده غزوهٔ بحره اجازت و رخصت ویریلوب کبار اصحاب رسول اللّهدن ابو ذر وعبادة بن الصّامت وزوجهٔ مکرّمه‌لری امّ حرام حضرتلری وشداد بن اوس وَ ابو الدّردآء

وطلحه وسعيد بن زيد وعبدالله بن نوفل واصحاب عمر رضى الله عنهم حضرتلرندن قتى چوق عساكر ايله مدينهٔ منوره‌دن عزيمت وَ شام شريفه دخوللرنده امر حضرت عثمان بن عفّان ايله معاوية بن ابى سفيان سر عسكر تعيين اولنوب آنلر دخى كلّى عسكر ترتيب ايدوب شام شريفدن خروج ولاجل الزّيارة قدس مباركه‌يه دخول و بعد الزّيارة رمله اوزرندن شام طرابلسنه نزول وطرابلسده و حواليسنده اولان اسكله‌لردن مراكب وسفنلرى جمع اولنوب آندن مراكب وسفاينه ركوب وجلوس ودرون بحاره جولان ايده‌رك جزيرهٔ قبريس طوزله اسكله‌سندن ايكى ساعت مقدارى بعد مسافه سنده طشره خروجلرنده سيّدهٔ مشار اليها رضى الله عنها حضرتلرينى تعظيماً بر بغله اركاب اولنوب قبر منيرلرى اولديغى محلّه تشريفلرنده جنويز كفره‌لرى اوزرلرينه هجوملرنده دابه‌دن سقوط ايله عنق كافوريلرى شكست وروح پر فتوحلرين تسليم برله محلّ شريفهٔ معطّره‌لرينه دفن اولنوب أنْتِ من الاوّلين نطق لايَرُدّ مصطفوى جملهٔ معجزات باهرات حضرت محمدى اولديغى هويدادر، اول واهب العطايا حضرتلرينڭ آخرتده قوللرينه كمال عنايت ربّانيدر كه حبيب اكرم ونبى محترم صلى الله عليه وسلّم حضرتلرى قلوب مؤمنينى احيا بيوروب بيوردىلر كه اگر اصحاب واگر صحابه‌دن بر ارض مباركده مدفون اولسه‌لر اول ارضده ساكن اولنلردن شفاعته مستحقّ اولنلر نقدر وار ايسه آنلرڭ تحت شفاعتلرنده اولورلر، كذلكَ ديناده كرم الوهيّتلرى بودركه امام مناوى عليه رحمة الله‌وى جامع الصغير شرحنده تصريح

ایتمشلر در که اهل شام قلّت باران وسائر آلام ایله مبتلین اولدقلرنده شفیعهٔ محترمه ایله متوسّلین اولدقلری حالده باران و رحمتی اول مفیض الخیر والجود حضرتلرندن طالبین وآلام وهموملرین دفع ایچون اول کاشف الهموم والغمومدن سآئلین اولدقلرنده حقّ جلّ وعلا بو ذات محترمه‌یه حرمةً باران و رحمتنی انعام واحسان بیوروب آلام وهموملرین دفع ایدر خصوصاً جسد شریفنی ضمّ ایدوب حاوی اولان تربهٔ معظّمه و زاویهٔ مکرّمه‌لرینی زیارت مسنونه ومقبوله ایله متوسّلین اولدقلرنده واهب العطایا حضرتلری جمیع حوایجلرینی قضا ایتمه‌سنده اشتباه یوقدر، حقّ سبحانه وتعالی حضرتلرینڭ اهالی جزیره یه ومشتاقین اولان زوّارلره کمال لطف وکرملریدر که اول مفخر موجوداتڭ خالته[1]سنی بزلره شفیع قیلوب ذات علیّه سنه متوسلین اولدیغمزده دنیوی و اخروی مرام ومقصودلریمزه نائل اولمامز نقدر دولت وسعادتدر، ذلك فضل الله یؤتیه من یشآء والله ذو الفضل العظیم، خاتمه، سیّدهٔ مشار الیها حضرتلرینڭ بعض کرامت وفضآئلی بیاننده در، سیّدهٔ مشار الیها رضی الله عنها حضرتلرینڭ جملهٔ کرامتندن بری بودرکه قدس مبارکه دن رمله یه تشریفلرنده بر راهبڭ خانه‌سنه علی طریق المسافرة دخوللرنده راهبڭ خانه سنده اوچ عدد مثال عمود حجر معظّم مشاهده بیوروب اظهار کرامت وابراز ولایت ایچون راهبدن احجار مزبورلری اشترایه طالبه اولوب راهب دخی احجارڭ عدم نقلنی ومحلّندن قالقمغه عدم احتمالنی جزماً شفیعهٔ محترمه‌یه اهدا ایدوب مشار الیها دخی

[1] *Sic* MS. for خاله (Ar. خالة = maternal aunt).

قبول وبطريق الامانه محلّنده قالسون وقتنده اخذ اولنور ديوب عودت
ودفن اولنديغى گيجه احجار مذكوره قدرت ربّ العالمين ايله
محلّلرندن حركت ومشيًا على المآء تماشاى ما شآء اللّه اشبو محلّ
معطّره يه ظهور ايدوب بريسى رأس شريفه وبريسى قدم مباركه لرى
يرينه وبريسى دخى اوزرلرينه حجر معلّق گبى يد قدرة اللّه ايله وضع
اولنوب الآن ديدهٔ عبرت ايله نظر اولندقده او گونه حجر اعظمك
ارتفاع وحجره اتّصالى عادةً محال عدّ اولنمغله حجر معلّق اولديغى
ظاهر ونمايان در، اشبو خوارق عاده اول منبع كرامت و ولايت
حضرتلرينك جملهٔ كراماتندن واظهار علياى مراتبندندر والآن
كرامت شريفه لرى نيجه نيجه ظهور ايدوب مشتاقين اولان زوّارلرى
وزاويهٔ لطيفه لرنده ساكن خدمه لرى مشاهده ايتدكلرى لايُعدّ ولايحصا
در، رضى اللّه عنها ونفعنا اللّه بشفاعتها ونسئلك اللّهمّ الاستقامة
فى خدمتها واحشرنا تحت لوآئها بعناية سيّد المرسلين
وبحرمة جميع الانبيآء والمرسلين والحمد للّه
ربّ العالمين، الفاتحة،
تمت والسّلام
سنه ١٨٩٦ ميلاديه[1]

[1] The last two lines, including the date, occur only in a transcript made from the original MS. for the printer by the translator's instructions.

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ART. VII.—*A Specimen of the Gabrī Dialect of Persia.* Supplied by ARDASHĪR MIHRABĀN of YEZD, and published, with an English translation, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE *Gabrī* dialect, as is well known, is spoken only by the Zoroastrians, or "Guebres," of Persia (by whom it is called "*Darī*"), and is consequently almost confined to the towns of Yezd and Kirmān. It has been discussed, and specimens of it have been published, by Berésine, Rehatsek, Justi, Houtum-Schindler, and Huart (cf. J.R.A.S. for October, 1895, pp. 783–4), yet the total amount of material for its study is so small that the short text which I now propose to publish will, I feel sure, be welcomed by Persian philologists. It was sent to me nearly a year ago, in response to a request more than once repeated, by my friend Ardashīr Mihrabān, whose hospitality I enjoyed during my three weeks' stay at Yezd in the early summer of 1888.

The original of this text (which I print without modification) is very clearly written, fully pointed, and accompanied by an interlinear translation and a few grammatical notes in Persian. For convenience, I shall separate these three elements, beginning with the Gabrī text (in which, to facilitate reference, I shall number the component sentences), and concluding with a transcription into the Roman character, made according to the best of my ability, and an English translation.

## I. *The Gabrī Text.*

بنام یزدان ‘

(۱) ی رُوْزِی یَکْ گُوْرْپُ خَدْ یَکْ پاپَهْنِی پیشِی یَکْ اَرْبابِی
گُرْ شُ[1] کَ‘ (۲) وُشکِی گُرْ شُ[1] گَرْتَ بَ اِیْلاکْ گَپْتِنْ ‘
(۳) اُ اَرْبابِ مِی یِ هَرْدَ شِ[2] وِیاوُنِ سَرْ دُد ‘ (۴) مِی یِ جِی
شُ اِنْ چَرا گِهی شُ دِی کَ وُتْ چِنْ وَخْتِی اُنِ وُ وُسَوْزِی شْ خَ
وُ حُلْ اُمْ هِنْ ‘ (۵) یَکْ رُوْ گُوْرْپُ بِنْشْ گَرْتِ اَرْ اَرْ وُجْ دُرْتوُنْ ‘
(۶) پاپَهْنِی بِیچارَهْ هَرْ چِی دُدُش[3] کُشْت کِ وُجْ خَ مَکُوْ خُدُمِی
پَهْمِنْ تُ اِنْ مُ پِرانِنْ دُ بُ رَهْ بُرْمْ بُ رِهِ کِرِنْ مُ تُوْ مَرارَتْ اِ وِنِنْ
گُوْرْپُ اَزْ خَرْگِرِی گِیشْ[4] دُرْت گُشُشْ[4] نَ کَ‘ (۷) اُشْ[4] وُتْ
کِ خُوْنَدِگِی بِدِرُمْ مِ[5] وِیْرِی اُمْدَهْ مِ وُ وخِینِهْ‘ (۸) مَ فَرْمُوْنِ خُدُ
کارَوانِی اُ سَرْ زِوِین اِ دِوَرْتْ‘ (۹) سُرُوْنِی وُجُشْ اَشْتُفْت وِ دُنْبُ لِی
وُجْ شَ‘ (۱۰) پُرِی رَ نَشَ کِ خِمْ گُرْدِشِی اُمَ‘ (۱۱) اُشْ[6] دِیْدْ
بَلِ خَرِی وُ اُشْتُرِی چُتُ لُکِی مُنِهْ دُرِنْ چَرِنْ‘ (۱۲) گَلِی مُلِی
هَرْدَشْ پِرْنْتُ اُشْ[6] وُرْتُ شِ[6] شِپوِی بُرْ کِشْدْ‘ (۱۳) پاپَهْنِی تَشِی
دِلِی نَرْمِی شِپوِی بُرْ دُشُوْنْ شِ[7] گُوْرْپُ دُدْ کِ اَزْ نُدوُنِی وِ گَپْ
نَشُفْتُوْنِی خَرْ دُ بُ رَهْ گِیر کَپْتِیمْ‘ (۱۴) اُشْتُرْمْ یُسِ شِ[7] سَرِی
دِلِی شِدُدْ نَرْمِی شِ[7] وُتْ دُغْ مَرْگِی گُوْرْپُ وَخْتُشْ وِ بُوتْ تِلاپِی
شِ وُ کِرِهْ‘ (۱۵) ی تِگَهْ رَهْ کِ شُ اِنْ خَرْ بِنْشْ گَرْتِ شَلْدُوْنْ‘
(۱۶) شُ[8] دِیْدْ خَرْ شَلْ بَ‘ (۱۷) بُرِی خَرْشُ شِدِدْ شُ نُدِ بُلُوْنِی

بُرِی بِیْچَارَهْ أُشْتُرْ ' (۱۸) أُشْتُرْ نَرْمِی تُوْخَ شِ وُتْ بَ بَ خُوْبْ مُکْ ' (۱۹) بِدِی جِی ی تِگَهْ رَهْ کِی شُ اِنْ خَرْ وُ مِنْدْ أُمْ اِنْ دَشْتْ پَائِی خَرْشُ بَشْتْ خَرْجِی شُ نُدِ رِی أُشْتُرْ چِ رَکِی أُشْ شُشْتِ کِشُدْ ' (۲۰) أُشْتُرِی پَلَکْ زَدَهْ تُوْخَ نُلُدْ اِشْ تْ رَسُدِنِ سَرِی یَکْ گَرْدِنِهْ ' (۲۱) مُنِ سَرَشِیْ وَوْیْشْتِ شَ ' (۲۲) أُشْتُرْ بِنُشْ کِرْتِ اَرَوْشْتُوْنْ ' (۲۳) خَرْدُدْ وِیدُشْ گُشْتْ کِ تِبِ کِ ' (۲۴) أُشْتُرْ جِی جُوْبُشْ دُدْ کِ تَ دِ[9] وِیرِ تُدْکِ نَرْمِی دِوُتْ[9] کِ خُوْنِشْدِگِی بِدِرُتْ دِ[9] وِیرِی أُمْدَ ' (۲۵) مِ جِی هُمْنِ اَرَوْشْتُوْنِی مِرُمْ مِ[10] وِیرِی أُمْدَ ' (۲۶) أُشْتُرْ اَرَوْشْتُ خَرْشِ گُوِنْدْ ' (۲۷) خَرْ کِی اَزْ بُلُوْئِی أُشْتُرْ تُگْ گَپْتِ اَسْتَ وُ بِلِنْگَشِ[11] مَرْتُوْمَ وُ مَرْتِ ' (۲۸) اَزْ مُ دُشْتُوْنِ مُسِ دِیوَهَهْ کِ بِنْدِی خُدُمِی کِی نَشْنُوِیمْ بِمُکَافُتِ رَسِیمْ رَوِی کِ أُ خَرِ رَسُدْ ' ی ب . . . . .

## II. *The Marginal Notes.*

(1) شُ ضمیر جمع غائب اشارہ بخر و شتر ' (2) شِ ضمیر واحد غائب اشارہ باربار ' (3) شْ ضمیر واحد غائب اشارہ بشتر ' (4) شْ ضمیر واحد غائب اشارہ بخر ' (5) مِ ضمیر واحد متکلم ' (6) أُشْ ' شِ ضمیر واحد غائب اشارہ بساربان ' (7) شِ ضمیر واحد غائب اشارہ بشتر ' (8) شُ ضمیر جمع غائب اشارہ بمردان کاروان ' (9) دِ ضمیر واحد مخاطب اشارہ بخر '

(10) مِ ضمیر واحد متکلّم اشاره بخر و شتر ' (11) پلنگش در زبان دری غیره نیست این لفظی است که بعد از استخوان میآورند احتمال که از پلنگ باشد '

## III. *The Persian Translation.*

(۱) یک روزی یک اُلاغ با یک شتری نزد یک صاحبی کار (می) کردند ' (۲) از بسکه کار کرده بودند لاغر افتادند (یعنی شدند) ' (۳) آن صاحب اینها هر دورا (به) بیابان ول داد ' (۴) اینها هم رفتند و چراگاهی پیدا کردند و تا چند وقتی آنجا آب و سبزی خوردند و (به) حال آمدند ' (۵) یک روز الاغ بنا کرد عر عر آواز داشتن ' (۶) شتر بیچاره هر قدر داد زد که صدا (به) خود مکن کسی میفهمند و می آیند ما(را) میگیرند و دو مرتبه بار بارمان میکنند و در مرارت می اندازند الاغ از خرگری که داشت گوش نکرد ' (۷) گفت که خوانندگی پدرم (به) یادم آمده میخواهم بخوانم ' (۸) در آن حین (به) فرمان خدا کاروانی (در) آن سر زمین می گذشت ' (۹) ساربانی آوازش شنید و دنباله آواز رفت ' (۱۰) زیاد راهی نرفت که خم گردشی آمد ' (۱۱) دید بلی الاغی و شتری چاق و فربه (در) اینجا دارند میچرند ' (۱۲) گِرد گردن هر دورا گرفت و آورد (به) زیر بار کشید ' (۱۳) شتر آتش بدل (یعنی بیچاره) آهسته آهسته زیر بار دشنام (به) الاغ (می) داد که از نادانی

و حرف نشنیدن الاغ دو باره گیر افتادیم ' (۱۴) شتر این غصه (به) سر دلش گذاشته بود آهسته آهسته (می) گفت داغ و مرگ الاغ وقتش به شود تلافی اش باز میکنم ' (۱۵) یک تکه راه که رفتند الاغ بنا کرد (به) لنگیدن ' (۱۶) دیدند الاغ شل شد ' (۱۷) بار الاغ(را) بر داشتند و گذاشتند بالای بار بیچاره شتر (۱۸) شتر آهسته آهسته در خود (می) گفت به به خوب کردیم ' (۱۹) باز هم یک تکه راه که رفتند الاغ وا ماند آمدند و دست و پای الاغ (را) بستند و الاغ هم نهادند روی شتر چراکه (می) توانست (بارها) کشید ' (۲۰) شتر فلک زده (یعنی بد بخت) در خود مینالید و میرفت تا رسیدند سر یک گردنه ' (۲۱) اینجا سرازیر می بایست رفت ' (۲۲) شتر بنا کرد (به) جهیدن ' (۲۳) الاغ داد و بیداد زد که می افتم ' (۲۴) شتر هم جوابش داد که تو یادت میآید که هی هی (می) گفتی که خوانندگیء پدرت (به) یادت آمده ' (۲۵) من هم حالا بر جهیدن مادرم (به) یادم آمده ' (۲۶) شتر بر جهید و الاغ را پائین انداخت ' (۲۷) الاغ که از بالای شتر پائین افتاد استخوان وغیره اش شکست و مرد ' (۲۸) از این حکایت چنین معلوم (پیدا) است که نصیحت کسی که نمی شنویم بسزا (می) رسیم مثالی که آن خر رسید ' تمام شد '

## IV. *Transliteration of Gabrī Text.*

(*â* is here used to represent the very broad sound of *ā*, so characteristic of most Persian dialects, which lies between the pure *o* and the long *ū*, and is, in the above transcript in the Arabic character, generally expressed by the vowel-point *pīsh* (*ẓamma*), which is also used in its ordinary value of *u*.)

(1) Yé rūzhī yak gūrpu khadu yak pā-pahnī pīshī yak arbābī kâr osh ke. (2) Vus-kī kâr osh kerte bé, iplāk kaptin. (3) Â arbābi mī'ī har dé shi vīyāvân sar dâd. (4) Mī'ī jī osh in, u charāgahī osh dī ké, ū tâ chin vakhtī ânī vov u sawzī osh khé ū ḥâl âmu hin. (5) Yak rū' gūrpu binâsh kerti ar-ar vâj dârtūn. (6) Pā-pahnī bīchāré har chī dâdush kusht ki "Vâj-i-khé ma-ku; khudâmī pahmin, u tu in, mâ pirānin, u du bâra bâr mâ bârih kirin, u mâ tû marārat i vinin," gûrpu, az khargirī gīsh dârt, gushush na ké. (7) Osh vât ki, "Khūnindigī bidirum mi vīrī âmda mi vâ vi-khīni." (8) Ma farmân i khudâ, kāravānī u sar zivīn i divart. (9) Sârvânī vâjush ashnuft, va dumbâlī vâj shé. (10) Purī ra na-shé ki khim gardishī âma. (11) Osh dīd bali, kharī ū ushturī châq u lâkī mūni dârin u charin. (12) Galī mâlī har desh pirunt, u osh vurt, u shi shīvī bâr kishâd. (13) Pā-pahnī tashī dilī narmī shīvī bâr dushvân shi gūrpu dâd, ki "Az nâdânī vi gap nashnuftvunī khar du bâra gīr kaptīm." (14) Ushtur mū yâs shi sarī dilī shi dâd, narmī shi vât, "Dâgh u margī gūrpu! Vakhtash vi-būt! Tilāpī shi vâ kirih!" (15) Ye tiké rah ki osh in, khar binâsh kerti shalâdvun. (16) Osh dīd khar shal bé. (17) Bârī khar osh shi-dâd, osh nâdi bâlâ'ī bīchāré ushtur. (18) Ushtur narmī tū khé shi-vât, "Bé bé! khūb mâ ké!" (19) Bidī jī yé tiké rah ki osh in, khar vâ mind, u âmu inu dasht u pā'ī khar osh basht, u khar jī osh nâdi rī ushtur, chira kī osh shusti kishâd. (20) Ushturī palak-zadé tū khé nâlâd, u i shé tâ rasâdini sarī yak gardini'ī. (21) Mūni sar-a-shīv vavyâst i shé. (22) Ushtur binâsh kerti arvashtvun. (23) Khar dâd u vī-dâdush kusht ki "tibi ki!" (24) Ushtur jī juvâb-ash dâd ki, "di vīri tud ki narmī di-vât ki khânindigī bidirut

di vīrī âmda? (25) Mi jī hâmni arvashtvunī mirum mi vīrī âmda." (26) Ushtur arvasht u khar shi gav vinâd. (27) Khar kī az bâlâ'ī ushtur tug kapt, asté ū pilangish martumé u mart. (28) Az mu dâstân imâs dīva hé, ki pindī khudâmī kī nashnuvīm, bi-mukāfâti rasīm, ravī ki â khari rasâd. Yâ bé.

## V. *Translation.*

(1) One day an ass and a camel were working before a farmer. (2) So much had they worked that they became (*lit.* fell) thin. (3) The farmer turned both of them loose (*lit.* gave them their heads) into the open country. (4) They, too, went off, and discovered a pasture, and for some while drank the water and ate the verdure there, and came into (good) condition. (5) One day the ass began to bray. (6) However much the poor camel entreated it, saying, "Do not make this noise: people will understand (that we are here), and will come, and will seize us, and will lay burdens upon us once again, and we shall fall into trouble," the ass, by reason of the folly which possessed it, would not listen to it. (7) It said, "The vocal powers of my father have come into my remembrance, and I want to sing." (8) As God willed it, a caravan was passing through that region. (9) A camel-driver heard its voice, and followed after the sound. (10) He had not gone far when he came to a turn in the road. (11) He saw, yes, an ass and a camel, fat and well-favoured, occupy this place and are grazing (there). (12) He grasped the necks of both animals, and carried them off, and put them under loads. (13) The camel, angry at heart, cursed the ass softly under its load, saying, "We have been (thus) caught again through the folly of the ass, and through its not hearkening to advice." (14) The camel laid this vexation to heart, and kept saying, "Burns and death to the ass! May its time come! I will pay it out!" (15) When they had gone a little way, the ass began to

stumble. (16) They saw that the ass was lame. (17) They took down the ass's load, and placed it on the poor camel. (18) The camel muttered softly to itself, "Bravo! we have done well!" (19) When they had gone yet a little further, the ass collapsed, and they came and bound the ass's fore-legs and hind-legs, and placed the ass also on the camel, because it was able to carry (burdens). (20) The unlucky camel groaned within itself, and went on until they arrived at the top of a pass. (21) Here it was necessary to descend. (22) The camel began to dance. (23) The ass entreated and lamented, saying, "I shall fall!" (24) The camel, too, gave answer, saying, "Dost thou remember how thou wert continually saying that the singing of thy father had come to thy remembrance? (25) Now with me also, the dancing of my mother has come to my remembrance." (26) The camel pranced about and threw the ass down. (27) When the ass fell down from off the camel, its bones and body were broken, and it died. (28) From this story it thus appears, that when we will not hearken to people's advice, we shall meet our deserts, just as that ass did. *Finis.*

# CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1. Reply to Mr. Beveridge's Note on the Panjmana Inscription.

Dear Sir,—If I may be permitted to add a few words in reply to Mr. Beveridge's very interesting note, I will do so as briefly as possible.

In the *first place* I would submit that if Shaibāni Khān had represented a defeat as a victory, he would not be the first, or the last, who has done such a thing. In all ages and among most nations it has been a common practice for both sides to claim a victory on one and the same field; and histories are full of national colouring of this particular kind. There is nothing extraordinary, therefore, in Shaibāni endeavouring to hand down his action with the Qazāks in the light of a victory for himself.

*Secondly* as to Khwāndamīr. This author was not only a "compiler" of history. In the instance under note, he was an inhabitant of the country to which his statements refer, and was a witness of the events that occurred at the period in question. He was a native of Herat, the capital of Khorasan, and was living at his home at the time. He even took a part in the affairs of his country which ended in its invasion by Shaibāni Khān. Thus, in 909 H. (1503–4) he joined the embassy despatched from Herat to Kunduz to invite the Sultan of the latter province to co-operate with the Khorasani rulers against the Usbegs. Again, in 913 H. (1507–8), when Herat had

succumbed, it was Khwāndamīr who drew up the conditions of surrender to the Usbeg chief. He appears also to have continued to live in Herat for some time during the Usbeg occupation, and probably until as late as 916 H. (1510), when the invaders were finally driven out by the Persians, and Shaibāni was killed. He must, therefore, have been thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of 1509–10 to which the inscription relates, and could have had no reason to compile his account of them from other authors. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar seems to have been finished about 1528–9, and the author died in 1534–5.[1]

The Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī was begun only in 1541, and was completed in 1546–7; but the account found there of the proceedings in question bears no resemblance, in detail, to that in the Ḥabīb. It is just possible, though extremely improbable, that Mirza Haidar may have seen a copy of the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, before he wrote his own book, but there is not a shadow of internal evidence in the latter that he derived any information from the Ḥabīb regarding Shaibāni's times. Moreover, the fact that Mirza Haidar agrees with Khwāndamīr goes far towards showing that no personal animosity coloured the Mirza's statements.

*Thirdly.* Vambéry's statement respecting a defeat experienced by Shaibāni's son at the hands of the Qazāks in the autumn of 1510, may be correct; but it is noteworthy (*a*) that M. Vambéry does not give the authority on which it is made; (*b*) no other author known to such careful and accurate searchers and writers as Sir H. Howorth and the late Sani-ud-Daulah,[2] mentions it; (*c*) Mirza Haidar tells us (p. 234) that Timur Sultan (or Muhammad Timur), Shaibāni's son, was close to his father's camp in the neighbourhood of Marv with a large body of men, at the beginning of December, 1510. If

[1] See Elliot's Hist., pp. 142–3 and 155. Also Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, iii, p. 310 (Persian printed edition).

[2] The historiographer of Persia who writes in his Manṭazim-i-Nasivi, under date 915 H.: "During this year Shaibak Khan [Shaibāni] was defeated by Qasim Sultan, a ruler of Dasht-i-Kipchāk, and came in distress to Khorasan."

defeated by the Qazāks on the Jaxartes in October or November, it is just possible that he himself might have been at Marv in the first days of December, but somewhat improbable that he should have been able in that short interval to raise a fresh force. (*d*) It might, I think, be quite as fair to assume that M. Vambéry had "mixed up the two campaigns" (if two there were) as that the contemporary writers should have done so.

*Fourthly.* The Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, as Mr. Beveridge says, "does not speak of Shaibāni having been personally defeated" by the Qazāks. Just so: but the date it indicates for the defeat is that which the inscription gives for the victory, and it makes no mention of any subsequent defeat of Shaibāni's troops in the same year.—Yours faithfully,

NEY ELIAS.

## 2. BUDDHAGHOSA'S SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKĀ IN CHINESE. By J. TAKAKUSU, M.A., Ph.D.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—As an additional note to my article on "Pāli Elements in Chinese Buddhism" (J.R.A.S., July, pp. 415–39), I should like to point out some matters which I ought to have incorporated in that article when I wrote it.

First of all, Professor Max Müller's notice of the "Dotted Record of Past Sages," to which I referred on p. 437, appeared in the *Academy* for March 1, 1884, p. 152, and is reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary* for May, 1884, p. 148, entitled, "The True Date of Buddha's Death." The translation quoted in that article by my friend Bunyu Nanjio is fuller than mine, and gives the name of the Chinese assistant of Saṅghabhadra and that of the monastery where the translation was made. The assistant was a Chinese named "Sang-i," and the monastery "Bamboo Grove," in Canton. These names may perhaps lead to a knowledge of further particulars about the translator himself.

Next I have to add here that Professor W. Wassilief, of St. Petersburg, noticed the book in question, and gave a

summary in "Buddhism in its full development according to the Vinayas," a paper contributed to the "Oriental Notices" published by the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg, in 1895,[1] and concluded that our book looked like a Sinhalese one.

Lastly, in an interview with Professor Sylvain Lévy, of the College de France, I was exceedingly glad to find that he himself had discovered that text independently, and has been preparing a note for publication. Readers of my article will no doubt be glad if he would further notice any points which may have escaped my attention.

I am obliged to Professor Leumann, of Strassburg, and to Professor Lévy, for pointing out some of the particulars given above.—I remain, Sir, your obedient Student,

J. TAKAKUSU.

## 3. SHĀH ISMA'ĪL.

*Teheran.*
*October* 23, 1896.

DEAR SIR,—In the interesting paper by Dr. E. Denison Ross, "On the Early Years of Shāh Isma'īl," in the April number of the R.A.S. Journal, the word ترک (p. 253 *et seq.*) is translated by him as "point," and vocalized *tarak*. It should be *tark*, and means a triangular or wedge-shaped piece of cloth, a gore. For a cap the sides of the triangles are sewn together, and the apices join together and form the peak of the cap. The so-called *shab-kulāh* (night-cap), the *'arak-chīn* (lit. perspiration-gatherer; a little cotton cap worn by Persians under their hats or bonnets), and all dervish caps are made of a number of *tarks*, from four to twelve, and even more, and called *chahar-tarkī*, *davāzdah tarkī*, etc., according to the number of *tarks* composing them. The pieces of canvas or cloth sewn into the conical roofs of tents or into sails are also called

[1] Professor Lévy is intending to publish presently a French translation of this paper in the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions."

*tark*. The *Ferhang-i-Anjuman Arā*, after explaining the word, adds: "Isma'īl Shāh, in order to distinguish the members of the Shī'ah sect, had dervish caps made of red cloth, and each cap consisted of twelve pieces of cloth, and on each piece was sewn (stitched or embroidered, as done now) the name of one of the twelve Imams. These caps were considered the greatest honour which could be bestowed on a Shī'ah noble; and as the caps were red, the families wearing them were called Ḳizil-bāsh, i.e. red-heads." There is a distich of Mīr Razzī Artimānī, which says:

درکلاه فقر میباید سه ترک
ترک دنیا ترک دین وترک سر

"The cap of a dervish should have three *tarks*: abandonment of the world, of religion, and of the head"—a play on the word *tark* as meaning "gore," and (Arabic) meaning "abandonment."

The following explanatory notes and corrections may be of use:—

Page 253. Ḥalīma Begum. The Resāleh-i-Silsileh unnasab-i-Ṣafavīyeh has for the name of Isma'īl's mother Begī Aḳā Khānum.

„ 257 *et seq.* Abiya or Aibeh. The correct form is Aibeh, from Turkish Aibek, "the moon-prince," a common proper name.

„ 258, line 16, after "Azarbāījān" add from Ḥabīb-us-Siyar [to Ahar and Mishkīn].

„ 288. Parnākī head-dress. Parnākī is a misreading for *bar tārak*. The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar has:

طاقیه بر تارک مبارک نهاده

"having placed the *ṭākiya* (a kind of head-dress as worn by Turkomans) on his august head."

„ 298. "Hamstrung." The text has:

بزه کمان از میان برداشت

that is, "with the bow-string he removed him from the midst," i.e. "had him strangled."

Page 299 *et seq.* Alang Kanīz. This should be Olang Kanīz, a small plateau about sixty miles from Isfahan, on the road thence to Burujird. It is now generally called Kaiz and Ḳaiz.

„ 303, line 7. The words from the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar here left out are :

همکنانرا بمزید تربیت و عنایت امید وار کردانید

that is, "he made them all hopeful (assured them) of his utmost favour and protection."

„ *ib.*, line 13. For 'Azīz Kanītī my text has Gharīr Kash.

„ 304, last line of extract from Ḥabīb-us-Siyar, for Luṭf read Laṭīf.

„ 307, line 6. "Punished"; text has *ba yasā rasanīd*, which means "he had (some) *executed*"; the expression is in use now.

„ 328. Tikelī, Tike-ilī=Tekke-ilī, now Takkalū.

„ 332. For Ṭārm read Tārum, district north-west from Ḳazvīn.

„ *ib.*, line 2 from foot. "Ṣūfīs from Shām and Rūm"; text has :

صوفیان از طوایف روم و شام

that is, "Ṣūfīs of the *tribes* of Rūm and Shām," the present Rūmlu and Shāmlu : cf. p. 327, "Arūm Īlī," which=Rūmlu.

„ 333. Kūyī in Khalkhāl ; read Gūyi, generally called Göi. Small town destroyed by earthquake, January, 1896.

„ *ib.* For Khākirlū and Maghānāt read Chākirlū and Moghānāt.

„ 339, line 14 from foot. The words from text here untranslated (see Pers. text, p. 325, line 9) are :

و غلغله نشاط ارباب طریقت از ایوان کیوان درگذشت

that is, "and the uproar of the exultations of the sectarians passed beyond the portal of Saturn (the

seventh heaven)," or, shortly, "the sectarians were overjoyed." The same words occur in the Ḥabīb-us-Siyar's chapter on 'Alī Pādishāh's death.

Page *ib.*, line 5 from foot. "Foster-brothers." The text has *hamshīrehgān*, plural of *hamshīreh*, which means a foster-*sister*, but is now used by men for sister in general; women more frequently employ the word *khwāhar*.—Yours very truly,

A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, M.R.A.S.

*To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

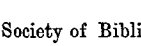
## 4. THE BUDDHIST GODDESS TĀRĀ.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—I notice in the number of the Journal for January, 1896, pp. 241-246, that M. L. Poussin, in reviewing M. de Blonay's essay on Tārā, repeats the old mistaken notion "that Tārā is a Brahmanic goddess of naturalistic origin, for her name signifies a star." He will find conclusive evidence against such views, also much new information on the subject, in my article on Tārā in the Journal for January, 1894, and in my *Buddhism of Tibet*.

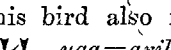
L. A. WADDELL.

## 5. "ANTIQUITY OF EASTERN FALCONRY."

DEAR SIR,—Mr. W. F. Sinclair asks, on p. 793 of the J.R.A.S. for 1896, for some authority for the use of trained falcons in the East before the first century A.D. It is true that hunting with the falcon cannot be proved from the Assyrian sculptures, but I published in 1884[1] extracts from some omen tablets which seem to show that falconry was practised at the time those texts were written, probably at a very early period.

The bird in question is called  , *surdû*, and is said to hunt; and if, when doing so, it crossed from the

[1] Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for Jan. 8 of that year.

right to the left (or from the left to the right) of the king, then the king would make a conquest of his enemy, etc. There are also omens from the *surdū* tearing his prey with his beak, hunting his prey at the house of a man, etc.; and certain incomplete lines speak of him fighting with the eagle.[1] This bird also fought with the raven (  , *uga=aribu*), and there are omens for the king from the *surdū* killing, or being killed by, the former. Books of natural history tell us that contests such as are here spoken of, between the falcon and the raven, actually occur. Another name of the *surdū* was *kasusu*.

See also Fried. Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 511*b*, 545*a*, 164*b*.

THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES.

## 6. THE MEANING OF TAO.

SIR,—With regard to our discussion on the Tao after General Alexander's paper on the 10th November, the point for which I then contended, namely, that the expression which was so often on the lips of the keeper of the archives at Loh-yang could never be faithfully rendered in English by 'God,' I have since found confirmed by a reference to the Tao-tē King itself.

In the fourth chapter of that work Lao-tse says: "The Tao is empty: he who uses it must not be full. Oh! the Abyss! It is like the origin of all things. He (who uses it) blunts his sharp points that he may unravel their tangles, and subdues his light that he may share their ignorance. How still is the Tao, as though containing all things! I do not know whose son it is. It existed before the form (of Heaven), before God himself!"

The word here used is *Ti*, which is sometimes applied to the emperor, but in philosophical works is almost invariably equivalent to Tien-Chu, 'Heaven-Lord,' the expression chosen

[1] *Surdu u našru lâ mitguru-ma imtaḫḫaṣu*, "the *surdu* and the eagle do not agree, and fight."

by the Jesuits to represent 'Dieu.' Not infrequently the word *shang* 'over' is prefixed to Ti, so that now the form *Shang-Ti* has come to be generally recognized by all Protestant missionaries as the Chinese equivalent of the Christian Ideal.

The radical of the character for Tao is 162, meaning 'motion.' Hence the primary signification is Path or Way, and this is the meaning assigned to it in the *Shu King* and in the *Sacred Edict*. Confucius also uses it in this sense, but with a decidedly ethical colouring: it is the Path of Virtue (Chung Yung, cap. xxvii), and even Conscience itself (Analects, cap. viii). Lao-tse tells us (cap. xxxv) that it is 'hidden and nameless, but confers itself well on all things and attains self-realization.' In one passage we read (cap. xxi): "I know not its Name: I call it the Way. If I am forced to name it, I say it is Greatness. Of this Greatness we say it ever moves on, reaching into the far distance, unlike all else."

Thus, to the author of the most philosophical work which China has produced, Tao is the unutterable Way of Life, the nameless secret of existence.

Early in the year I had the opportunity of discussing this very question with Monseigneur Professor de Harlez. In the course of conversation I ventured to suggest: "C'est le grand Sans-Nom!" His answer was: "Oui, c'est cela, justement."—Yours, faithfully,

HERBERT BAYNES.

*To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1896.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*November* 10, 1896.—Mr. H. Beveridge in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss C. M. Duff,
Professor Deussen,
Mr. H. A. Bhojvani,
Mr. S. C. Lahary,
Mr. A. Charan Dass,
Mr. Jyan Takakusu,
Dr. R. Paulusz,
Mr. V. S. B. Mudaliar,
Mr. C. J. Marzetti,
Babu Kedar Nath Dutt,

had been elected members of the Society.

General G. G. Alexander, C.B., M.R.A.S., read a paper "On the Most Appropriate Equivalent for the Word 'Tâo' as used by Lâo-tsze." After pointing out how greatly the thoughts and meaning of the great Chinese had been obscured through translators having failed to agree on some term which would accurately convey the author's intention, General Alexander proceeded to show from the several translations that whilst the word 'Tâo' had either been left untranslated, or rendered by some supposed equivalent such as 'Reason,' 'the Road,' 'the Way,' or 'Nature,' the several translators had in their notes or prefaces been unanimous in declaring that, in a greater or lesser degree,

the word 'Tâo' contained within it an idea which could not be separated from the one which naturally belongs in some form or other to a conception of a deity; and in the case of Von Strauss, though he left the word untranslated, he had in his preface, after enumerating all the attributes which Lâo-tsze had attached to the Tâo, declared that it was quite impossible that any other rendering could be correctly used than the word 'God.' In support of this view General Alexander proceeded to show that, setting aside all the misleading aid of the Chinese commentators, the text of the 'Tâo-tîh-king' amply sufficed to establish it. It was found in the very first chapter that the 'Tâo' was the great First Cause, undefinable and unnamable, a knowledge of whom was only to be gained by those who were pure of heart; and in subsequent chapters that he was an invisible spirit, only to be recognized through his works, the universal protector and refuge, the pardoner of all who applied to him, and the nourisher and sustainer of the whole world, and that hence it was he was held in such high honour. General Alexander then contrasted the views of Confucius with those of Lâo-tsze, and finally wound up by observing that, in addition to what had been brought forward, the word 'Logos' had been suggested by several of the translators as possibly the nearest approach to a correct rendering of the word; and, singularly enough, in our translation of the Gospels 'Tâo' is the substitute for 'Logos' in the first chapter of St. John, and as the words 'Te,' 'Shante,' and 'Thien' have been all translated by and accepted for the word 'God,' it is inconceivable that any objection should be taken to the use of that term when applied to the far higher conception of the Deity formulated by Lâo-tsze.

The Chairman then read the following letter addressed to the President from Professor Douglas:—

*British Museum.*
*November* 10.

DEAR LORD REAY,—I extremely regret my inability to be present this afternoon at the meeting of the Society.

I should much have liked to have heard General Alexander's paper. His contention is an interesting one, and I should have liked to have listened to his arguments in support of it. I cannot, however, agree with him in his choice of *God* as the equivalent of Laotzu's *Tao*. The commonly accepted idea of God is that of a personal deity, who is not only the creator of the universe, but also the intimate guide and director of the world and of the affairs of men. *Tao*, on the other hand, was distinctly impersonal, indefinite, and unconscious, and should, if expressed in English at all, be expressed by some such periphrasis as "(1) the Absolute, the totality of Beings and Things; (2) the phenomenal world and its order; and (3) the ethical nature of the good man and the principle of his action."

But it helps us better to understand Laotzu and his teaching if we glance at the history of his doctrines. There can be no doubt that he was largely imbued with Indian philosophy. It is impossible to study the metaphysics of Brahminism without being struck with the marked similarity, and almost identity, which exists between the philosophy of the Brahmins and that expounded by Laotzu. Sir M. Monier-Williams quotes in his "Hinduism" the following passage from the *Iśa Upanishad*, which is strikingly descriptive of the leading attributes of *Tao*:—

"Whate'er exists within this universe
Is all to be regarded as enveloped
By the great Lord, as if wrapped in a vesture.
There is only one Being who exists
Unmoved, yet moving swifter than the mind;
Who far outstrips the senses, though as gods
They strive to reach him; who, himself at rest,
Transcends the fleetest flight of other beings;
Who, like the air, supports all vital action.
He moves, yet moves not; he is far, yet near;
He is within this universe. Whoe'er beholds
All living creatures as in him, and him—
The universal spirit—as in all
Henceforth regards no creature with contempt."

*Tao* we are told by Laotzu is "all-pervading . . . all things wait upon it for life, and it refuses none; all things return home to it; it is the hidden sanctuary of all being; it is inactive and yet leaves nothing undone."

Much more might be quoted in support of the same comparison, and in my opinion *Tao* as used by Laotzu is much more nearly related to "the impersonal Brahma, the universal, self-existing soul," than it is to our idea of God.—Believe me to be, my Lord, yours truly,

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

Mr. H. Baynes, Mr. Sturdy, Mr. C. Fox, and the Chairman took part in the discussion.

*December* 8, 1896.—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. C. Khirod Ray,
Mr. Bihārī Lāl Rai,

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. Henry Morris, on the subject of Transliteration, reported that the Bible Society had passed a resolution practically approving the Congress scheme of Transliteration, and called attention to a letter in the *Times* newspaper on the transliteration of Hausa.

The Secretary then read a paper by Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra on "The Har Parauri, or Bihari Women's Ceremony for producing Rain."

In the discussion which followed Mr. Kennedy pointed out that a similar, practically the same, ceremony had been several times described in published works, and most fully in Lady Fanny Parke's charming Journal of 1870. A similar ceremony was also reported from Russia. It was difficult to believe that the cursing had anything to do with sacrifice. It was simply a device to avert too great luck, and it was not uncommon for the ideas of fertility and nakedness to go together.

Mr. Sewell said he recollected two cases of hook swinging for rain during the Madras famine of 1877. In those cases the permission of the police was previously obtained.

Mr. Brandreth said that hook swinging had been a frequent custom in Bengal until it was stopped by Government. But it had there no reference to rain. The men

swung were partly supported by a cloth; and the same men would be swung time after time. It seemed to do them little or no harm, and they made a living of it.

Mr. Beveridge, Dr. Leitner, and Mr. Baynes also took part in the discussion. The paper will appear in a subsequent number.

## II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

### 1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band L, Heft 3.

Steinschneider (M.). Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen.

Fraenkel (S.). Die Sprache des Josippen.

Oldenberg (H.). Vedische Untersuchungen.

Glaser (E.). Die altabessinische Inschrift von Matarâ.

Goldziher (I.). Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesen bei den Muhammedanern.

Jolly (J.). Beiträge zur indischen Rechtsgeschichte.

Seybold (C. F.). Zu A. Fischer's "Die altarabischen Namen der sieben Wochentage." SS. 220–226.

### 2. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. x, No. 3.

Müller (D. H.). Die Bauinschrift des Barrekub.

———— Die Obelisk-Inschrift bei Matarâ.

——— (W. Max). Altafrikanische Glossen.

Künstlinger (D.). Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter.

Chalathiantz (G.). Fragmente iranischer Sagen bei Grigor Magistros.

Hirth (Fr.). Ueber die chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss Centralasiens unter der Herrschaft der Sassaniden etwa in der Zeit 500 bis 650.

Baynes (H.). The Mirror of Truth, or Bauddha Confession of Faith.

## III. Obituary Notice.

### *Sir James Abbott, K.C.B.*

We have to record the death of this distinguished veteran, the last of that company of Soldiers, and Civilians, who built up to its present grandeur the Empire of British India. He was born in 1807, and in a short time would have completed ninety years. He took a conspicuous part in the first Afghan War: there are very few alive now who, like myself, have held converse with the great men of that period—Nott, Pollock, Richmond, Sale, Havelock, Broadfoot, all of whom crossed the Satlaj on that famous day in 1842, when Lord Ellenborough welcomed the returning troops. James Abbott, who has just died, had distinguished himself before that date, but he was not there.

James Abbott went to India at the age of sixteen in 1823: he was present at the siege of Bhurtpúr in 1825–6. He went to Herát in 1838, and thence in 1839 he started on a mission to attach the Khan of Khiva to the British cause: he passed through the then mysterious region of Merv, and was the first Englishman, who crossed the Oxus, and reached Khiva. Stoddart and Conolly were at that time prisoners in Bokhára, where they died. Abbott persuaded the Khan to entrust him with a mission to the Emperor of Russia to arrange for mutual restoration of captives. In March, 1840, he made his way to the Caspian Sea, and thence to Orenburg, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, was admitted to an interview with the Emperor, and gained his object.

On returning to India he was employed in Civil posts in Rajputána: when the Sikh War broke out in 1845 he was not with his brothers, and myself, in the great battles on the River Satlaj, but, after peace had been declared, he was employed to demark the frontier of Kashmir and the Hazaruh, and there he was when the Panjáb War broke out in 1848: there I visited him in 1850, and the name of Abbotabad records the Civil Station,

which he founded. He attached the people to him personally: that was the secret in those days of managing Districts in the Panjáb: "the iron hand in the velvet glove": there he remained until 1853, engaged in a work of pacification, with occasional raids across the River Indus into the Region of the Black Mountain, the Aornos of Alexander the Great.

Thirty years of service had left him still a Major: in 1867 he took leave of India with the rank of Major-General: honours had been dealt out charily to him: in 1873 he was made a C.B., and in 1894 a K.C.B.: we may justly apply to him the words of Metternich in 1814 with regard to Lord Castlereagh, the English Ambassador, who appeared at the Court of Vienna, in the midst of men covered with decorations, in simple costume with not one order: "moins decoré, plus distingué." The Roman Historian Tacitus would have composed some stinging sentences with regard to the man, who had done things worth recording, and written books worth reading, who had achieved great things, while others had carried off the honours: for in looking back through the Annals of British India from 1844 to 1867, amidst the galaxy of great men, Military and Civil, who passed before me over the stage (and with the exception of Sir James Outram, I came into contact with them all), no more knightly form fell under my eye than that of James Abbott, the "preux chevalier" who was ready to sacrifice his own life to save that of poor Afghan female slaves; who was not afraid to meet the cruel fate of Stoddart and Conolly, and made in his diary of that date the following entry after saving human lives: "Whatever now befalls me, death, captivity, or success, I shall bless God, that I have visited Khiva." Such men are required to complete the picture of the group of servants of the State who, since the great frontier campaign of 1845–6, have made India what it is.

I had been drawn to him before I met him in 1850, 46 years ago, by his writings, for he was a poet, an antiquarian, and a man of letters; not a mere uncultured sabreur, or an unlettered official. He contributed twenty papers to the Journal of our Mother-Society, the Bengal

Asiatic Society, on a variety of subjects, such as, the quality of a sword-blade, on fragments of Greek Sculpture in the Panjáb (in which subject he was the earliest in the field); he identified the Black Mountain of Mahaban with the Aornos of the Roman chronicler; and he revived in me an interest in my classic studies, which the duties of Peace and War had partially destroyed. As one of the earliest English officials in the Panjáb, I dwelt on the banks of the River Hyphasis, which we called the Beas, and the Sanskrit authors the Vipása. Recalling the story of Alexander the Great, as learned in the sixth form at Eton, I felt an interest to look for the twelve Altars, and the inscription "Ego, Alexander, huc perveni," the Latin translation of the Greek words; and with the help of James Abbott I subsequently traversed, in 1850, the scene of the Grecian King's greatest battle on the Hydaspes, now called the Jhelum, and I sailed down that River into the great River, the Acesines, now the Chenáb, and thence into the Indus; and I thought of the time when the echo of those dreary wastes rang to the Greek Trumpet, and the great son of Philip of Macedon forced his way into Regions then unknown to the Grecian world; and which remained unknown up to the time, when James Abbott first described them.

Oh! if those recreant Macedonian troops had, more than two thousand years ago, not mutinied on the borders of my first Panjáb District, Alexander would have crossed the Hyphasis or Beas, and the Hysúdrus or Satlaj, and worked his way to the banks of the Jamna, and, embarking there, would have sailed down into the Ganges, and would perhaps have come into contact with King Asóka, the inscriber on the Rocks of India of the great Edicts. Many matters still unsolved regarding the History of the Indian Alphabet and of the Indian Religion would have been solved; and the subject of this Memoir made the first contribution to the unfinished stories of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, answering questions, to which the Greeks and Romans failed to give any reply.

I subjoin a list of the more notable of his works, but by no means an exhaustive one.

*List of Publications.*

POETRY.

1. "The Thakoorine, a legend of Maundoo." Madden, London, 1841. Second Edition, Kegan Paul, London, 1893.
2. "Tales of the Forest." Madden, London, 1853.
3. "Legends and Ballads." Calcutta, 1854.
4. "Prometheus' Daughter." London, 1851.
5. "Allah uddeen." Smith and Elder, 1880.

PROSE.

6. Contributions to East India United Service Journal before the year 1830:
   - A. "The Private Sentinel."
   - B. "Narrative of the Joudpore Countermarch."
   - C. "Narrative of a Journey from Mhow in Malwa to Agra."
   - D. "Journal of Lieut. C. Bannemore."
   - E. "Barrack Sketches."
7. "Narrative of a Journey from Meerut in North India to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg during the late Russian Invasion of Khiva, with some account of the Court of Khiva and Kingdom of Kharesm." Two vols. Allen, London, 1843. Second Edition, Smith, Elder, and Co., 1867. Third Edition, W. H. Allen, 1884.
8. Contributions to a Periodical (name not known):
   - A. "On the Ballads and Legends of the Panjáb," with a Plate of Coins.
   - B. "On the Mirage of India."
9. Contributions to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta:
   - A. "Some account of the Camps and Battlefield of Alexander the Great and Porus." 1849.

B. "On the Sites of Nikaia and Bouképhala."
C. "Gradus ad Aornon."

10. Contribution to the Agri Horticultural Society's Journal, vol. xi, part 2:
"On the Undeveloped Resources of our Indian Empire."

ROBERT N. CUST,
*October*, 1896. *Hon. Sec. to R.A.S.*

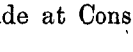
## IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

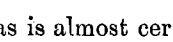
*Caitanya.*—Under the title of Śrī Gauranga Līlā Smaraṇa Mangala Stotray, the well-known Vaishṇava Śrī Kedāranatha Bhakti-vinod, M.R.A.S., has published a poem in Sanskrit on the life and teachings of Caitanya. It is accompanied with a commentary, also in Sanskrit, in which the subject is further elucidated, and is preceded by an Introduction of 63 pages in English, in which the doctrines taught by Caitanya are set out in somewhat full detail; this position, more especially as against Śankara and the Advaita Vedantists, is explained at length. The little volume will add to our knowledge of this remarkable reformer, and we express our thanks to Bhakti-vinod for giving it us in English and Sanskrit, rather than in Bangālī, in which language it must necessarily have remained a closed book to European students of the religious life of India.

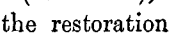
*Sinhalese and its Allied Dialects.*—In the "Sitzungsberichte" of the Royal Bavarian Academy for 1896, vol. ii, Dr. Geiger has published a most interesting account of his too short sojourn in Ceylon, from December, 1895, to March, 1896. He first gives an account of the way in which he spent the time at his disposal, and then deals with the linguistic results of his journey. He hopes shortly to bring out these results in fuller form, and they are to include the following essays: (1) On the language of the

Rodiyas; (2) On the etymology of Old Sinhalese or Elu; (3) On Sinhalese itself, with a summary of the history of Sinhalese literature. This will appear in Bühler's Grundriss. (4) On the language of the Maldive Islands; (5) On the language of the Woeddas or Veddas. The best thanks of students of philology are due to the Bavarian Academy and to the Bavarian Government for rendering it possible for Dr. Geiger to undertake this journey, so full of promise from the historical and philological point of view. And we hope that the illness from which Dr. Geiger unfortunately suffered during his stay in the island will not prevent him from making soon accessible to scholars the very varied and important series of essays he thus promises.

THE extremely interesting archaic plan of a field with measurements, situated near the city of Dungi-sib-kalama, published in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Inscriptions by Professor J. Oppert, is well worthy of notice. Professor Oppert's valuable studies of the metrology of the Babylonians will cause all students to turn with interest to his remarks upon the measures. From this plan, and from the texts treated of by Reisner (*Berliner Akademie*, April, 1896), Prof. Oppert argues that is equivalent to 3600, to 600,  to 60, to 10, and to 1, during the period (before 2506 B.C.) to which the tablet belongs. The copy of the text was made at Constantinople by Father Scheil.

M. Thureau Dangin has also treated of this "Cadastre," which he was the first to see, and he has published a really excellent copy of it (*Recueil de Travaux*). The results of his study of the text, based upon the metrical system of Reisner ( = 1, = $\frac{1}{18}$, etc.), differs, however, greatly from Prof. Oppert's, as will be seen from a comparison of the corrected plans given by these scholars. The date is  , "Year he (the king) ravaged the land of Šašru$^{m}$," and if the Šašru$^{m}$ here

mentioned be (as is almost certain) the  , *Bêt-Šašru*$^{m}$, of a small tablet now in America, this text belongs to the reign of Bur-Sin.

In the same number of the *Comptes Rendus* M. Thureau Dangin gives some interesting notes upon dates attached to tablets of the time of Sargon of Agade (3800 B.C.), his son Narâm-Sin (3750 B.C.), and Lugal-ušum-gal. These dates refer to the restoration of temples, and to Sargon's subjugation of Elam, Zaḫara, Šarlak king of Kutium, and the land of the Amorites. It is noteworthy that Zaḫara is described as being  , *in buti Upê* (or *Upia*) [D.S.], "before Opis" (so I translate). Without doubt many more of these texts will come to light.

T. G. P.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology Mr. F. Ll. Griffith translates the "Stela of Meutuhetep, son of Hepy," of the Flinders Petrie Collection, and therein examines the frequent but difficult expression in the funeral tablets,  in which, though inconclusive, his remarks are exceedingly valuable. The style of the monument described by Mr. Griffith is that of the Middle Kingdom, and it is noteworthy that it "makes mention of a succession of deficient rises of the Nile continuing apparently for the unparalleled period of twenty-five years."

Signor Pellegrini, who makes, apparently, a speciality of deciphering difficult texts, publishes in the *Archivio Storico Siciliano* a paper upon the Egyptian Inscription in the Museum of Palermo referring to offerings and certain festivals instituted by the Pharaohs of the fourth and fifth dynasties, Senefru, Shepses-kaf, User-kaf, Sahu-Ra, and Nefer-ar-ka-Ra (cf. Petrie, "History of Egypt," vol. i, pp. 30, 68 ff.). As a part of the text is very difficult to copy, on account of its bad state of preservation, the new facsimile that Signor Pellegrini gives will doubtless interest students.

## V. Notices of Books.

### Die Reden Gotama Buddha's aus der mittleren Samlung (Majjhima Nikāya) zum ersten Mal übersetzt, von Karl Eugen Neumann.

We have read with great interest the translation of the first fifty Suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya which Dr. Neumann offers us as a first instalment of this most important book. The Majjhima Nikāya has never been translated before (excepting three Suttas contained in the eleventh volume of the Sacred Books), and thus Dr. Neumann's work may be considered as quite original. He begins by a short preface, giving his opinion about the value of the Pāli commentaries, especially those written by Buddhaghosa. Since nobody has translated the Majjhima Nikāya before him, he has had no occasion to controvert the renderings of his predecessors, as was done, for instance, in his translation of the Dhammapada (Der Wahrheitspfad), published some years ago.

Although Dr. Neumann states in his preface that he does not rely too much on these Pāli commentaries, and although he gives us a number of instances where they are certainly wrong, still his translation shows that he has studied them thoroughly. Whenever he gives a rendering different from that of Buddhaghosa, we may believe that he has done so after full consideration; the only thing we regret is that his notes are not more numerous, and that in very few cases only we are informed why he has adopted this rendering in preference to any other one.

On the whole the translation reads very well. The language is clear, and the rendering of the religious technical terms is satisfactory throughout. In perusing the book I only found a few errors, and these are of no great consequence. Page 409: the Pāli words, 'yañ ñad eva bhikkhave paccayaṃ paṭicca uppajjati viññāṇaṃ tena ten' eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati,' are translated 'Aus was für einem

Grunde Bewusstsein entsteht, gerade durch diesen und nur durch diesen kommt es zu Stande.' Now the term 'saṅkhaṃ gacchati' is rendered correctly in Childers' dictionary 'to be reckoned as, to be called or termed,' and therefore the meaning of our passage is this: 'Aus was für einem Grunde Bewusstsein entsteht, gerade danach und danach allein wird es benannt.' Page 363: 'seyyathā pi nāma kuñjaro saṭṭhihāyano gambhīraṃ pokkharaṇiṃ ogāhitvā saṇadhovikaṃ nāma kīḷitajātaṃ kīḷati' is translated 'Gleichwie ein sechzigjähriger Elephant in einen tiefen Lotusweiher steigt und ein Spritzbad zur Erholung nimmt.' The translation is correct, but not literal, and here Dr. Neumann should have given in a note the reasons why he translated this way. 'Saṇadhovika' is a mistake for 'sāṇadhovika,' and this means literally 'cloth-washing.' The commentary tells us that the cloth-washing was considered as a great festival in India, and that it was accompanied by all sorts of aquatic sports, in which even the elephants used to take part. So there is no question of a simple shower-bath, as Dr. Neumann's translation would suggest. In the same Sutta, three pages further on, we have the words 'jāpetāyaṃ vā jāpetuṃ' rendered by 'einen in die Acht zu erklärenden ächten zu lassen.' The verb 'jāpeti' occurs also Milindapañha, pp. 171, 227, 402 (Rhys Davids' translation, i, p. 240; ii, pp. 29, 342). I now believe that Rhys Davids' derivation from 'jyā' is correct, and that we must not read 'jhāpeti' instead, as I suggested in my Pāli Grammar, p. 37. The meaning would be 'to fine one who ought to be fined,' not 'to proscribe' as Neumann has it. The commentary reads 'jhāpetuṃ,' and would have supported me in the mistake I made twelve years ago.

Page 370: the words 'visūkayitāni, visevitāni, vipphanditāni' are translated 'Stacheln, Dornen, Zacken.' Most probably Dr. Neumann has chosen these expressions because in the foregoing allegory a crab is mentioned whose limbs are broken by stones and pebbles thrown at him by naughty boys and girls. The identical passage without

the allegory occurs again, Saṃyutta Nikāya, xii, 35, 14; and Warren, in his 'Buddhism in Translations,' p. 168, renders it 'puppet-shows, resorts, writhings.' The first of the three, 'visūkayitāni,' is evidently derived from 'visūka,' and is used in the same sense as 'diṭṭhivisūka,' Suttanipāta 55, where Fausböll translates it 'the harshness of the philosophical views.' 'Vipphandita' is given by Childers with the meaning 'sceptical agitation'; and 'visevita,' which does not occur anywhere else, evidently means 'deceit, hypocrisy.' Saccaka Niganṭhaputta's heretical opinions are refuted by the Buddha, and he is unable to continue his discourse with him, just as the crab is unable to move with his broken limbs.

Page 280: Dr. Neumann translates 'sottiya' by 'Fertiger.' I would prefer 'Befreiter' if he wanted to render it according to the etymology given in the text (from *sru* 'to flow down').

Page 124: 'ubbhaṭṭhaka' is rendered by 'Stetigsteher.' I think 'Aufrechtsteher' would be better, as 'ubbha' represents Saṃskṛit 'ūrdhva.' The whole passage occurs again, Aṅguttara Nikāya, iv, 198, 2; Puggala Paññatti, iv, 24.

In the note on p. 22, Dr. Neumann gives a derivation of 'sallekha' which seems to me quite impossible. 'Lagh' can never become 'lekh,' and the composition 'sallagh' would also be monstrous. I do not see why he objects to the derivation given by Childers from *saṃlikh* 'to scratch out.' His rendering 'Ledigung,' which he uses here and in the translation of the Sallekhasutta on p. 61, is very good, and agrees perfectly with our etymology of the word.

Page 6: the words 'bhikkhu sekho apattamānaso' are rendered 'als kämpfender Mönch mit streitendem Busen.' I do not object to this translation, but Dr. Neumann should have added a note at the bottom of the page in which he informs his readers that 'apattamānasa sekha' means a monk who is under training and has not yet attained Arahatship.

Rather a slip of the pen than a real error is what

occurs on p. 12. Here the words 'Jānato ahaṃ bhikkhave passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ vadāmi no ajānato' are translated 'Dem Kenner, ihr Mönche, dem Kundigen verheisse ich Wahnversiegung, keinem *Unbekannten*.' It ought to be 'keinem *Nichtkenner*.' 'Unbekannt' is the equivalent of the Pāli 'aññāta.'

In a note on p. 513, Dr. Neumann corrects Trenckner's reading 'sabbatopabhaṃ' into 'sabbatopahaṃ,' and compares the concluding stanza of the Kevaṭṭasutta in the Dīghanikāya. I believe that his correction is right, and the second part of this 'sabbatopahaṃ' is the word given by Childers s.v. 'paho' (from 'pajahāti'). So far I quite agree with Dr. Neumann. But when he goes on in his note saying that the various reading 'pabhaṃ' is to be derived from 'bhañj,' I must contradict him. If there be such a reading as 'sabbatopabhaṃ,' which I do not know, then this can certainly not be derived from 'bhañj.' The only possible derivation would be from 'bhā,' but as this would not give a good sense I think that we must stick to the above-mentioned correction.

E. Müller.

Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. Aus dem Tibetischen des Jigs-med nam-mk'a, herausgegeben, übersetzt, und erläutert von Dr. Georg Huth. 1ter Teil, x, pp. 296; 2ter Teil, xxxii, pp. 456. (Strassburg, 1893–6.)

In 1893 Dr. Georg Huth, of the University of Berlin, already well known by his scholarly translations of several difficult Tibetan texts, published the text of Jigs-med nam-mk'a's "History of Buddhism in Mongolia" (*H'or ch'ös chyong*), and in the early part of the present year he brought out a careful and accurate translation of this important Tibetan work.

Since the publication, nearly thirty years ago, of the text and translation of Tāranātha's history of Buddhism in India, by Professor Anton Schiefner, no such valuable

addition to our scanty collection of Tibetan historical works has been made as the present volume. The care shown in every part of this publication, the painstaking researches, the years of arduous study required to enable Dr. Huth to translate such a difficult and lengthy document, are worthy of every praise.

The adoption of Buddhism by the Mongols in the thirteenth century brought about great changes in their national character and customs, and the principal factor in this profound alteration was the Buddhist literature of India and Tibet, which was, in its entirety, introduced among them. From the introduction of the art of writing, the Mongols devoted themselves to the translation of the philosophical and religious works of Buddhism, giving hardly any attention to the other branches of literature, which they held unworthy of serious consideration. In the very few historical works produced by Mongols, we find, as in those of their masters in learning, the Tibetans, the national traditions and legends profoundly altered to suit the writer's religious faith. The tone of the historical works of both peoples is purely religious; in them one must not look for anything beyond biographies and dry genealogies of saints and holy men, in which childish and ofttimes absurd fables are freely interspersed. No attention is given to dates; no precision is used in geographical nomenclature, and one finds minutely recorded only the deeds of those of their princes who have advanced in one way or another the cause of Buddhism.

This is the impression produced by reading the history of the Eastern Mongols written in the eighteenth century by Sanang Setsen, and a like one will undoubtedly be carried away by a perusal of the present work. The author has made frequent use of the work of his predecessor; the only other materials employed by him have been apparently unimportant Chinese works, and a few mediaeval Buddhist authors whose writings are found translated in the great Tibetan canonical collection, the favourites being Nagarjuna and Saskya Pandita.

The work of Jigs-med nam-mk'a is divided into two parts: in the first he gives the history of the Eastern Mongols, from the earliest times down to the commencement of the nineteenth century (the author finished his work in 1818); while in the second, by far the most extended, he narrates the lives of the lamas who have contributed to the rise and spread of Buddhism in Mongolia.

In the first part of his work, following the example of other Oriental authors who have treated of the subject, Jigs-med nam-mk'a establishes the descent of the family of Chingis Khan, through the semi-fabulous Burté chino, "the grey wolf" (who, according to Abulghazi, was the first father of all the Turks), and still more fabulous kings of Tibet, from Maha sammata, the first human sovereign, according to accepted Buddhist traditions. When this feat has been successfully accomplished, the author's task becomes simplified. He confines himself thereafter to briefly recording a few unimportant legends concerning the princes who succeeded the great Temudjin, with here and there a date, usually disagreeing by several years with the more accurate ones supplied us by trustworthy Chinese annals.

This part of the work terminates with a brief notice of the various Chinese and Manchu sovereigns of the Ming and Ching dynasties, who succeeded on the throne of China the Mongol emperors of the Yuan dynasty, the last one mentioned being Chia Ching, whose reign ended in 1821, three years after the author finished his book.

In the second part the author begins in true Buddhist style the history of his Church in the "dim, red dawn of man," and thence rapidly coming down to the times of the Buddha Gautama, plunges into the most abstruse problems of Buddhist metaphysics, duly supporting his remarks with quotations from the best classical authors. This, to him important, section of his work having been duly disposed of, he passes briefly over the history of the introduction of Buddhism into China, quoting nearly word for word the introductory remarks on the subject in the well-known

"Sūtra in 42 Sections," and then refers, still more briefly, to the introduction of Buddhism into Mongolia.

Next, the author takes up, with great luxury of detail, the genealogies of various saints and pontiffs who have, from the time of Saskya Pandita, adorned the Lamaist Church; but in none of these biographical sketches do we find any important historical or geographical data, not even in the notices of Pashpa, the inventor of the alphabet which bears his name and the first lama pontiff of China, of Ch'ös-sku Od-zer, to whom is due the Mongol alphabet still used at the present day, of Tsong-k'apa, the great reformer, or on the various Talai, Panch'en, and Changchia lamas, concerning whom there must be undoubtedly much of interest to learn.

The work of the translator cannot be spoken of too highly; he has accomplished in a masterly manner a most difficult task. I cannot but regret, however, that he has not retained the now generally accepted forms of such names of persons, places, and things as, for example, Yün Wên, the second emperor of the Ming dynasty, which he transcribes Cen Wen; of Ch'ien Lung, which he gives as K'yan lun. On page 45 I find mention made of "The King of Birds, *H'pun Hwaan*," in which we have some difficulty in recognizing the well-known Chinese term *Feng huang*, "the phoenix." So, in like manner, the city Hsi-nan Fu, the historic Chang-an, is called He nan Hpu; and in Ten tu hu (p. 192) we must recognize Cheng-tu Fu, the capital of Ssŭ-ch'uan.

It seems to me that it would have been preferable if such well-known terms as Hutuketu and Nomenhan had been used instead of the less-known, though unquestionably more correct, forms Hwotogtwo and Nomon Han, which the translator prefers.

It is to my mind a serious omission on the part of Dr. Huth that he has not added some geographical and historical notes to the author's text. To cite but two instances, on page 29 of the translation, it is stated that Jagatai's fourth son ruled over "Rom" and lived in "the city of

Stambhola," and a footnote to the above informs us that "the author remarks in a note that Stambhola is a part of Çhambhala," with which elucidation Dr. Huth dismisses the subject. On page 17, no attempt is made to identify the countries of Gzi-pen, Hp'usan, Siyanlo, Ziyan, etc., though many readers may not know that these are Chinese terms for Japan, Fusang, Corea, and the countries of Western Asia and Eastern Europe (Hsi Yang).

It is to be hoped that Dr. Huth will soon bring out an appendix to his translation, in which he will elucidate the many interesting questions—historical, geographical, and Buddhistic—touched upon so lightly by the author, and also add an index, the absence of which will be very seriously felt by all those who may wish to consult his book. With these additions to the present volumes, his work will form a lasting monument of erudition and completeness.

W. W. Rockhill.

The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan, Dutch, and English, from Vertrecht's MS. of 1650, etc. Edited by Rev. William Campbell, M.R.A.S., English Presbyterian Mission, Tainanfu. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1896.)

In the first part of this book we have the Articles of Christian Instruction which the Dutch missionary Vertrecht drew up for the use of the schools in the Favorlang District of the Island of Formosa. This district lay to the north of the modern Ka-gi Hien, and in the seventeenth century it was the scene of Dutch missionary work. Vertrecht, who "laboured in Formosa between 1647 and 1651," had made himself proficient in the Favorlang dialect. These Articles of Instruction contain the Lord's Prayer, the Christian Creed, the Ten Commandments, certain Prayers, a Catechism, five sermons, and other items. We have them here carefully

edited, accompanied by the original Dutch and an English translation.

At p. 102 we have the "Lord's Prayer in the present-day Sekhoan Dialect of Formosa": this dialect being spoken by the natives of Toa-sia, about fourteen miles north of Chang-hua city. The transcriber has cut up the words into syllables, and so we cannot get the correct pronunciation; but there does not seem to be any resemblance between the words of this Lord's Prayer and those in Vertrecht's version in Favorlang.

Then we have a reprint of Psalmanazar's "Dialogue between a Japanese and a Formosan about some points of the Religion of the time," 1707. Mr. Campbell decided to include this in his book, "because of (1) its brevity; (2) its rarity; (3) its usefulness in proving that, while Vertrecht's work has also a Dialogue, the coincidence ends there; (4) its interest at a time when the Japanese are brought, unexpectedly and in a very real sense, face to face with the hill tribes of Formosa."

After this comes Happart's Favorlang Vocabulary, printed in a neat and orderly manner. Mr. Campbell, with cautious moderation, observes that "Happart's Favorlang dialect differs in many respects from that used by Vertrecht." It would, perhaps, be nearer the mark to say that the two dialects have a few words in common.

Mr. Campbell thinks that the Favorlang dialect may, with slight modification, represent a living speech of some tribe in the interior of Formosa. A few years ago a traveller in Formosa, provided with Medhurst's Happart, found in a district to the north-east of Chang-hua a tribe which understood and spoke the Favorlang dialect. Unfortunately the traveller did not make a note of the name of the tribe and the district in which it resided.

The native Formosan seal reproduced on the fly-leaf presents four symbols which seem to be letters of a foreign writing. Mr. Campbell has not been able to obtain a key to them and their meaning. It seems to me that they were intended to express "Om Maṇi hum." The mode of

writing, perpendicular instead of horizontal, has distorted three of the symbols, and want of room caused the omission of *padme*.

T. W.

Die Chinesische Inschrift auf dem Uigurischen Denkmal in Kara-Balgassun, übersetzt und erläutert von Dr. Gustav Schlegel, Ord. Prof. d. Chin. Sprache an der Universität zu Leiden. (Helsingfors: Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1896.)

In this treatise we have a valuable and interesting addition to the literature of the old Chinese and Uigour inscriptions. The work is characterized by the attention to details and the unwearied research to which the readers of Professor Schlegel's contributions to Sinology are accustomed.

After an Introduction we have a short but very useful sketch of Uigour history from the third to the middle of the ninth century of our era. Then we have the Chinese inscription found on the stone monument at Kara-Balgassun copied out clause by clause. Unfortunately there are numerous gaps in the text, some of which have been filled up conjecturally by the learned editor. In this attempt to restore lost characters, Professor Schlegel has proceeded with much care and study, and he has been very successful. Each clause of the text is translated, and the reading and interpretation are defended and illustrated by notes drawn from various Chinese sources. We have next a continuous translation of the inscription, so far as the remains of it, together with Professor Schlegel's restorations, permitted. This is followed by a few interesting additions and corrections, and at the end of the book we have the Chinese inscription copied out with the restored characters and the unfilled gaps carefully indicated.

This inscription is valuable for the information which it gives about the succession of the Khans of the Uigours, and about their relations with the Chinese. It is also

interesting for the reference which it makes to the existence of Christianity among the Uigours. But it must be admitted that the statements about the religion of this people are rather short and vague. The translator has certainly put Christianity into his translation; but some of his renderings in this part are at least doubtful. Thus, the words for "two sacrifices" and "three limits" can only by a forced interpretation be made to mean "the two Sacraments" and "the three vows"—that is, of the Christian monks. There is little in the text of the inscription to show that the "orthodoxy" of which the author writes was Nestorian Christianity. The Uigours gave up demon-worship and adopted the "clear (or bright) religion," which did not allow them to take life or drink milk. On p. 58 the word *Fo* is translated by "God," a rendering which seems quite inadmissible from every point of view. In the illustration which Professor Schlegel gives, the word *Fo* means "Buddha." Since the time of Ssŭ-ma Kuang it has been a common custom in China to style a popular Mandarin "a Buddha" or the "Buddha of a myriad families." The reigning Emperor is a Buddha, not a god, and he does not worship the former Buddha or Sākyamuni. The Uigours had once regarded a ghost or demon as Buddha, but they had become converted.

T. W.

DHĀTU-ATTHA-DĪPANĪ. By HINGULWALA JINA-RATANA. (Colombo: Lak Riwi Kiraṇa Press, 1896. Price 2 rupees.)

This volume, of nearly 200 pages 8vo, contains, firstly, a rearrangement in metrical form of the roots mentioned in Aggavansa's Sadda-nīti, a Pāli grammar written in Pāli in Burma in the thirteenth century (pp. 1–41). This is followed in its turn by an alphabetical list of all the roots dealt with in this metrical rearrangement; and for each root we have in parallel columns—(1) the initial letter of the class to which it belongs according to Aggavansa's system;

(2) the number of derivations from the root; (3 and 4) its meaning explained in Pāli and Sinhalese; and (5) the third person singular of the present tense: all in Sinhalese characters. In a separate line below we then have—(1) the same root again; (2) its meaning in English; and (3) the third person singular of the present tense: all in English characters.

Aggavansa's work is itself independent of the two great classes into which Pāli works on Pāli grammar may be divided (according as to whether they follow the school of Kaccāyana or that of Moggallāna), and is much used both in Burma and Ceylon.

In Subhūti's Nāma-Mālā (Colombo, 1877) we have a careful account (unfortunately in Sinhalese, with copious quotations, however, in Pāli) of sixty-four works on Pāli grammar in Pāli, arranged according to their historical connection. It is to be regretted that no European scholar has yet taken up this interesting question. But the present volume will be useful to those students of Sanskrit and Pāli lexicography who have not familiarized themselves either with the Sinhalese alphabet or with the history of grammatical studies as carried on in the Buddhist order.

EINE INDO-CHINESISCHE CAUSATIV-DENOMINATIV-BILDUNG UND IHR ZUSAMMENHANG MIT DEN TON-ACCENTEN. By Dr. AUGUST CONRADY. Large 8vo, pp. 227. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1896.)

In this essay Dr. Conrady attempts a kind of comparative grammar of Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, and Chinese. His view is that the tones represent a suppression of prefixes, and that the beginnings of words must be regarded as in most cases the result of a prefix no longer externally perceptible, because it has as it were been lost in combination with the word to which it was originally prefixed. Such prefixes can be most easily traced in the verb; and Tibetan being the language in which the prefixes are most

clearly marked, he takes the Tibetan as the basis of his investigations, and in the first place the forms of the causative verb. He concludes that all the Tibetan prefixes which he has thus discussed show a tendency, in consequence of the strong accent laid on the root, to lose their vowels, and to become amalgamated with the root syllable in the form only of an additional letter, and of a modification of the tone of the root.

Having dealt in detail with this thesis up to page 103, he proceeds in the remainder of the essay to apply the results thus obtained to the elucidation of similar forms in Assamese (pp. 104–112), Burmese (pp. 113–128), Siamese (pp. 130–148), and Chinese (pp. 149–201). In all these languages he finds evidence—(1) of the same method of formation of causative and denominative verbs, which when transitive have a high tone, and when intransitive have not; (2) of a similar shifting of tone owing to the influence of the added prefixes; and (3) of a similar resulting tone system.

The objection to all this that will naturally occur is that the study of the historical development of each of these languages has not yet reached the stage at which such a question can be definitely settled. Perhaps not. But the putting forward of so clear a thesis, and that not only in a general way, but worked out in detail, cannot fail to stimulate inquiry, and to contribute very greatly to the building up of that historical knowledge of these languages which is so much to be desired.

BUDDHISM IN TRANSLATIONS. By HENRY CLARKE WARREN. Large 8vo, pp. xxv and 520. (Cambridge, Mass., 1896.)

In this volume, published by the Harvard University as vol. iii of the "Harvard Oriental Series," we may welcome at the same time a fresh instance of the valuable work done in this series by the Harvard University, and a work

in itself of great interest and undoubted usefulness. The volume consists of an introduction, five chapters, an appendix, and a capital index. The Introduction gives a slight account of the Pāli books from which the translations in this volume have been made. Chapter i gives translations of twelve selected passages on the life of the Buddha, chapter ii of twenty-five such passages on Sentient Existence, chapter iii of nineteen such passages on Karma and Rebirth, chapter iv of twenty-three such passages on Meditation and Nirvāna, and chapter v of twenty-three such passages on the Buddhist Order. The passages selected vary a good deal in length, the average length being about four pages; and they include extracts, not only from the Sacred Books, but also from the commentaries written upon them. The student of Buddhism will be able to judge from the above what is the contents of this handsome volume, which is offered for the very low price of only five shillings.

In the selection of passages for such an anthology, probably no two scholars would exactly agree. Dr. Karl Neumann, who published his somewhat similar "Buddhistiche Anthologie" some years ago, confined himself to the sacred texts themselves. But within that limit he often hit upon the same passages as have been selected by Mr. Warren. That is evidence enough that these passages, at least, are really of fundamental importance; for the present author seems to have made both his selections and his translations independently of previous workers in the same field, if one may judge from the fact that he never mentions the previous translator of any passage he has himself now again translated. And in the other cases, though anyone familiar with the literature might suggest other passages of equal importance, he would find it difficult to make what would be a better choice on the whole. It is on this matter of choice that the usefulness of the book (with one exception, to be presently mentioned) depends. There must be many readers interested in Buddhism, who have not time to read many volumes of translations in

order to make selections for themselves, and who at the same time are not wholly satisfied with any modern interpretation. To them such a volume as the present will especially appeal.

Scholars who would go themselves to the originals will welcome this book for the sake of the exception above referred to. That is the inclusion among the selections of copious extracts, now for the first time rendered into English, from the famous work of Buddhaghosa, the Visuddhi Magga or Path of Purity. Mr. Warren is known to have been engaged for some time on an edition in the English character of this important text, which, though printed in Ceylon in the Simhalese character, is still practically inaccessible to European scholars. They will read with the greatest interest the extracts now given, and not least the very useful lists given in the appendix. And on reading them they will look forward with increased expectation to the publication of Mr. Warren's edition.

Besides these extracts from Buddhaghosa, there are a number of difficult and important passages on Buddhism here translated for the first time. It would be a great improvement if, in a second edition, reference could be given, under each section translated, to former versions where such exist; also if, throughout, the use of a few Western and distinctively Christian words could be replaced by other expressions which do not suggest erroneous connotations. 'Priestly,' 'ordination,' 'monk,' 'monastery,' etc., have acquired special meanings which by no means exactly cover the Buddhist use of the words thus rendered. The monk with the umbrella, too, cannot fail to suggest ridicule by making us think of a curate with a "gamp." And the object in question happens also, after all, to be not an umbrella, but a sunshade. So 'body-servant' (pp. 97, 99) is an odd translation of the *upaṭṭhāka*, who acted, it is true, as a personal attendant on the Buddha, but who was always regarded as a highly privileged person, through whom alone access to the Buddha was obtainable, who, of course, received no wages, was a full member of

the Order, and occupied no such menial position as 'body-servant' would imply.

'Fanatical conduct' for *sīlabbata* (pp. 190, 205, etc.) is more than odd. No doubt early Buddhism objects to fanatical conduct. But the expression *sīlabbata* refers not to that, but to the reliance placed by the Brahman ascetics on works of supererogation as a sufficient means of salvation. That belief is condemned by Buddhism, which put salvation in a state of mind, in Arahatship, and not in any outward acts.

On p. 165 a translation is given from a quotation at Saṃyutta III, 134, of a passage occurring before at II, 17. The original passage is not referred to, which is the greater pity, as it contains an important difference of reading. So at p. 222 no mention is made of the fact that the same story occurs in the first volume of the Jātaka, p. 125, already translated by Mr. Chalmers. On p. 148 there is given, among a list of sources of sorrow, 'fear of danger from naked ascetics.' The Pāli is *ājīvika-bhaya*, which simply means 'anxiety as to means of livelihood.' It is true that *ājīvaka* (with an *a*, not an *i*) means a class of ascetics, but a reference to the Sīlas, or to Majjhima I, 85, 86, shows that there is really no doubt about the meaning of *ājīvika*.

A point of considerable importance is the constant rendering (see pp. 98, 109, 223, 380, 420, 482) of *parinibhāyati* by 'passes into Nirvāna.' It is sufficiently clear, from pp. 114, 163, and other passages, that the translator is quite aware of the only meaning of Nirvāna—that is to say, a state of mind to be reached and enjoyed in this life. How, then, can he also use the term Nirvāna to designate a state beyond the grave? And yet what else can the English phrase that a man, at death, 'passes into Nirvāna,' mean? The Pāli for that phrase would be *Nibbānaṃ adhigacchati*—words that would only be used to express that a living man had reached the state of mind called Nirvāna. It is true that the version here objected to has been used in nearly all English books on

Buddhism, being, in fact, an old Anglo-Indian blunder which arose in a time when Nirvāna was supposed to refer exclusively to the next life. But its use now only serves to perpetuate an error which will be hard enough to eradicate, however careful scholars may be to confine its use within the strictly accurate limits.

A list of the passages translated would add to the value of the volume and will, we hope, be added in a future edition. And with this last suggestion we beg to recommend the book to all our readers interested in Buddhism, and to congratulate Mr. Warren very cordially on the completion of his work.

"GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTHUMSKUNDE."—*Indische Palaeographie.* Von G. BÜHLER. (Strassburg: Karl Trübner.)

Dr. Bühler has done more than any other Sanskrit scholar towards reconstructing the political and literary history of early India by the aid of epigraphical investigations. He has now greatly added to the obligations under which he had already laid students of Indian culture, by undertaking to bring out, with the assistance of nearly thirty scholars in various countries, an Encyclopaedia intended to present a complete survey of the vast field of Indian languages, religion, history, antiquities, and art. Most of these subjects are to be for the first time dealt with in a connected form. This remark applies notably to Dr. Bühler's present contribution. Indian palaeography is here treated in eight chapters and thirty-nine paragraphs, each of the latter being followed by a full bibliography. The period embraced extends from about 350 B.C. to 1300 A.D.

The first chapter deals with the fascinating subject of the age and the origin of the oldest Indian alphabets. That the introduction of writing into India goes back to a remote period, is shown by the fact that in a Jain text (the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra) of about 300 B.C., its origin is

forgotten and its invention is attributed to the creator Brahmā. Indian imitations of Greek drachmas prove the employment of the Greek alphabet in North-Western India before the time of Alexander the Great. Knowledge of the art of writing is established for the latest Vedic period by the Vāsis*th*a Dharmasūtra; and the grammarian Pā*n*ini, who is assigned to the fourth century B.C., mentions *yavanānī* "Greek writing," and the words *lipikara* or *libikara* "writer." The evidence of the canonical books of Ceylon indicates that the knowledge of writing was pre-Buddhistic; and passages in a Jātaka and in the Mahāvagga prove the existence, at the time of their composition, of writing schools and of a wooden slate, such as is still used in Indian elementary schools. Writing, as a subject of elementary instruction, is also mentioned in an inscription of the second century B.C. The palaeographical evidence of the Aśoka inscriptions clearly shows that writing was no recent invention in the third century B.C.; for most of the letters have several, often very divergent, forms, sometimes nine or ten.

There are two ancient Indian alphabets. One of them, called Kharos*th*ī, was confined to the country of Gandhāra, which was coextensive with Eastern Afghanistan and the Northern Punjab. The use of this alphabet lasted from the fourth century B.C. to about 200 A.D. It is found in the Aśoka and later inscriptions, as well as on Graeco-Indian coins. Its distinguishing feature is that it is written from right to left. It is derived from the Aramaic alphabet, which must have been introduced under the Achaemenian dynasty that ruled over the north-west of India from 500 B.C. till the conquest of Alexander. Semitic epigraphy makes it probable that Aramaic was widely used in the whole Persian empire under this dynasty, owing to the frequent employment of Aramaeans as clerks and accountants. The borrowed symbols of the Kharos*th*ī writing agree best with the Aramaic type of 500–400 B.C. Their development must, therefore, have commenced in the fifth century.

The other and older script of India, the Brāhmī, was in general use even in the north-west. This is the true national writing, all the other Indian alphabets being its descendants. It is regularly written from left to right; but its older stage is represented by a coin from Eran of the fourth century, discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham, the inscription on which runs from right to left. Five different explanations of the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet have been put forward. Dr. Bühler has, however, succeeded in proving conclusively that the only tenable theory is that of Prof. A. Weber, who derives it from the oldest northern Semitic (Phoenician) type. Dr. Bühler shows that the Indian modifications of this type are largely due to the letters having early been written below an imaginary or actual line. This led to some of the Semitic symbols being inverted, laid on their sides, or opened at the top, besides being regularly reversed to suit the changed direction of the writing. The derivation of two-thirds of the Brāhmī letters from their Semitic originals is at once evident from the table given on p. 12. The majority of the twenty-two borrowed letters agree with the most archaic type of Phoenician inscriptions on Assyrian weights and on Mesa's Stone, which dates from about 890 B.C.; but as two of the letters, *h* and *ṭ*, are found only in Mesopotamia, Dr. Bühler thinks it likely that this script was introduced from there. This agrees with statements in the Jātakas and in two of the oldest Dharma-sūtras, which refer to the sea-trade of the Indians. The Rigvedic myth of Bhujyu being rescued from the ocean in a hundred-oared galley, points in the same direction. Hence Dr. Bühler attributes the introduction of this writing to Indian traders, and thinks that it must have taken place about 800 B.C. That the full Brāhmī alphabet of forty-six letters must have existed about 500 B.C., and was elaborated by learned Brāhmans according to phonetic principles, primarily with a view to Sanskrit (not Prakrit)—for it contained the exclusively Sanskrit diphthongs *ai* and *au*—is convincingly shown by Dr. Bühler (p. 19). And a considerable period

must be allowed between the introduction of the alphabet by traders and its adoption, elaboration, and rearrangement by the Brahmans. These palaeographical arguments, together with other considerations, such as the full development of prose in the Brāhmaṇas, and the analysis and redaction of the Vedic texts, seem to render untenable Prof. Max Müller's theory—formed thirty-six years ago, and therefore necessarily based on much more limited and exclusively literary evidence—that the art of writing did not become known in India till about 400 B.C., and that then, and even later, it was not applied to literary purposes.

All the inscriptions of the first seven hundred years are in Prakrit or in the mixed Gāthā dialect, the only one in Sanskrit dating from the second century A.D. In the inscriptions of Maurya kings, which begin in the third century B.C., and are scattered all over India, two types of writing, a northern and a southern, divided by the Narmadā River, may be distinguished. From the former is descended the group of northern scripts which gradually prevailed in all the Aryan dialects of India. They start from the current characters which appear in one or two of the Aśoka edicts. Their type is a current writing, in which the tops of the letters are in line, and which must have been written with pen or brush and ink. The most important of them is the Nāgarī script, in which Sanskrit MSS. are usually written, and Sanskrit as well as Marathī and Hindī books are regularly printed. It is characterized by the well-known horizontal line at the top of the letters. The oldest inscription entirely in the Nāgarī character dates from 754 A.D., while the oldest MS. written in it belongs to the eleventh century. An eastern development of the Nāgarī is the Proto-Bengalī character of the twelfth century.

From the southern variety of the Aśoka writing are descended five types, which occur south of the Vindhya range, and include the Canarese and Telugu, while the Tamil script is probably derived from a northern alphabet introduced in the fourth or fifth century A.D.

In dealing with each type of alphabet, Dr. Bühler describes its general characteristics, besides pointing out the development of each letter. All this is further illustrated by several excellent plates. They are on separate sheets which fold into a case. Each contains twenty or more columns, giving the epigraphic forms of every letter in each period. One of the plates also presents the various forms of writing in the northern MSS. from the fifth century to the thirteenth. As all the plates can be placed side by side, the historical development of every single letter from beginning to end may be studied with ease. Thus, even the plates by themselves will prove a great boon to students of Indian palaeography.

The sixth chapter and plate ix are devoted to the historical elucidation of the Indian numerals. As to the few Kharosthī numerals, there are indications that, like the alphabet, they are of Aramaic origin, and were introduced at the same time as the latter. The peculiar numerical notation by means of letters or syllables, which is used along with the Brāhmī alphabet from the oldest period down to the end of the sixth century A.D., is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. Dr. Bühler, however, agrees with Burnell in thinking that this system was borrowed from Egypt, though he admits this conclusion to be uncertain. It is at all events clear that in the third century B.C. this system had a long period of development behind it. From its symbols, with the addition of a circle to indicate the cypher, was derived the decimal notation, probably an invention of the Indian astronomers. The earliest example of the decimal figures dates from 595 A.D., and their employment became the rule in inscriptions of the ninth and later centuries. It is well known that these decimal symbols were adopted by the Arabs, who introduced them into Europe.

The seventh chapter deals with the external arrangement of Indian inscriptions and MSS. With regard to punctuation, Dr. Bühler shows that it is only found in the Brāhmī script, but here occasionally from the earliest

times. It was not, however, till the fifth century that one vertical stroke after a half-verse, and two after a complete verse, began to be systematically used. Among various other points, it is interesting to note that auspicious symbols, considered so important in later times, are already found at the beginning and end of two Aśoka inscriptions.

The last chapter treats of writing materials, scribes, and libraries. Quintus Curtius states that the Indians used birch bark for writing on at the time of Alexander. Its use began in the north-west, there being extensive birch forests on the slopes of the Himalayas, and gradually spread to central, eastern, and western India. The oldest examples of it are twists found in Buddhist topes of Afghanistan, and the Bower MS. of the fifth century A.D. According to the testimony of the ancient canonical Buddhist works, leaves, doubtless those of the palm, were the ordinary writing material of the oldest times. The earliest example is the Horiuzi palm-leaf Sanskrit MS. of the sixth century A.D., which is preserved in Japan, and of which the Bodleian possesses a facsimile. In Northern India, where they were written on with ink, palm-leaves ceased to be used after the introduction of paper; but in the south, where the writing was scratched in with a stylus, they are still employed. Paper was introduced by the Muhammadans, and has been very extensively used for MSS. The oldest Gujarat paper MS. dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Neither varnished boards, such as are used in Burma for MSS., have been found in India, nor leather or parchment, clearly owing to the ritual impurity of animal materials. Copper plates were early and frequently used for inscriptions. They furnish a curious illustration of how narrow are the limits of invention. They practically all imitate the shape either of palm-leaves or strips of birch bark. Similarly, the earliest Indian stone architecture imitated the wooden buildings by which it was preceded. The use of ink as early as the second century B.C. is proved by an inscription

in a Buddhist tope, and is certain even for the fourth century from a statement of Nearchos.

Want of space prevents us from touching on many other instructive points set forth in Dr. Bühler's highly interesting and important treatise. Like the history of Indian religion, that of Indian palaeography shows, more than in any other country, a long and unbroken development, unchecked by foreign influence or the introduction of printing. The perusal of Dr. Bühler's work (which, however, does not include the last five centuries within its scope) is accordingly a veritable education in historical evolution. The thoroughness, as well as the usefulness, of the volume is well illustrated by the following experience. A certain Sanskrit scholar had for some time past been searching in vain for an Indian inscription which he had formerly come across. He was able to trace it at once by consulting Dr. Bühler's work on its appearance last month. It will be absolutely indispensable to the student of Indian inscriptions and MSS. Nor can it be neglected by those who are interested in Semitic or Greek palaeography.

[From *The Academy*, Oct. 31, 1896.] A. A. MACDONELL.

TRAITÉ SUR LE CALCUL DANS LES REINS ET DANS LA VESSIE, PAR ABŪ BEKR MUHAMMED IBN ZAKARĪYĀ AL-RĀZĪ. Traduction, accompagné du Texte, par P. DE KONING, docteur en médecine. 8vo, pp. viii and 285. (Leyde: Brill, 1896.)

The publication appearing under the above-mentioned title contains a collection of six treatises written by various eminent Arab physicians, who lived between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Their value from a medical point of view cannot be discussed in the following lines, although it appears to have been more than purely literary interest which induced the editor, himself a physician, to devote so much attention to them. His work proves beyond doubt that he was successful in mastering all the difficulties offered

by Arabic texts, full of technicalities, and, indeed, even an Arabic scholar not versed in the latter would be greatly embarrassed in the accomplishment of a similar task.

Dr. Koning has, for some reason or other, omitted biographical or literary references, which, however, can easily be looked up in works on mediaeval medicine. Each article treats on the calculus, both from the pathological and therapeutical points of view, and shows the high standard which Arabic science had attained regarding the diagnosis and treatment of this disease.

The first two articles are by the famous Ar-Rāzī, who died about 920 in Baghdād. He may be styled the father of Arabic medicine proper, since before his period the most renowned physicians were Christians. He has therefore been honoured with the title "Galenus of the Arabs," and was considered a great authority all over the world during the Middle Ages. Many of his works were translated into Hebrew and Latin (see Steinschneider, Ueberss., p. 722 sqq.), and exist in print. Ar-Rāzī treats on the calculus in several of his books, and has also devoted a chapter to it in his most comprehensive work known as "Al-Ḥāwi." The first article published by Dr. Koning is, however, an independent study on this subject, and is mentioned by Ibn Abi Useibia (ed. Müller), vol. i, p. 316, l. 17, as well as by Wuestenfeld, Gesch. der Arab. Aerzte, p. 45, No. 57, under the title, "Tractatus de renum et vesicae calculis." The second article is taken from the same author's work, "Al-Fakhir."

Article three forms chapter 39 of B. 1 of Alī b. Abbās Al-Mājūsi's (tenth century) work "Al-Malikī" (see I.A.U., i, 236, Wuestenfeld, p. 39). Another MS. copy of this work exists in the British Museum (Add. 23,410), where the article in question is to be found, fol. 159$^{vo}$ sqq., and from which I have been enabled to ascertain the correct reading of several words which Dr. Koning has left undecided:

P. 126, l. 3, وامّا; l. 7, المادّة. P. 128, l. 7, كثيرا; l. 8 from bottom, اذا كان من شأن البرد. P. 130, l. 8 from bottom, منه.

P. 138, l. 3 from bottom (fol. 351v°), والامراض. P. 142, l. 1, ويقلل الغذاء ويستعمل الرياضة المعتدلة قبل, l. 8 ; والدبكبراكه (?) الغذاء ودخول الحمام المعتدلة الحرارة وصبّ الماء العذب الفاتر يوما ويوما لا بعد ; l. 1 from bottom, على الموضع العلّة والقعود وصفته ياخذ عناب وسبستان. ib. المطبوخ ; P. 144, l. 6, خروجه. P. 146, l. 2 from bottom, وتين ابيض من كل واحد فى تدبير. P. 164, l. 8, الحصى المتكمّل واما متى واولا فى مداواة علل الحصى الكائن فيها, etc.

The next article is taken from the "Mukhtār" of Alī b. Al-Hubal, who lived in the thirteenth century. The note in the Leyden Catalogue of MSS. stating that the copy from which this article is reproduced is an unique one, is erroneous, as the British Museum also possesses one (Or. 2,805) in which this treatise is to be found, fol. 201v°, with variations, e.g.:

P. 186, l. 5, الحرارة القوية الخارجة ; الغريبة seems to be dittography; l. 6 from bottom, يتولّد ; l. 4 from bottom, يكون ; l. 2 from bottom, ويعظم. P. 188, l. 5, وتربتهم, "and their weakness." P. 190, l. 1, الامعاء ; l. 7, ابوالهم. P. 192, l. 5, وضربان الجنبين ; l. 2 from bottom, الرمل. P. 194, l. 3, وشبيها ; l. 6 from bottom, رجل. P. 202, last line, تجمع للصبىّ من بول الدم ; P. 206, l. 8, نعما. P. 212, l. 9, دانقان. ib. صفة دواء مفتت مع ; last line, مثل ما يعطى بنادق البزور. P. 216, l. 2 from bottom, ماء الحمص تكسينه للالم وان قوما وطبيخ مافيه الحمص ومرق الاسفاناخ. P. 218, l. 1, الرداصيل (?).

These passages, as well as those in the preceding group, prove that the language chosen by both writers is the same vulgar idiom as that used by Ibn Abi Useibia and

many other authors on philosophy and science, rather than classical Arabic.

To the above-named articles, which have never been published in the original before, are attached the translations of those chapters which deal with the same question in the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Taṣrîf* of Abûl-Casîs, one of the most renowned surgeons of the twelfth century.

The type is large and very distinct, and the editor deserves all praise for the care which he has bestowed on his task.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

G. DALMAN. GRAMMATIK DES JÜDISCH-PALÄSTINISCHEN ARAMÄISCH, NACH DEN IDIOMEN DES PALÄSTINISCHEN TALMUD UND MIDRASCH DES ONKELOSTARGUM (COD. SOCINI 84) UND DER JERUSALEMISCHEN TARGUME ZUM PENTATEUCH. (Leipzig, 1894.)

G. DALMAN. ARAMÄISCHE LESESTÜCKE ZUR GRAMMATIK DES JÜDISCH-PALÄSTINISCHEN ARAMÄISCH ZUMEIST NACH HANDSCHRIFTEN DES BRITTISCHEN MUSEUMS, MIT WÖRTERVERZEICHNISS. (Leipzig, 1896.)

It may sound surprising, but it is none the less true, that a literature as rich and as varied as that written in the Aramaic dialects of Palestine should not have been studied from a systematical point of view, nor that its grammar should have been investigated hitherto. Dictionaries there existed, some more, others less perfect, but the forms of the words have thus far been utterly neglected. It is the more surprising as the oldest translations of the Bible were made in that language, probably earlier than the Greek translation, and the Primitive Gospel (or that of the Ebionites) may have been written in that very language. One of the great obstacles in the way of a grammar was the peculiar status in which these texts have come down to us. Most of them have no vowel-signs at all, and the tradition of the texts is anything but sure. The biblical commentaries which have vowel-signs were in so corrupt

a state that the vocalization of one page, or often of one verse, contradicted that of the next verse on the same page. The darkness which hung over this peculiar state of the text and vocalization rendered the task of compiling a grammar extremely difficult. It has, however, been lifted somewhat, since the discovery of Aramaic texts preserved in Yemen; for these have a totally different system of vocalization, which turns out to be the original and genuine reproduction of the ancient pronunciation. According to my views, this system, known as the superlinear, as the points are invariably placed *above* the letters, is of Palestinian origin, and has retained the old forms, so much corrupted in later transcripts, where the other system (the sublinear) was substituted for it. Professor Dalman has now undertaken and carried to a perfect end the task of bringing some light into the confused matter. With great skill and profound insight he has been able to build up an admirable grammar of this or, better, these dialects of Aramaic, and to show the gradual growth and development of grammatical forms, their differentiation and divisions according to the time and to the circumstances in which those texts were written. He adduces not merely one or a few examples, but with great industry he adduces almost every example available. As a basis for this book, which fills so admirably a lacuna felt by every Semitic scholar, he has taken one of the Codices brought by Professor Socin from the East, probably of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and for the other texts he has gone as far as possible to the oldest and often not easily available MSS. and *editiones principes*. Many a point may require still further elucidation, and no doubt some of the views advanced by Professor Dalman will be modified in course of time, but the great outlines, and in many cases also the minute fillings, will remain unaltered. He has given us a solid basis, from which it will now be easier to work.

If I am bound to give unstinted praise to the diligence of the author, and to the excellence of the Grammar, I cannot help expressing my doubts concerning the theories

Professor Dalman advances in his admirable Introduction, where he attempts a classification of the texts into Judaic-Palestinian, Galilean-Palestinian, and texts of a mixed character. It would be difficult to justify this classification, which appears more artificial than real. To assert that there are texts of a mixed character, which, according to Professor Dalman, were the work of the scholar who imitated the ancient dialects, appears to be begging the question. Considering that these translations of, and comments on, the Bible were made only and solely for the purpose of making its contents known and available to the masses, it is at least questionable to assume that the language of these translations was an artificial language, and as such *not understood* by the people. To what purpose was that work undertaken, then? We are forced to see in these texts other forms of a popular development of the Aramaic dialect spoken by the people, and not an artificial mixture.

This affects to a certain degree the basis from which Professor Dalman starts; but whatever the explanation of the origin of the grammatical forms may be, it does not affect these forms, and these alone are of true importance. They are all faithfully reproduced and carefully grouped in the Grammar. As a mere addition to his bibliography I mention my edition of the "Scroll of the Hasmonaeans" (*Transactions*, London Oriental Congress, II, p. 3 ff.), which has escaped Professor Dalman's notice. An index ought to have completed the book. Instead of it we get now, from the same author, an important addition, consisting in a selection of ancient texts, illustrating the various *nuances* of the Palestinian Aramaic, together with a glossary, and constant references to the Grammar.

The selection of the texts is made with great care. Professor Dalman has consulted very freely the treasures of the British Museum, and has known how to benefit by the access to these MSS. He gives also *variae lectiones* and short historical and explanatory notes. He has substituted the sublinear vocalization for the superlinear, which, from

a practical point of view, is to be recommended, but he has, unfortunately, been too dogmatic in that transcription. I should have preferred not to put a *Segol* at all, and omit the Sheva Quiescens as well as the Dagesh in most cases. There are many points in connection with this transcription which require elucidation. Professor Dalman being an authority on the subject, his views carry great weight. So, for instance (p. 2), why במרַחְשְׁוָן instead of בְּמַרְחֶשְׁוָן? Line 4, p. 3, is evidently corrupt; something is missing in the text. Line 2, p. 4, שֶׁאֲנוּ; why not שֶׁאָנוּ? I do not wish, however, to cavil at little things, when we ought to be grateful for such important gifts as the Grammar and the Texts. Both will prove invaluable contributions to Semitic philology, and especially to Aramaic.

M. Gaster.

Margaret Dunlop Gibson. Studia Sinaitica.—No. V: Apocrypha Sinaitica. (London, 1896.)

The harvest gathered by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in the convent of Mount Sinai seems to be inexhaustible. Another sheaf is presented to us under the title of "Apocrypha Sinaitica." It contains—(1) "The Anaphora Pilati," in three recensions, in Syriac and Arabic, one of the Arabic texts being of the eighth century (A). The Syriac was copied by Mr. Rendel Harris from a late paper MS. (probably thirteenth century). The Arabic text (B), taken from an undated MS., is also very old, in fact much older than any of the Greek texts published by Tischendorf. These two Arabic texts are printed side by side. Of the older MS. a facsimile is given of the page in which the date occurs, and in the margin, both of the Syriac and Arabic texts, constant reference is made to Tischendorf's edition of the Greek texts. (2) "The Recognitions of Clement." A short version of the Recognitions is published here in two Arabic recensions — one from the same MS. (A) of the

Anaphora, and the second from the Codex British Museum, dated 1659, written by Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, and by his disciple Paulus, the same Macarius from whom we have an excellent description of his travels through Vallachia, Moldavia, and Russia in the seventeenth century. The original has not yet been published hitherto, but an English translation was made by Belfour and published by the "Old Oriental Translation Fund." To these Recognitions Mrs. Gibson adds (3) "The Martyrdom of Clement," written by the same Macarius, who, as he said, had translated it from the Greek in Sinope. The marginal notes refer to the Recognitions and Homilies of Clement. Then follow (4) "The Preaching of Peter," from the same Codex as the recension (A) of the Anaphora, published in Arabic. (5) "The Martyrdom of James, son of Alphaeus." (6) "Preaching of Simon, son of Cleophas." (7) "Martyrdom of Simon." Mrs. Gibson has also given a translation of the text published by her, and a carefully worked-out Introduction, where she studies with especial minuteness the history of the Anaphora Pilati, and adduces some parallels from the recently discovered pseudo-Gospel of St. Peter. This book is thus an extremely valuable contribution to Semitic philology and to ancient apocryphal literature.

M. G.

Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna, by Hugo Winckler, being the Fifth Volume of Professor Schrader's Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. 8vo. (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther and Reichard, 1896.)

This is one of the most important Assyriological publications of the year, giving, as it does, translations of almost all the tablets found at Tell-el-Amarna rather more than eight years ago—296 in all. The author claims that he has cleared away many obstacles, but frankly admits that his work is but the beginning of the work of explaining these difficult texts. The book consists of an introduction

(xxxvi pages), giving a summary of the contents; the transcription and translation of the 296 tablets (pp. 2–404[1]); notes and corrections (pp. 405–415); lists of the words (pp. 3*–34*), the proper names (pp. 35*–42*), a separate vocabulary to Nos. 294–296 (pp. 43*–49*), and a reference-table of the numbers of the tablets at Berlin, Gizeh, and London, those in the possession of Rostowicz and Murch, and that found at Tel-Hesy.

The translations of the Berlin tablets are based on a careful collation of the texts, which has given numerous improved readings; but much more, the author says, remains to be done in this direction, and a new publication of the originals is promised.

Naturally one turns first to those tablets which mention Jerusalem, the most interesting (from one point of view) being No. 183. In this the words in lines 13–17, *u inanna appunama alu mât Urusalim šumu-ša* (?) (*alu*) *Bît-Ninib, aḫ šarri, paṭarat* [*a*]*šar amelî* (*alu*) *Kelti*, are rendered "and now even a city of the province of Jerusalem, named Bît-Ninib, a city of the king, is lost with the men of Kelti." Many Assyriologists (including myself) have regarded the *definite* article as being more appropriate after the word "even"—i.e. "the city of the land (or mountain) of Jerusalem," and this may be regarded as a question which has still to be discussed. It is to be noted, however, that a Bît-Ninib occurs on pp. 128–129, line 31, to whose inhabitants Abd-Aširta wrote asking them to assemble for an attack upon Gebal; but it is doubtful whether this is the same place.

From this work the student can now get an excellent idea of the extent of the correspondence between Western Asia and Egypt, which has of late years been brought to light. He will learn about the correspondence between Nimmuria (=Nimutria=Neb-mut-Ra or Amenophis III) and Kallima-Sin of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia) concerning the marriage to each other of their daughters; about that of

[1] 294–296 are in transcription only.

Burraburiaš (=Burnaburiaš of Babylonia) and Naphururia (Nefer-ḫoper-Ra, Amenophis IV) concerning various presents and political affairs; about that of Dušratta of Mitani to Nimmuria (Amenophis III), Naphuria (Amenophis IV), and Teie, the surviving wife of the former (from one of these it would seem that Dušratta claimed Nineveh as belonging to his dominions: see p. xiii, footnote). He will see letters from Alašia (Cyprus), a letter from Aššur-uballiṭ of Assyria to Naphururia, and, besides these, a large number of communications which passed between Phoenician and Canaanite princes and the king of Egypt. These include Jerusalem (Nos. 179–185), Gebal (53–118), Beyruṭ (128–130), Sidon (147, 148), Tyre (149–156), Accho (157 ff.), Megiddo (192–195), Hazor (202, 203), Gezer (204–206), Askalon (207–213), Lachish (217–219), with several others. These tablets have been so often referred to, that their contents are probably at present very well known, but a great many side issues still remain to be discussed and settled. Thus some hundreds of names, both of men and of places, assume their places in history, and the work of the philologist will go hand in hand with that of the historian and ethnographist to decide all their bearings. The meanings of a large number of words have also to be decided, provisional renderings of others corrected, and the translations "smoothed down" and improved.

The present work is greatly to be recommended, for it forms practically a *Corpus* of all the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (with the exception of about a dozen), and gives, by its arrangement, a complete picture of the results gained. A simultaneous edition of the work in English is announced.

T. G. P.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM BABYLONIAN TABLETS, ETC., IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Parts I and II. Printed by order of the Trustees. 4to. 1896.

Part I of this important work contains forty texts, copied by Mr. L. W. King, mostly temple accounts, apparently

from Lagaš, many from tablets circular in form. These inscriptions are especially important for the dates, which mention the chief historical event of the year they were written, or the preceding year: e.g., we find the frequent note *mu uš-sa Ḫuḫutarri (ki) baǵul*, probably "Year after Ḫuḫutarri did evil."[1] There are also texts of Arad-Sin, "nourisher of Urima (Ur, now Mugeyyer), king of Ararma (Larsa), king of Sumer and Akkad"; Lu-Utu or Amel-Šamaš, "viceroy of Opis" (?) (*patesi Upē* ?); and Nammaǵani, viceroy of Lagaš.

The second part, copied by the author of this notice, has fifty-three inscriptions, of a later date, very diverse in their nature. It contains several letters (one of them from King Ammi-satana to a too easy-going purveyor); sales of fields, houses, slaves; the hiring of fields; tablets referring to partnership, adoption, marriages, the sharing of property, and lawsuits. There are also two tablets referring to the property of their writer's aunt, some accounts, a list of male and female slaves, and a very interesting text of the nineteenth year of Darius referring to a missing piece of woven stuff (*kitû ḳalbu*) intended for the covering (in all probability) of the couch of *Bêlit Sippar* ("the lady of Sippara"). Bu. 88–5–12, 60, referring to the sharing of property, is one of three (one for each inheritor), the other two being published by Meissner in his *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*; and the marriage contract, Bu. 91–5–9, 2176A, is one of two (one for each wife), the other being also published in the same work of Meissner. It is noteworthy that the second wife was taken to wait upon the first, and to "carry her seat to the temple of her god." A very interesting text, in a peculiar style of writing, is Bu. 91–5–9, 296, apparently a reaping contract, in which the names of the contracting parties and witnesses are uncommon, and have a foreign look.

The following names of kings occur on the tablets which are dated: Sumula-ila, Zabium, Abil-Sin, Sin-mubaliṭ,

[1] Perhaps = "was in revolt."

Ḫammurabi (whose name is also spelled Ammurabi and Ḫammirabi[1]), Samsu-iluna, Abēšu' (= Êbišu$^{m}$), Ammi-satana, and Ammi-zaduga, all of them kings of the dynasty of Babylon (about 2300 B.C.). It is noteworthy that two of the letters are addressed to *Apiši, ša Marduk uballatu-ša*, "Apišu, whom Merodach preserve," and the question naturally arises whether this may not be Abēšu', the Êbišu$^{m}$ of the Babylonian canon.

T. G. P.

A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language. Part V. By W. Muss-Arnolt. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1896.)

Unlike Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, this work is not altogether a "one-man" production, but the bringing together of the opinions of many as to the meanings (which are given in English and German) of numerous Assyrian words which are still doubtful—a great advantage. The sixty-four pages of the present part go from *dimētu* (a kind of bird) to *xamadiru* (a receptacle for grain ?). Like Delitzsch's Assyrian Dictionary, the present work has the Cuneiform characters but rarely. It is unfortunate that the author has chosen *x* as his transcription of the sound corresponding with ח or ך, generally represented by *ḥ*. Notwithstanding this, however, the work is a most commendable one, and exceedingly useful on account of the merit mentioned above, namely, the number of opinions that it gives as to the meanings of words.

T. G. P.

Geographiya Tibéta. By V. Vassilief.

Since the publication of the elaborate and highly interesting works of the late M. Dutreuil de Rhins and Mr. Rockhill,

[1] The scribe has written, by mistake,  for  at the end of this name.

there has been no want of ample materials for a better knowledge of Tibet. So great, indeed, has been the advance in Tibetan geography in modern times, that it is unnecessary to have recourse to native writers, Chinese or Tibetan, whose tendency towards mysticism and hyperbole detracts from any value their writings might otherwise possess. The pamphlet now before us is an instance of this style of composition. Its author, Minjul, was a *hutukhtu*, or high lama, and held office in the consistorial court at Peking, where he died as far back as 1839. He appears to have been twitted by the Emperor of China with an ignorance of geography, and to have then and there sought the advice of a learned Russian, Professor Ossip Mikhailovitch Kovalefsky, with whose help, and that of other Russians, he compiled a Universal Geography. That part of his work relating to his own country and to India, based as this was on personal observations and non-European sources of information, was translated into Russian by Professor Vassilief, the eminent Sinologist.

This treatise can hardly be regarded as a serious contribution to geography, and its title is therefore a little misleading. Mixed up with a few topographical facts, it contains a number of legends or traditions in their Tibetan and Indian versions of that peculiar type with which Buddhistic scholars are so well acquainted. Names of mountains, lakes, and rivers are given with but little explanatory text, and were it not for an occasional note by the learned editor, and his explanation of some of the names, we should feel disappointed, perhaps because we expected too much from a Tibetan lama, whose training and methods are not quite in accordance with modern ideas on geography.

Minjul speaks of the advantages enjoyed by his countrymen in their delightfully cool and equable climate; he draws attention to the central position of Tibet, surrounded by eight nations, yet isolated from all, and commanding the sources of the mighty rivers which irrigate their respective countries. He enumerates the principal snowy

mountains or ranges, the black (by contrast) hills with their aromatic medicinal herbs, the great transparent lakes, etc. He also speaks of the divisions of Tibet, but he is more at home in discussing its legendary history, centring round Gandis-ri (the sacred Kailas), with its lake Anudata, Anavatapta, or Mapam-yamtso, the scene of Bon-chung's conflict with Naroba, where, according to the Indian story, the six-faced youth (probably Jamámma) smote the mountain with his spear and cleft the fissure in its side. Every monastery, temple, and idol is associated in the popular belief with some miracle of Buddha, the regenerator of mankind, Tsong-kaba, the great reformer, and the latter's disciples. These tales are the theme of Minjul's discourse, and the topographical details are merely accessories.

With the aid of the valuable portfolio of maps issued by the French Minister of Public Instruction to accompany Dutreuil de Rhins' book, we have succeeded in identifying many of the names, while others have baffled us. On the whole we think Asiatic, and especially Buddhistic students, have cause to be grateful to Professor Vassilief for publishing this translation.

E. D. M.

GRAMMAR OF THE DIALECTS OF VERNACULAR SYRIAC AS SPOKEN BY THE EASTERN SYRIANS OF KURDISTAN, NORTH-WEST PERSIA, AND THE PLAIN OF MOSUL, with notices of the Vernacular of the Jews of Azerbaijan and of Zakhu near Mosul. By ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN, M.A., F.R.G.S., Dean of Argyll and the Isles, sometime head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Eastern Syrians. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1895.)

The beautiful types of the Cambridge University Press have been well employed in printing this book, which is likely for many years to be the standard authority on the subject of which it treats; but it is probable that the book would have been more useful if these types had not been

employed—if, in other words, the author had throughout transliterated the modern Syriac into European characters, in which *nuances* of pronunciation can be more easily represented than in a script which the European student will approach with preconceived ideas about the pronunciation —ideas which, being based on his study of Old Syriac, will be misleading. However, one who has been a Missionary among the Syrians could scarcely be expected to abandon a character which the Missionaries are proud of having utilized in order to give the Nestorians a literature of their own. The account which Dr. Perkins gives of the reception of the first book printed in modern Syriac (forty-six years ago) is still thrilling. "As I carried the proof-sheets of it from the printing-office into my study for correction, and laid them on my table before our translators, they were struck with mute rapture and astonishment to see their language in print; though they themselves had assisted me a few days before in preparing the same matter for the press. As soon as recovery from their first surprise allowed them utterance, 'It is time to give glory to God,' they each exclaimed, 'that we behold the commencement of printing books for our people!'—a sentiment to which I could give hearty response."

Fifteen years after this date appeared the Grammar of D. T. Stoddard, in which the forms and usages of some of these dialects were systematically arranged, and since that time most of the leading Syriac scholars have interested themselves in these late descendants of the ancient Aramaic language—some publishing texts, others contributing to the philological study of the dialects. There has, however, been no work based on first-hand research calculated to supersede Stoddard's prior to the present Grammar of Dean Maclean. He has devoted special attention to the dialectic varieties of the language, having studied no fewer than sixteen dialects during his five years' residence among the Nestorians; and the patience that he has displayed in collecting these varieties, as well as the delicacy of ear which he has shown in noting them, deserve recognition.

Stoddard complains of the difficulty he experienced in getting the natives to tell him the true forms they were in the habit of using, owing to the Oriental custom of giving the answer the questioner is thought to desire rather than the answer which is in harmony with fact. As this custom is not likely to have changed since Stoddard's time, the labour represented by these collections from sixteen dialects must have been exceedingly great.

A remarkable feature in the work is the wealth of phrases and expressions which the Dean has taken down as they were uttered, and which illustrate native usage far better than translations made under the eye of Europeans. He is to be thanked for having spread these with a free hand. A rather weak point, as has been noticed by other reviewers, is to be found in the etymologies, the sources of the foreign words being stated neither fully nor always correctly. The Aramaic language has at all times shown a great aptitude for the assimilation of foreign elements, not only among substantives and verbs, but even among conjunctions and adverbs; and to one acquainted with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish the lists of New-Syriac words in the Dean's Grammar will contain much that is familiar, although the source is often not indicated. It is just to add that this is not a matter by which the practical utility of the book is in any way affected; the New-Syriac dialects do not appear to assign to foreign words any special treatment, but to admit them to the full privileges of natives.

How far the assertion which Dean Maclean repeats after other scholars, that the modern Syriac dialects are not direct descendants of the classical language, but stand rather in the relation of nieces, is borne out by the facts which he has collected, will be estimated variously. It may be indeed true that much of them "was in use side by side with the written classical Syriac for centuries," but in the parallel cases of modern Arabic, modern Greek, modern Armenian, etc., it is difficult or impossible to say at what period exactly the ancient language ceased to be a natural vehicle of conversation. The vestiges of antiquity which

are noted in the modern Syriac forms are perhaps rather to be explained by the working of analogy than to be supposed to date back to a very remote epoch; and of the actual words which are thought to occur "in Chaldee and other ancient Aramaic dialects" and in modern Syriac, but not in ancient Syriac, many at least are open to suspicion; they are more likely to be recent borrowings from existing languages than survivals.

Dean Maclean deserves cordial praise for having followed the example of those many missionaries who have found time amid their religious and educational duties to do something for the cause of science and learning.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. By J. D. B. GRIBBLE. Vol. I. 8vo. (London: Luzac and Co., 1896.)

Whatever else may be thought of this work, there cannot be two opinions as to its readableness and its pleasing appearance. The numerous views of ruined forts and palaces, which it brings before us in such charming shape, remind us that to the Dakhin as fully as to Persia may be applied the well-known lines—

از نقش و نگار در و دیور شکسته * آثار پدید است صنادید عجم را

"The princes of Persia may be traced
By carvings on ruined gates and walls."

The most valuable of the illustrations is, perhaps, the reproduction of an apparently authentic portrait of Niẓām-ul-mulk, the founder of the Āṣaf-Jāhī dynasty. If all that Mr. Gribble intended was to write an agreeable book, sufficient to satisfy the needs of such a rare ignoramus as the young Ḥaidarābād nobleman described on page ii of the Introduction, then all that remains to be done is to

congratulate him on his success, and wish him a happy issue with his second volume.

"In every work regard the writer's end,
For none can compass more than they intend."

But surely we ought to apply a severer standard to one of Mr. Gribble's experience, and demand from him something more than this; some measure of independent research, or at least a strictly critical method in dealing with the sources, far from inaccessible, to which he has had recourse. It is true that such comments and reflections as the author introduces in the course of his story are always sound and judicious, often forcible and of value. It is, however, doubtful if he has read himself into his subject sufficiently, or has studied it long enough, to acquire the requisite mastery over it. This is the judgment arrived at upon a perusal of parts i and ii of the work, in respect of which I have no more right to express an opinion than any other industrious reader having a moderate acquaintance with Indian history. Of part iii I shall have more to say.

To the book as a whole one or two general criticisms seem applicable. Mr. Gribble should look to his transliteration, which is, to say the least, erratic; and while noticeably chary of dates, some of those he does give can hardly be correct. We all suffer from printer's errors, nor can Mr. Gribble escape the common doom: for instance, *pasma kash* on p. 353 for *tasma kash* is obviously a misprint. But how could Mr. Gribble pass such forms as "Boseton" (p. 34) for بوستان *Būstān*, and "Boorahan" (p. 45) for بُرهان *Burhān*? why call فرمان *farmān* a *farmana* (p. 316)? and where did he find the grotesque "Khan Humman" (p. 318) for خان زمان *Khān Zamān* (a title which, be it said *en passant*, was granted *after* and not *before* the capture of Shambā Jī)? It is not at all necessary, as some writers have done, to erect transliteration into a fetish, but an author might try to be consistent with himself, and not spell محمد "Mahomed" on p. 32 and "Muhammed" on p. 34. We might also have been spared such cockneyisms

as "Farkhander" (p. 344) for فرخندہ *farkhundah*, and "Shakar Kerar" (p. 375) for شکر کیرہ *Shakar-kerah*. Then in the matter of dates we have, for instance, on p. 33 the 1st Rabī' I, 759 H., made to correspond to 1359 A.D., and on p. 34 to 1357 A.D., the exact date being the 11th February, 1358.

When we come to part iii, pp. 312–379, we reach a period which I have studied somewhat closely. As Mr. Gribble gives no references, it is impossible, except at great expenditure of time, to compare his facts *seriatim* with the original authorities on which he has based them. All that can be done, therefore, is to run through a series of the most prominent instances in which he seems to have either misread, or been misled by, the books that he consulted. Nothing will be brought forward except simple matters of fact, on which there could hardly be two opinions, if reference be made to the best original authorities.

The limits of permissible inaccuracy allowed to themselves by most writers on Indian history are much wider than those obtaining in any other branch of historical science. Thus to call a man of forty-nine "the young prince" (p. 341), since it can be paralleled elsewhere, may pass as venial. Let us proceed to more unmistakeable cases of erroneous statement.

Fīrūz Jang, father of Chīn Qilīch Khān (Niẓām-ul-mulk) never joined A'ẓam Shāh (p. 329); when 'Ālamgīr died, the prince Shāh 'Ālam was not at Kābul (p. 332), but had been encamped at Jamrūd, not far from Pashāwar, since November, 1706; Mathurā is not twenty but thirty-five miles from Āgrah (p. 333); and the date of the battle of Jājau, the 18th Rabī' I, 1119 H., does not correspond to the 23rd May, but to the 18th June (N.S.) or the 7th June (O.S.), 1707. Again, Fīrūz Jang did not *withdraw* from the Dakhin (p. 335); he was removed by the emperor's orders. He was transferred to the province of Aḥmadābād Gujarāt, which was not "a small government," but probably the richest and most profitable of them all, except Bengal. His son, Chīn Qilich Khān, did not "remain in the Deccan"

(same page), but in compliance with a summons from the new emperor arrived at Āgrah on the 5th November, 1707, and on the 26th February, 1708, was appointed to the government of Audh. 'Aẓīm-ush-shān (not "Shāh," as printed here and elsewhere) was not the "youngest" (p. 341) but the second of Bahādur Shāh's four sons. The two Barhah Sayyads (p. 348) never fought on A'ẓam Shāh's side at Jājau; they were with Bahādur Shāh, and came with him from Lāhor; nor did they retire from court or go to Bengal, but in the course of time obtained the two governments of Allahabad and Bahār. These appointments were procured for them by 'Aẓīm-ush-shān, and they had nothing to do with Farrukhsīyar until his father's death. The batches of Sikhs executed at Dihlī could hardly have been "several hundreds each day" (p. 359); they were not much over seven hundred men altogether, and the daily executions lasted for a week.

The genealogical table on p. 364 omits to mention one of the emperors, 'Azīz-ud-dīn, 'Ālamgīr Ṣānī (son of Jahāndār Shāh), who reigned from 1754 to 1759. It therefore follows that No. 9, Shāh 'Ālam (son of 'Azīz-ud-dīn), was not the descendant of Jahān Shāh, but of Jahāndār Shāh, No. 3. Nor had Muḥammad Shāh "been living in retirement at Fathpur" (p. 368); he had been under lock and key in the Salīmgaṛh fort at Dihlī, with the rest of the princes of the royal house, and was brought thence to Āgrah down the river Jamnah.

Dilāwar 'Alī Khān's force (p. 369) was composed largely of *Rājputs*, not of *Mahrattas*; the latter were with 'Ālim 'Alī Khān. Nor did Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān come from the west; his advance on Burhānpur was from the north-east. The battle with 'Ālim 'Alī Khān took place two or three *kos* from Bālāpur in Barār (see Khāfī Khān, vol. ii, p. 889, or Elliot, vii, 499), a place that, according to the "Gazetteer for Barār," lies in the Akola district, some sixty miles *south-east* of Burhānpur. Where does Mr. Gribble find that this battle was fought twenty-five miles *west* of that town? Haidar Qulī Khān, Afshār, the

*Mīr Ātash*, or artillery general, was not "selected as the actual assassin" of Sayyad Ḥusain 'Alī Ḵẖān (p. 371); the man who volunteered to do the deed was Mīr Ḥaidar Beg, Dughlāt, Kāshgharī. On p. 374 Niẓām-ul-mulk's accession to power as chief minister is made to follow immediately upon the fall of the Sayyads. As a matter of fact, his cousin, Muḥammad Amīn Ḵẖān, Chīn, became minister, and it was only after this man's death that Niẓām-ul-mulk received that office (5th Jamādī I, 1134 H., 20th February, 1722). On p. 375 Mr. Gribble confounds two separate expeditions. Niẓām-ul-mulk left Dihlī for Aḥmadābād and Mālwah on the 2nd Ṣafar, 1135 H. (11th November, 1722), and was back at the capital on the 30th Ramaẓān (3rd July, 1723); he did not quit Dihlī on his flight to the Dakhin until the 25th Rabi' I, 1136 H. (22nd December, 1723).

It would not be unfair to say that Mr. Gribble's work, when completed, will be more a history of the Ḥaidarābād state, under the present ruling family, than a history of the whole Dakhin. Four centuries are disposed of in 311 pages; the rest of the work, that is, seventy pages of volume i and the whole of the second volume, will be occupied by the 170 years from 1722 to the present day. Thus the volume now before us is no more than the portico to the completed edifice; and by his second volume must Mr. Gribble's labours be judged. Materials for a full history of the present line of Nizams of Ḥaidarābād are abundant, and they will no doubt be carefully and exhaustively used in the concluding volume.

*December* 8, 1896. W. IRVINE.

1. THE FAITH OF ISLAM. By the Rev. EDWARD SELL, B.D., M.R.A.S. (Kegan Paul, Trübner and Co., 1896.)
2. L'ISLAM, IMPRESSIONS ET ÉTUDES. Par le Comte HENRY DE CASTRIES. (Armand Colin et Cie, 1896.)

The two works before us, though dealing with a common subject, differ greatly in scope and treatment. Mr. Sell

and M. de Castries have both lived in Mohammedan lands and acquired a personal knowledge of their subject.

During the many years which Mr. Sell has passed in India he has enjoyed the most intimate intercourse with Mohammedans, and, besides this, he has been able to consult the works of Musulman authors in the originals. The present volume is a second edition of a former work, and is "the result of another fifteen years' study of Islam." His treatment is mainly scientific and dogmatic. M. de Castries, on the other hand has studied Islam as an officer in the French colony of Algiers, and writes in a philosophic way of the characteristics of the followers of Mohammed.

Mr. Sell's work is a scholarly exposition and epitome of the various tenets embraced by Islam, in which he treats clearly and succinctly of each sect in turn. The book does not in any way claim to be an account of the rise and growth of Mohammedanism, but is merely a demonstration of the Faith of Islam as it really is in its various forms, and an indication of the manner in which it influences the lives of individuals and the customs of nations in the present day. All Mr. Sell's statements with regard to dogmatic teaching are the result of personal consultation of Mohammedan authorities. Nothing but praise can be spoken of the whole undertaking. It is no light task to put into plain English many of the obscure tenets of Islam; and while, on the one hand, the author has been careful, in consideration of the student, to employ and explain throughout the most important Arabic *termini technici*, he has, on the other hand, made his work accessible to the general reader also. Without ever being too prolix he has embraced a very wide range, and finds room, for example, for excellent accounts of the mystic poets and the Bābī movement in Persia.

Transliteration is a vexed and sore point with all Orientalists, and is likely to remain so; but surely some of Mr. Sell's versions are open to general criticism. He tells us, for example, in his preface that he has "retained

the anglicised forms Khalīf and Khalīfate, instead of using the more correct terms Khalīfa and Khalīfat." There seems considerable confusion here; for the "correct terms" are *Khalīfa* and *Khilāfat*, while Khalīf and Khalīfate (not being Arabic) bear the appearance of a transcription of our old English forms Caliph and Caliphate into trans-literated Arabic! Again, how is the form Moḥammadān, which is used throughout, to be explained? whence the long *ā*?

The fact that M. de Castries writes in full personal sympathy with the dogmas of the Roman Church gives additional value to the discrimination, impartiality, and even admiration which he displays in treating of the Mohammedan religion. He sees in Islam (and in this he is in accord with many notable doctors of his Church) the necessary link between fetichism and Christianity. He regrets that, "à l'exception d'un petit nombre d'orientalistes sans influence dans la politique," most people are inclined to regard the Musulman religion as a variety of paganism.

He takes up three special points on which Islam seems most to differ from Christianity, namely: Polygamy, the Conception of Paradise, and Fatalism. He would have us review our condemnation of the first in the light of the stories of the Patriarchs and the Kings of Israel. As regards the second, he points out the frequency among Oriental peoples of picturing supernal delights through sensuous imagery, and quotes as an example the writer of the Song of Songs. On the third point he considers that the doctors of his own Church have failed to come much nearer than the Musulman doctors to a solution of the much vexed problems of Foreknowledge and Freewill.

Other writers on Islam may possibly have dealt with equal candour on its essential teachings, but the able chapter at the conclusion of the volume well merits our consideration at the present time. M. de Castries therein reviews the attitude of Mohammedans towards their Christian conquerors, and puts the question, "Will amalgamation ever be possible?" Taking the experience of the

French in Algeria, he answers emphatically "No." The Arabs have migrated in their thousands towards the great Libyan desert, and sooner than reconquer Algeria they would conquer another land for Islam. There are to be found at the end of the volume several interesting appendices: one of special interest, occupying fifty pages, deals with "Les idées au moyen âge sur Mahomet et la réligion Musulmane."

E. D. R.

THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL. Vol. I. By C. R. WILSON, M.A., of the Bengal Educational Service. 8vo. (London: W. Thacker and Co., 1895.)

Mr. Wilson's work has been most severely, and, as it seems to me, most unfairly, condemned in one of the literary reviews. The grounds for attack were, first, that his Introduction was built up from the late Sir Henry Yule's "Diary of William Hedges, Esq."; secondly, that the India Office records were printed by him in a summary, instead of the full text. Something, too, was said, I think, about the audacity shown by one not officially concerned in touching that sacred ark. This line of criticism strikes one as most unfruitful, dealing as it does only with the accidents, and ignoring the essentials, of the work under review. If the book had in itself any merits or demerits, would it not be better to praise or censure them, without dilating on side issues having little or no bearing on a proper verdict?

As to the first objection, most people will think that Mr. Wilson has committed no breach of literary propriety. In his preface he plainly admits his indebtedness to Sir Henry Yule, and wherever he uses his predecessor's work he gives a reference to volume and page. If this is not enough, then no man can use the work of a predecessor, and all advance is barred; for no man can cope single-

handed with the whole of an immense subject. But it may be said that after Sir Henry Yule there was nothing left for anyone else to attempt; that Mr. Wilson, in writing over two hundred pages of introduction, has been merely wasting his time. Now, too high praise can never be accorded to the labours of Sir H. Yule; and the "Diary of William Hedges, Esq.," like all his books, is a delight to the studious reader. But the three volumes in question will never secure a very large audience; they are the raw material of history, and present no compact and finished narrative. This is the natural result of the diary form, which does not readily adapt itself to clear and continuous narrative. In such a case, any impartial judge must admit that there was room for a condensed story of our doings in Bengal, not excluding even the period covered by Hedges' diary and so admirably dealt with by Sir H. Yule.

The publication of a summary of the Bengal Consultations from 1704 having been resolved on, it was obviously necessary to begin by explaining the position of things there in that year. In other words, the author must commence the volume with some sort of introduction; and that which he has prefixed to his summary seems worthy of high praise. It can be declared, with a clear conscience, to be simple and terse in its language, lucid in its arrangement, and most interesting in its matter. Everyone who reads it through will know, in a way he never knew before, how the English made their entry into Bengal.

From the first timid approaches in 1633, through an obscure port in Orissa, with no idea but commerce, up to the foundation of Calcutta and the beginnings of rudimentary administration, the whole story is set before us in most attractive shape. Whether the full text of the documents should have been furnished instead of an abstract, cannot be decided with absolute certainty by anyone who has not collated the book with the originals; but from the internal evidence it may be safely surmised that there is little matter of any interest of which we have been deprived. If there is to be hereafter an official publication of the

full text, no one would offer any objection. But how long must we wait while these projects take shape? It is unwise, meanwhile, to discourage by formal disapproval the efforts of individual enthusiasm. Personal zeal can never be too strongly prized: mere official work can never take its place. Of this truth Sir Henry Yule himself is one of the brightest examples.

Many curious points brought out by Mr. Wilson might be commented on. One of the strangest is, perhaps, the quaint expedient introduced in 1704 of Government by Rotation—the directing head of the community being changed every week. Such a system must have been foredoomed to failure, even without the constant squabbling, that plague-spot of Indian official life, which not even Warren Hastings could eradicate. Lord Cornwallis was the first of our governors in India who was free of this fatal hindrance. Mr. Wilson must be held also to have made out his main proposition, namely, that the assumption of authority within a foreign state was forced upon the unwilling officers of the Company. The "country powers" (as they used to be called) were too weak to perform the most elementary duty of a State, the affording of protection to person and property against violence. As showing the low estimation in which Europeans were held in those early times, we may cite a story on p. 8 of the Introduction. In 1633 a ship captain was admitted to an audience with the Governor of Orissa. The governor, slipping off his sandal, offered his foot to our merchant to kiss, "which he twice refused to do, but at last he was fain to do it."

Mr. Wilson, with commendable boldness and fair success, has attempted the reduction of the old erratic spelling of Indian names to some sort of rule and order. There are still a number of minor points on which I could suggest some revision. For instance, in the note on the page of the Introduction just referred to, when he speaks of the governor's "allowance of two thousand rupees," he evidently means a *manṣab* of 2000 *zāt* (see the man's biography in

the *Maʾāṣir-ul-umarā*, iii, 452), and thus, to my thinking, makes two mistakes, *manṣab* meaning not an 'allowance' but a rank or command. Neither can the words *manṣab-i-do hazār-i-ẕāt* be rightly taken as having anything to do with 'two thousand rupees,' as I have tried to explain in the July number of our Journal, p. 510.

*Rāhdārī*, on p. 78, note, is rightly enough rendered as 'transit duty'; but the steps by which it reached this meaning are not given. To begin with, the idea was to afford special protection on certain roads peculiarly exposed to attack, such as that from Āgrah to Dihlī. Special officers were appointed as *Rāh-dārs* (literally, 'Road-keepers'), whose duty it was to furnish armed escorts to convoy travellers and goods. For this duty they were permitted to take payment. In time the grant of an escort was dropped, while the money continued to be levied. By this means the arrangement was turned into a transit duty pure and simple. The first literal meaning of *peshkash* (see the same page) is rather an 'offering' than 'firstfruits.' Thus *pesh kashīdan*, literally 'to lay before anyone,' i.e. to make an offering, hence *peshkash*, the thing so laid before or offered to anyone. The use of the word 'commission' for *farmāish* might be misunderstood; the word should be rather 'requisition,' for it means the order sent to an official to supply a superior with goods, which latterly were very seldom paid for, though in earlier days their cost was allowed as a debit against the revenue collections.

One or two more of these suggested corrections and I have done. Sher Buland Khān (p. 182 and elsewhere) would more properly be Sarbuland Khān. He and the prince 'Aẓīm-ush-shān married two sisters, and thus his prominence in Bengal is accounted for. Subsequently, he held successively the governments of Bahār, Kābul, Āgrah, and Gujarāt. I may also point out that Murshid Qulī Khān, the *dīwān* of Bengal, was removed on Bahādur Shāh's accession in 1119 H. (1707), and joined that monarch's camp on his march to the Dakhin. Murshid Qulī Khān was not reappointed to Bengal until the 2nd

Muḥarram 1122 H. (March 2, 1710), after the assassination of Ẓiā-ullah Khān.

The title of *Qāṣid-dār* (pp. 179, 278), given to the postmaster, must be peculiar to Bengal, as it is not found in any of the historians of the period, who speak of such an official as *Darogḥah-i-dāk*. The man referred to is known from other sources to have been Farrukhsīyar's *mīrsāmān*, or Lord Steward, within whose province the postal arrangements would fall. The Mīr Muhammad Dafar of line 30, p. 179, is no doubt Muḥammad Ja'far, a man from Shīrāz, afterwards created Taqarrub Khān; he died 9th Rabī' II, 1128 H. (April 1, 1716). From page 179 onwards, the prince living at Rājmaḥal must mean Farrukhsīyar, because his father, 'Aẓīm-ush-shān, left Bengal in 1707 (see p. 172) and never returned to it. This point might be made clearer than it is in Mr. Wilson's text. The year 1706 on p. 281, line 9, ought to be $170\frac{6}{7}$; for 'Ālamgīr died in 1707, on the 19th February (o.s.) or the 2nd March (N.S.). The technical meaning of *Nishān* (p. 27 and elsewhere) is 'formal writing or patent issued by a prince of the blood'; in short, the same thing that if issued by the sovereign was styled a *farmān*.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson will persevere and give us another volume at an early date, continuing the series of summaries. That volume ought to include all the reports and letters connected with the important mission to Dihlī under Mr. John Surman. Mr. Talboys Wheeler printed part of those papers in his "Early Records of British India"; and in his report on the records of the Calcutta Foreign Office he added a large number of contemporary translations (found in the Madras records) of *Ḥasb-ul-ḥukm*, and other communications from the chief minister, Sayyad 'Abdullah Khān. Further additions to our knowledge of this mission will be most valuable. Surman, according to Anglo-Indian tradition, rendered nugatory all the concessions gained at Dihlī by quarrelling with Murshid Qulī Khān on a matter of etiquette. Having come from Dihlī invested with a Mogul title higher than

that of Murshid Qulī Khān, Surman claimed the first visit upon his arrival at Murshidābād. The governor insisted on the precedence due to his office. Surman would not give way, but marched on to Calcutta, and Murshid Qulī Khān hindered, in every way in his power, the execution of the Company's *farmān*. "What mighty contests rise from trivial things!"

*December* 14, 1896. W. IRVINE.

THE MYSTIC FLOWERY LAND. By CHARLES J. H. HALCOMBE. 8vo, 225 pp. (London: Luzac and Co. Price 10*s.*)

This volume is a very popular personal narrative by a gentleman who has spent seven years in China. It makes no pretence to contribute anything to scholarship, and as a story is the reverse of exciting. A number of incidents, most of them of a very ordinary kind, are described, with remarks on things Chinese and on things in general, which we are afraid will rather weary the reader. With judicious skipping, it may amuse a vacant afternoon, and the coloured reproductions of the Chinese drawings of common life are well executed.

THE BUDDHIST PRAYING-WHEEL. By WILLIAM SIMPSON, M.R.A.S. 8vo, pp. 308. (London: Macmillan, 1896. Price 10*s.*)

Mr. Simpson has here given us a very interesting and instructive book. Starting with the so-called praying-wheel of the Tibetans, he points out what it really is, and, with the aid of excellent illustrations, makes the wheel, and the method in which the Lamas use it, clear. He then proceeds to show that it is not a praying-wheel at all; that the object aimed at is not prayer, but the repetition of a charm, *Om maṇi padme hung* (that is, Adoration! the Jewel in the Lotus), the *Shad-akshara-mantra* or Six-syllabled Charm.

This charm-cylinder is a piece of very ancient symbolism. It is found on coins as early as the time of Christ. It was not only in India that water was considered the source of the universe; and the lotus floating on the water was probably, and perhaps still is, regarded as a symbol of the universe, and the jewel in it as a symbol of the self-creative, or, rather, self-evolving, force which the Buddhists regarded as the only source of the universe. However this may be, there is a deep mystic meaning in the six syllables of the charm; and one can easily follow how it has come to be believed so potent.

In the ancient sculptures at Sānchi, and on the modern representations of Buddha's footprints in Ceylon, figures of the wheel play a great part. But this was an entirely different wheel, the symbol not of the universe, but of the royal chariot wheel of the kingdom of righteousness which the Buddha set rolling on. And there is yet a third Buddhist wheel, the symbol of the circle of transmigration, in which the unconverted man is, according to Buddhism, held to be bound fast. It is of the utmost importance to a right understanding of the question to keep these three, entirely different, symbols distinct.

All three — the wheel of the universe, the wheel of sovereignty, and the wheel of life—are derived from the wheel of the sun. It was Buddhism, it is true, that applied the second idea rather to the dominion of righteousness than to the outward, material dominion of an earthly king. But even in that portion of the wheel symbolism it worked on older materials; and only (in this instance as in so many others) gave a new and higher, more ethical, connotation to an already existing expression.

It is not only the Buddhists who adopted this symbolism from the older Indian faith. The Jains also have done so, as their sculptures recently discovered at Mathura and elsewhere clearly show. Unfortunately, there have not been found any Brahminical representations of this symbol of a similarly ancient date. But it is mentioned, which is more important, in books of the Brahmins which are

certainly even far older. Not only the Brāhmaṇas, but even the Vedas themselves, refer to the wheel of the sun. The wheel of the universe is referred to in the Śvetāśvatara Upanishad. This book is later than Buddhism, but the symbol is referred to incidentally in such a way that one cannot fail to see that the idea is old established and well known. Only the wheel of life has not, so far, been traced back to literature older than Buddhism.

These passages from the older Brahmin books show clearly that the original idea was that of a solar wheel, and this not only explains why so much importance was attached to the turning of it the way of the sun, but helps us also to trace the symbol still further back, to the time when the Aryan race had not yet entered India. Mr. Simpson brings together a great deal of curious information on the *Pradakshiṇa* (or walking round an object of veneration with the right hand towards it), and this not only from Indian (both Brahminical and Buddhist) sources, but from customs prevalent among the Greeks, the Kelts, and other Western nations. And not only so; he traces the same, or similar, ideas in Egypt and Japan, among the Muhammadans, and Jews, and Christians; and shows how throughout the long history of these strange customs the ideas of the wheel and of the sun lay at the back of the popular superstitions and beliefs.

The volume is throughout profusely illustrated, and Mr. Simpson has added a capital index and a useful bibliography. In bringing together so great a mass of material from all parts of the world, a number of incidental problems arise on which it is difficult to speak with absolute certainty. The moderation with which the author keeps the balance, and does not attempt to push his conclusions further than they can fairly go, is very marked. He modestly calls his work a "collection of materials," and a very admirable collection it is. It is certainly the best book that has yet appeared on the subject; and the summary in the last chapter ably puts the questions which the materials so brought together from many sources will help to solve.

LIFE OF BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON. By Sir WILLIAM HUNTER, K.C.S.I. 8vo, pp. 390. (London: John Murray, 1896.)

The Society will welcome this charming biography of one of its most distinguished members. The author has lavished upon it that literary skill of which he is a past master; and we have a delightful volume, which the reader when once he has begun it will be loath to lay down till it is finished. This is due, no doubt, in great part to the wonderfully interesting tale he had to tell, the charm of the noble and simple character he had to depict, the wide range of the intellectual problems which must necessarily be raised in any life of Hodgson. But too many biographies are a warning how easily the story might have been spoiled in the telling. And every reader will be grateful for the lucid way in which the facts are grouped, the easy style in which the work is written, the knowledge and care with which the various topics are so handled that accuracy is combined with grace.

The book opens with an account of Hodgson's boyhood and family surroundings; describes Haileybury College as it was when he spent there four short terms; takes him, still really only a boy, at 17, to India, and describes his life in the Calcutta of that day; gives a chapter to his first appointment in the then just acquired Kumaon valleys, and to his work there as revenue settlement officer; describes his solitary life of intellectual ardour as Assistant Resident in Nepal; and then devotes a considerable space (not one word too long) to a lucid and careful narrative of the political events with which he had to deal as Resident. This part of the book (chiefly based on Wright) is not only particularly valuable in bringing out the force of Hodgson's personal character, and his ability and tact as a man of affairs, but is of engrossing interest as a stirring chapter in modern Indian history. And the final catastrophe, when Lord Ellenborough so brusquely relieved Hodgson of his duties, and suddenly appointed another

civilian to his post, is clearly led up to and explained, to the complete justification of the Resident.

Hodgson's short journey home, and his life as a student bachelor recluse at Darjîling (1843–1853), are then taken up with the assistance of a charming letter from Sir John Hooker, who stayed with him there. Hodgson had then given up his studies in Buddhism, but pursued with unabated ardour the subjects of vernacular education in India, the study of the races of the Himalayan valleys, the physical geography of the Himalaya and Tibet, and the zoology, especially the ornithology, of Sikhim.

This leads up to four chapters describing Hodgson's work on Nepalese Buddhism, on the hill races of India, as a naturalist, and as a champion of vernacular education. The quoted opinions of the experts on all these subjects are amply sufficient to show not only that he added in each of them to human knowledge, but that in each of them he was in advance, in many respects, of his age, and took original views which time has proved to have been right. So vigorous an intellectual grasp in conjunction with so varied a genius is quite exceptional. Each specialist would, no doubt, with a reasonable envy, grudge the time and the attention that such a man devoted to the subjects outside the specialist's own range. And it is, of course, true that, had he kept to one subject, that branch of inquiry would have gained a greater impetus in a degree it is now, perhaps, impossible to estimate. But it is, to say the least, very doubtful whether the cause of knowledge would, as a whole, have thereby gained.

It is strange that Hodgson, after his final return home in 1855, in the full enjoyment of a physical and mental vigour that few can boast, ceased to take any active part in research. It were useless to speculate on the reasons for this where the biography throws no light. He was somewhat disappointed perhaps (though there is no evidence of this) at the meagre results, in England and in India, of the munificent generosity with which he had placed at the disposal of scholars the finest collection of materials

for the study of Sanskrit Buddhism ever brought together either in Europe or Asia. But no one was better aware than Hodgson himself of those peculiar circumstances which then (as now) made England so far behind the Continent in appreciation of research, and even in knowledge of the right method of research. The governing classes in England are only just now beginning to wake up to the duty of the State in this matter, and the Government of India was then even further in arrear. The noble words of Hodgson, full of that burning eloquence that comes of strong moral enthusiasm, on the education of the peoples of India, show what were the views he held—

"I have spent many years in India, remote from the Residencies and large towns, and almost entirely with the natives, whom, consequently, it was ever an object with me to conciliate for my own comfort, and whom I trust I always feel anxious to win, in order the better to accomplish my public duties, as well as to influence the people to their own advantage and improvement. Yes! I say I have *so* spent many, many years, and during them I solemnly declare that the only unequivocal, voluntary testimonies I have received of influence over either the hearts or the heads of the people, have been owing entirely to some little knowledge, on my part, of their literature! With this instrument I have warmed hearts and controlled heads which were utterly impassive to kindness, to reason, to bribery, and deeply am I persuaded, by experience and reflection, that the use of this instrument is indispensable in paving the way for any general, effective, safe measures of educational regeneration."[1]

But these were not, and from the circumstances under which they lived, could not be, the views of the rulers of India. Hodgson says:—

"At Calcutta the great body of influential men—influential from their stations, their talents, and their knowledge—are, have been, and must continue to be, strangers to India."[2]

[1] Hodgson, "Essays on Indian Subjects," vol. ii, p. 296.
[2] Ibid., p. 329.

They were not likely to value very highly knowledge they themselves had not. In the subjects they set for the young civilians to study, the literature of India, the history of the thought, of the industrial conditions, of the social institutions, of India, found no place. And they were more likely to resent, than to appreciate, the fact that so distinguished a man as Hodgson should have insisted, in words so powerful, on the importance of subjects beyond their ken. We find, at least, that Hodgson received none of those titular honours which were given to many of his less distinguished contemporaries.

But for that he would have cared little, and would have welcomed the present signs of a change at last. Englishmen are beginning to realize that they can no longer with safety remain so far behind France, and Germany, and Russia in their knowledge of Oriental literature and history. When they once begin they will rapidly overtake their rivals, for it is not the ability that has been wanting, but the will; and Englishmen in India will follow suit. Meanwhile, in Hodgson's particular field—in that chapter of history he first opened up, and then so lavishly provided with the materials for further work—in Indian Buddhism, interest is rapidly growing. The Sanskrit texts, for which Hodgson did so much, are acquiring new value precisely from the rapid publication of the Pali texts, once considered their rivals. And this is not really at all strange. The two sets of texts, the Pali and the Sanskrit, represent different schools and come from different countries. But they deal with the same chapter in the history of human thought. A knowledge of both is needed for a proper solution of the problems that arise, and it is not easy—it is, indeed, scarcely possible—rightly to appreciate either of them without the other. The very last work of importance published on Buddhism, Professor Windisch's masterly monograph on "Māra and Buddha," affords proof on every page of the intimate connection between the two, and is throughout one long example of the manner in which each can elucidate the other.

One may well, therefore, be impatient that whereas year after year three or four volumes of Pali texts are made accessible by the printing-press to scholars, the documents preserved and presented by Hodgson should be still almost entirely unpublished. It is a mere mockery to be told (p. 281) that they form the object of pious pilgrimage of travelling scholars, who visit (once in a generation or so!) the libraries where the generous donor hoped they would be used, and where they lie entombed. For entombed they are. It is only scholars with wealth enough to give them leisure who can study, as Burnouf did, the MSS. themselves. What is required to make Hodgson's gifts really useful, is to place the texts in print (and not summaries or abstracts only, but the whole texts) on the tables of scholars. M. Senart's splendid work on the Mahāvastu will accordingly be of more permanent value than Burnouf's. And only the want of money bars the way. Seventy or eighty pounds would pay for the printing of one book. A like sum ought to be set apart for the editor. When a few volumes had appeared the sale would suffice to pay for others. Our Society would be glad to undertake, without charge, all the business arrangements. Cannot those who revere the rare genius, the wide intellectual sympathies, the noble unselfishness of Hodgson, resolve to bring out a series of "Hodgson Texts," and thus to complete the work he had so splendidly begun? He could not have done this himself. There were no scholars then to do the editing. But the times are now ripe; scholars can be found ready trained. The importance and interest of the subject is acknowledged; and better than any statue, better than any title, would such a series of texts keep alive the memory of the man we all reverence, and whom the readers of this biography will learn to love.

For after all it is not so much the ever alert intellectuality, not the single-minded search after truth, not even the moral enthusiasm, as the simplicity and grace of Hodgson's personal character, that those who knew him best valued the most. We find here a typical example

of the noble life; a life reflecting such a lustre on the Service as the highest administrative ability, alone, could never hope to emulate. Would that its tone and spirit could animate the official world! The book ought to be in the hands, and in the heart, of every young civilian.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE JĀTAKA, TOGETHER WITH ITS COMMENTARY. By V. FAUSBÖLL. 8vo, pp. 600. (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1896.)

We heartily congratulate Professor Fausböll on the completion in this volume of the admirable edition of the 547 Buddhist Jātaka Tales, on which he has spent so many years of useful and arduous labour. He states in the few words of preface that he looks upon his edition as a provisional one, and no doubt all our editions of Pāli texts must be provisional. The study of the language, being so recent in origin, has not been carried far enough to enable the editor to decide even on which is the best of the readings preserved in the MSS. he has to work on. And we may fairly hope, as the years go by, to procure better and older MSS. But among the Pāli texts that have so far appeared —and the number of volumes now amounts to fifty—this particular work is not only one of the very best, but from the nature of its contents is particularly valuable from the point of view of Pāli syntax and lexicography. We are glad to see that there is to be another volume to contain an essay—a kind of prolegomena in the form of a *post-scriptum* by the editor—and an index of names by his friend Dr. Dines Andersen. We have had the advantage of seeing advance proofs of the first sheets of this index, and can announce that it will be specially full and valuable.

The actual contents of this volume are the last ten stories, including some of the most famous, such as the Ummagga, Sāma, Vidhūra, and Vessantara. Translations from the Burmese of the second and third of these four have lately

appeared in our Journal, from the pen of Mr. St. John, and our readers will recollect that they have much more of the form of novelettes than of the usual fable or birth story. This is still more the case with the remaining ones. The Pāli text of the Ummagga fills 150 of Professor Fausböll's large pages in the Pāli, and an English translation of it would probably occupy about 400 pages of this Journal; and the Vessantara is nearly as long.

Meanwhile the Cambridge scheme for translating the whole work is making promising progress. Two volumes have already appeared in print, and two others are in preparation. And it will not be long before we have this invaluable collection of old-world stories, of all sorts and sizes, accessible to the European scholar, both in Pāli and in English.

It will be scarcely necessary now to point out the great value of this work—not only the oldest, most authentic, and most complete collection of ancient folklore in the world, but a veritable mine of information for anyone who studies the home life, the social customs and institutions, the daily habits, and common beliefs of the peoples of India; and for Pāli students it is simply indispensable.

LES CASTES DANS L'INDE: LES FAITS ET LE SYSTÈME. Par ÉMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut. 12mo, pp. 257. (Paris: Leroux, 1896.)

DIE SOCIALE GLIEDERUNG IM NORDÖSTLICHEN INDIEN ZU BUDDHA'S ZEIT. Von Dr. RICHARD FICK. Large 8vo, pp. 241. (Kiel: Haeseler.)

HINDU CASTES AND SECTS. By JOGENDRA NATH BHATTACHARYA, President of the College of Pandits at Nadiya. 8vo, pp. 623. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1896. Price 12 rupees.)

The number of books on Caste in India has been very large. And this is no wonder. For the institution, or custom, is not only interesting in itself from various stand-

points—historical, ethical, political—but is quite peculiar to India. All the important books on the subject are specified in M. Senart's admirable little volume, and are probably well known to our readers. It would be useless, therefore, to refer to them here, and it will suffice to recall to our minds that the theories put forward as to the origin and meaning of caste are about equal in number to the books upon it, and are irreconcilable one with the other. It is a striking proof of the genius of our distinguished Honorary Member, that having descended into so long-fought a fray with a tiny duodecimo essay, a reprint of three articles in a review,[1] he should have been able, after first dissipating the mists of delusion, to put forward a solution of the problem which is practically final. After reading the essay the reader will see that it is not only the best treatment of the question we have had, but is the only treatment of it that any longer merits serious attention.

It is well known that the population of India is divided into a number of sections, which we call 'castes,' the members of which are debarred from the right of intermarriage (connubium) and in constantly varying degrees from the right of eating together (commensality) with the members of other sections. The disastrous effects, from the ethical, social, and political points of view, of the consequent restrictions have been often grossly exaggerated, and the advantages of the system ignored. But it cannot be denied that the term 'caste' covers a state of things which it behoves the rulers of India, at least, clearly to understand. The Government has accordingly spent large sums, and employed for lengthy periods the services of some of their ablest civilians, in the collection of elaborate evidence on the subject; and the costly and valuable census returns have been largely tinged with the question. Nevertheless we do not know to this day how many castes there are, or the exact degrees of restriction by endogamy and by exogamy, and by disabilities of various kinds as to meats

[1] Revue des deux mondes.

and drinks, to which each caste is subject. The reports are hazy as to what caste really means and implies, the most contradictory views as to the nature of caste have governed the minds of the collectors of evidence, and of the census officials; and consequently (while the great value and importance of the results obtained are beyond question) it is difficult, and, indeed, in many cases impossible, to compare these results together.

It would seem that there must be between two and three thousand such caste divisions in India. And although this is only a vague guess, owing to the inexactitude of the returns pointed out by M. Senart (p. 17), it is enough to show that the restrictions are not confined, after all, within such very narrow limits. The Brahmin law books suppose that all these castes are descended from an original fourfold division into Brahmins, knights, tradespeople, and work-people. Mr. Wesfield, Mr. Ibbetson, and Mr. Risley disregard this, and set up irreconcilable theories. One of these is that castes are derived from occupations, another is that they are derived from differences of race. M. Senart, agreeing that the Brahmin theory cannot be admitted, is easily able to show that neither of the other theories at all cover the facts which the writers of the reports have themselves brought together. They lie, in fact, open to the same objections as those that make it impossible to explain the origin of religion by any one cause, such as ghost-worship, phallus-worship, or sun-worship. Some castes, no doubt, are occupation-castes, some are race-castes, some are religion-castes; but no one of these explanations is sufficient, alone, to explain the varied results that lie before us in the returns; no one of them, standing alone, is based on a large enough historical induction.

Now we have long known that the connubium was the cause of a determined struggle between the patricians and the plebeians in Rome; and evidence has been yearly accumulating on the existence of restrictions as to intermarriage, and as to the right of eating together, among other Aryan tribes—Greek, Germans, Russians, and so on.

Even without the evidence of the existence, now, of such restrictions among the modern successors of the Aryans in India, it would have been almost certain that the ancient Aryan tribes, there also, were subject to the same divisions. The facts of caste make it certain. More than this, restrictions as to connubium and commensality are not confined to Aryan races. It is probable that the notion of such customs was familiar enough to some, at least, of the races that preceded the Aryans in India. The basis of such customs as regards marriage is always, wherever they exist, a threefold one—a section (parallel to our modern tables of affinity) within which a man can not marry; a larger section within which he can; and all the rest of the world with whom he can not intermarry. Both the spirit, and to a large degree the actual details, of the restrictions of caste are identical with these ancient, worldwide, and especially Aryan, customs. It is in them that we have the key to the origin of caste.

M. Senart shows how the growth of strong political and national feelings constantly tended, in the West, to weaken, and at last succeeded in removing, these restrictions. He suggests that the absence of such feelings in India may be one reason why the disabilities have not, also there, been gradually softened away. It is, indeed, very suggestive for the right understanding of Indian history, that they should, on the contrary, have become so permanent a factor in Indian life. The problem remaining is to trace in the literature the gradual growth of the system—the gradual formation of new sections among the people; the gradual extension of the caste-system to the families of people engaged in the same trade, belonging to the same sect, tracing their ancestry (whether rightly or wrongly) to the same source. All these factors, and others besides, are real factors. But they are phases of the extension and growth, not explanations of the origin, of the system.

It is, of course, impossible in a short summary of this sort to state the case with all the necessary limitations and reserves with which it is put forward in the essays

themselves. Everyone interested in the subject must read M. Senart's book. It is only possible here to show the general lines along which the argument, so soberly and convincingly put forward, is there carried on.

Dr. Fick's work is an admirable example of the way in which such a study of caste in the literature should be conducted. He has wisely chosen a series of texts the date of which is (sufficiently, at least, for the purpose of his inquiry) practically ascertainable; and the Buddhist texts he works on have the further advantage that the facts mentioned in them are not coloured by any preconceived notions, are recorded by men independent of the Brahmin influence, and are referred to quite incidentally. He shows conclusively that there was not then (just as there is not now, and never has been) any Brahmin caste in India. There are many castes of Brahmins who follow all sorts of occupations, which is a very different thing. In the same way there is no Khattiya caste; there is a social class of bureaucrats, a governing class, which is also a very different thing. And there is no caste of tradespeople (Vessā); there is a social class of *Seṭṭhis*, and many different castes associated with trade of various kinds. M. Senart is here in error in supposing that *Gahapati* is used in Buddhist literature as a name for the Vessā. We hear of Brahmin Gahapatis as well as of Seṭṭhi Gahapatis and plain Gahapatis; and the passage he quotes in support of his proposition mentions, not the *Gahapati*, but the *Kulaputta*; and it might be suggested that his description of the Brahmin *Cātuvaṃṇya* theory as a designation of what was really not four castes, but four classes, should be so far modified that it should read rather "four groups of castes," than four "classes."

All the passages relating to these higher ranks are worked out by Dr. Fick with great completeness and admirable judgment. The lower grades are less fully dealt with. A man is often described in the Pitaka books with a compound ending in *-putta* and preceded by the name of an

occupation (*kevaṭṭa-putta*, *assāroha-putta*, and so on). This does not mean that he was the son of a fisherman, etc., but that he was "of the sons of the fisherfolk," that he belonged to the class of fishermen. There can be very little doubt that in most cases, if not in all, it is a caste also, not merely a class, that is implied. Then there is frequent mention of Nesādas, Kirātas, Pukkusas, Candālas, and other sections, which are evidently castes. It would be an excellent plan to collect *all* such references with the view of seeing what numerical, geographical, social, and other conclusions could be safely drawn. Dr. Fick has referred to cases mentioned in the Jātaka of the customs relating to technical purity and impurity, to the connubium, and to commensality. It would be a valuable addition to his essay to collect all similar cases from the Pitaka books. The present essay gives us only isolated specimens; and it is only because what we have is so important and interesting that we wish for more of a similar kind.

The third work on our list is of quite a different order. In it we have the existing caste divisions dealt with, strictly from the Brahmin point of view, each in a short section. The list is not exhaustive, and the statements under each section are not exhaustive. The only attempts at explanation are a series of classifications and generalizations drawn up with much ingenuity, tending to support the Brahmin position, and having very little relation to the facts. In the sections devoted to the subdivisions consequent on the various religious movements of later times, we have usually a sketchy life of the founder and a superficial account of the tenets of the school. We there learn that all that does not fit in with the sentiments of orthodox Brahmins is bad, thoroughly bad, bad form. The author has no kind word to say for any person, or for any opinion, outside the charmed circle. And herein lies the value of the book. It gives us an excellent picture of the tone and spirit that have had so much influence, through the centuries, in shaping the caste-system of India. It is

an instructive guide to the intricacies of the feelings by which the various grades and castes and divisions are nicely weighed in a balance and placed in just their proper social position. It enables us to see the whole complex organization through Brahmin spectacles.

MANUAL OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. By H. KERN. 8vo, pp. 137. (Strassburg: Trübner & Co. Price 7*s*.)

In this beautifully printed volume (the printer is Drugulin, of Leipzig), we have the Buddhist books discussed in twelve pages, and then about thirty pages each devoted to the life of the Buddha, Buddhism, the Buddhist Order, and the outlines of the history of the Buddhist community.

Of the books we learn that the Pāli Sutta Pitaka in substance probably existed in the third century B.C., and that the Rules of the Order are still older. The Sanskrit books are but partially known, and their dates are quite uncertain. The expression "Northern Buddhists" for the various sects to which they belong is said (p. 3) not to be accurate, and it is a pity that the learned author has not therefore discarded the use of it. At the end of this catalogue of books we have a page on Indian thought and ideals at the time of the rise of Buddhism, and it is pointed out in a note that the idea of *Māyā* (in the sense of the "illusion" of the later thinkers) was current then. This is surely an error. The word has not yet been traced (in that sense) in any work older than the Pāli Pitakas, nor in them. Though Śankara reads the idea into the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads, it is, as a matter of fact, not to be found there.

In the second part, the Life of the Buddha, the plan followed is to give, in the author's own words, an abstract of the account as found in Buddhist books of various dates and the product of various schools. Thus, for the first part we are told that it is mainly based upon the Nidāna

Kathā (which, by-the-bye, is wrongly stated to have been translated by Chalmers); and in the subsequent parts other authorities are abstracted in the same way, and the details are completed from various sources.

Now the beliefs of the Buddhists concerning the personal history of Gotama have varied in every time and country, growing in magnificence as the interval of time grows greater. Our author regards them all with impartiality, and brings them together in a narrative which has the merit of comprehensiveness, but also the disadvantage of not representing any phase of Buddhism that ever existed. When the various accounts of a supposed episode in the life of the Buddha, written by authors differing from one another by centuries in date and by thousands of miles in *domicile*, are welded together in a new account differing, both by omission and by addition, from each and all of those on which it is based, we obtain a fresh version of the story that is eclectic, it is true, but that corresponds to no one stage in the history of Buddhist belief. It is difficult to see what use can be made of this. The student does not even get the author's own view, either as to what really happened or as to the growth of the story. If the various accounts were given side by side, there would at least be the materials out of which a life of the Buddha, or a history of the lives of the Buddha, might afterwards be constructed. But the narratives are not preserved in their original form. It is impossible for the reader to know whether the words he is reading are those of the compiler, or of the Buddhist author he has principally, at the time, in his mind. No student will care to wade through arid reproductions in this style of ancient legends, whose beauty and poetry (often their only merit) have evaporated under the effect of an unsympathetic travesty in what is, necessarily, a cursory abstract.

In the description of Buddhism a similar method is followed. We have not the Buddhism of any one age or country; and as it was, of course, impossible to set out the whole of Buddhism, a selection has been made from various

sources. No two authors would probably, under the circumstances, make exactly the same selection. In fact, the early Buddhists, in putting into the Buddha's own mouth summaries of his view of life, of his religion, have chosen in different suttas different words. We have one very interesting such summary, for instance, in the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, though it is confined, as the name implies, to the Buddhist view of the advantages to be gained through life in the Order. Not only are all these ancient summaries of Buddhism ignored, but the selection here made is charged with a quite different tone and spirit; and if there be any truth at all in the views put forward by the oldest authorities we have, the Buddha would scarcely recognize it as an exposition of his doctrine. The disadvantage of this would be somewhat compensated for if the doctrine here set out had been held at any time, by the Buddhists of any age or country, as their faith. We should then have a picture, if not of original Buddhism, yet of the Buddhism of some later stage; and that would be useful for purposes of comparison. Unfortunately that is not the case. Early and late are mingled together. And we have not the advantage, which would be very great, of Professor Kern's own views as to the manner or degree in which the growth or change took place.

The defects of the system thus followed are sufficiently obvious. But should any wish to see what can be made out of it by a scholar of great learning and philological acumen, he would do better to consult the present author's larger work entitled "Het Buddhisme," of which the one before us is, in great part, a compilation. In the older work there is a better proportion of space in which to set out the system, and it is accompanied (in the German translation) by a capital index. There is no index to this one.

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ART. VIII.—*On the Origin of the Ancient Northern Constellation-figures.* By ROBERT BROWN, Jun., F.S.A.

## I.

AMONGST the most remarkable instances of the result of careful observation and systematized thought which Western Asia has given to the world at large, are the Signs of the Zodiac, and the ancient extra-zodiacal constellation-figures, northern and southern; and by 'ancient' I mean those which have been enshrined for all future time in the *Phainomena* of Aratos.[1] Of the Twelve Signs I shall only speak incidentally. It is now many years since Ideler and Guigniaut, contrary to the views of Letronne, arrived at the correct conclusion that the Signs of the Zodiac came, with so much else of archaic thought and civilization, from the Euphrates Valley; and, having firmly established themselves in Hellenic usage, were afterwards carried by Greek conquerors as far as India in the east and Egypt in the south. But, although modern research has supplied an immense amount of material for the purpose, it is remarkable

[1] Vide R. B., jun., *The Heavenly Display of Aratos*, 1885.

that the classic work of Ideler[1] still gives the best account of the constellation-figures and their various stars. Surely, then, it is time that an effort was made to utilize in a connected form some at least of the results of subsequent investigation; and, although the inquiry, like all such, is progressive, and, like all researches into the ancient and archaic past, is beset with numerous difficulties, yet the principles to be applied and the general outlines of the subject are clear and distinct.

That the Greeks either themselves 'invented' the general scheme of constellations, or received this artificial arrangement from savages, there is not the slightest evidence. Men naturally group stars in idea, and from China to Peru we find constellation-figures; but I am not speaking of such figures generally, only of the familiar Aratean forms. And even amongst these the same idea may occasionally arise independently; e.g., Greeks and North American Indians alike called the seven *Wain*-stars a *Bear*. Again, the amount of evidence that this scheme of figures was not Hellenic in origin is overwhelming, and e.g. is proved by the Babylonian origin of the Signs of the Zodiac; so that, whilst, on the one hand, we have no evidence of Greek origin, on the other hand there is absolute evidence to the contrary. I have shown elsewhere[2] that long ere the days of Eudoxos, who died cir. B.C. 350, the Greeks were familiar with the constellation-figures generally; and it is further to be remembered that classical writers frequently speak of the introducer or popularizer of any discovery or branch of knowledge as its 'inventor,' As all investigation shows, man 'invents' remarkably little; his ideas and discoveries are slowly evolved from the facts, suggestions, and analogies of nature. Thus, to give an instance: according to Diogenês Laertios, Anaximandros of Milêtos "was the first discoverer of the gnomon"; whereas, as Hêrodotos (ii, 109) truly says, "The gnomon,

[1] *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, 1809.
[2] Vide *The Heavenly Display*, p. 87 et seq.

with the division of the day into twelve parts, was received by the Greeks from the Babylonians." If, then, the constellation-figures did not arise amongst the Greeks, if they adopted the Babylonian Signs of the Zodiac, what is the *a priori* conclusion respecting the introduction of these figures into Hellas at which we should naturally arrive? Surely it is this, that after making all due allowance for any influence which the mixed peoples of Asia Minor had upon the Greek mind—and such influence was certainly considerable in many respects—the channel by which the Aratean constellation-figures reached Hellas was Phoenician. And when we turn from general probability to particular testimony, we find the unhesitating opinion of antiquity summed up in the dictum of Strabo (XVI, ii, 24) that "astronomy and arithmetic came to the Hellenes from the Phoenicians." They were led, naturally enough, to study these sciences, he says, from their commercial accounts and sailings by night; and the instance that they taught the Greeks to steer by the *Little Bear* instead of by the *Great Bear*, is too familiar for more than a passing notice. If it be objected that astronomy is a very different thing from imagining constellation-figures, I answer that astronomy then really mainly was what the word implies, i.e. 'star-naming'; and if even the modern atlas finds a certain use in these old figures, or, at all events, does not venture to discard them, much more were they serviceable to ancient mariners.

We shall find on examination that almost every one of the extra-zodiacal constellation-figures, whether northern or southern, is connected in myth and legend or in art with the sphere of foreign and Phoenician influence; and, from the case of the Signs of the Zodiac, this is only exactly what might be expected. Now the more we investigate the history of early Hellas, the wider does this sphere prove to be, and the deeper is its influence shown to have penetrated. I am well aware that some writers, influenced by a former stage of knowledge and opinion, attempt to minimize the effect of foreign contact upon

the Greek mind. They rather unwillingly admit that Phoenicians probably landed in Boiôtia, and that Aphroditê bears traces of Semitic influence,[1] but decline to go much further in this direction, and e.g. stoutly claim Poseidôn and Dionysos as genuine Hellenic divinities.[2] But this standpoint represents the past, not the future of research, and is daily becoming more obsolete. Again, some modern writers, such as M. Svoronos[3] and Professor D'Arcy W. Thompson,[4] are beginning tentatively to connect ancient art, and especially coin-types, with the constellation-figures. But there need be no hesitation in the matter. As I have shown,[5] by instances taken almost at random from Mysia and Ionia, constellation-figures swarm on coins, and bear witness alike to their deep and widespread influence and to their foreign associations. Phoenician coins especially illustrate this. Amongst many whose researches are of value in the investigation may be specially mentioned Movers, Bunsen, and Lenormant—with whose studies of the fragments of Sanchouniathôn and Pherekydês of Syros the inquirer should be familiar—and the very remarkable work of M. Victor Bérard, *De l'Origine des Cultes Arcadiens*, 1894. This accomplished writer, who combines an actual and practical knowledge of the locality of which he treats with keen acumen and an acquaintance with the latest authorities, bids fair, when his work is carefully weighed and its conclusions duly appreciated, to effect a revolution in the current ideas respecting a large portion of Greek mythology and legendary history. The principal classical

[1] It is satisfactory to find that Mr. L. R. Farnell, in his important work *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1896, is sound on this point. Aphroditê, he declares, "was originally an Oriental [by which he evidently means 'non-Aryan'] divinity" (ii, 618). The attempt of Professor Hommel to explain the name—Istar—Ashtoret—Athtoret—Aphtoret—Aphrotet—'Αφροδίτη—he regards as 'ingenious,' "but philological analogies are wanting."

[2] "The worship of Dionysos . . . had been borrowed by the Greeks from the East" (Sayce, *Rel. Anct. Babylonians*, p. 54, n. 2). Semelê = Ph. 'Samlath, the Sumero-Akkadian goddess Samelâ (vide R. B., jun., *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, pt. i, p. 22).

[3] *Sur la Signification des Types Monétaires des Anciens*, 1894.

[4] *On Bird and Beast in Ancient Symbolism*, 1895.

[5] R. B., jun., *Greek Coin-types and the Constellation-figures*, in the *Academy*, Sept. 21, 1895.

authorities for constellation legends will be found collected by C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, Berlin, 1878.

## II.

I will next take the northern extra-zodiacal constellation-figures in order, and point out a few of the numerous indications of their Semitic connection.

Aratos (*Phai.*, 31–4) says of the *Bears*:—

> "From Krete to heaven these, by the will of Zeus
> Mounted, what time they him concealed a babe
> In odorous Diktê, near the Idaian hill,
> Within a cave, and nourished him a year."

M. Svoronos observes that in Kretan coin-types the *Great Bear* is represented as a Cow, hence *Boötês* ("the Herdsman"—of the Cow-Bear), and the *Little Bear* as a Dog ('Chienne'), a Zeus-suckler (vide Coins of Kydonia, "Hound suckling Infant"). In the migration of myths and legends one animal frequently replaces another, in accordance with the fauna of the several countries into which the story is successively introduced. I need hardly observe that Krete, the island of Poseidôn,[1] is one of the chief centres of Phoenician influence in Hellas. The Bear was a sacred animal in Syria[2]; and in his valuable treatise *Peri tês Suriês Theou*, in which he has so amusingly imitated the style and mental standpoint of Hêrodotos, Lukian says: "In the courtyard [adjoining the temple of the goddess] great oxen [cf. *Tauros*] and horses [cf.

[1] "Le nom d'un dieu *Tân* se trouve en composition dans celui d'Itanos de Crète, *i-Tân*, 'l'île de Tan.' Les plus anciennes monnaies de cette île représentent le dieu Tân comme un personnage à queue de poisson, tenant le trident de Neptune; au revers est représenté le monstre marin *tannîn* et sa femelle" (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, i, 545, n. 2). Πόσις-Ἴτωνος = Ποσειδῶν, "Lord-of-the-isle-of-Tân." Itônos, a variant of the name, appears as the husband of Melanippê ("Black-horse" = the black Dêmêtêr Hippia, vide inf., p. 223) and sire of Boiôtos (Paus., IX, *i*, 1), i.e. the inhabitants of Boiôtia.

[2] Vide Bachofen, *Der Bär in den Religionen des Alterthums*; Bérard, p. 130 et seq.

*Hippos-Pêgasos*] and eagles [cf. *Aetos*] and bears and lions [cf. *Leôn*] roam free, and they never harm men and are all sacred" (cap. xli). The *Great Bear* was also from very early times connected with the nymph Kallistô ("the most beautiful," i.e., in a stellar phase, a specially bright constellation) = Artemis Kallistê, a form of the great Semitic goddess[1]; and the extraordinary bear-cult of Braurôn in Attikê,[2] in connection with the goddess Artemis Orthia ("the Phallic") = the goddess Ashêrah ("the Upright") of Kanaan, equally illustrates the position of the Bear as a sacred animal connected with a foreign ritual. The Greeks, as is now generally recognized, constantly applied the names of their own native gods and goddesses to any foreign divinity who seemed to correspond in some phase or way with the epichorial divinity, just as Latin writers speak of the 'Juno' of Carthage, etc.

It is quite possible that the Greeks, independently of any Semitic influence, called the seven *Wain*-stars *Arktos*, in accordance with a line of thought made familiar to us by Professor Max Müller; but this does not exclude a joint Semitic influence, which would be all the more powerful if it tended to a similar conclusion. The Homeric statement that the "*Bear* alone is exempt from being dipped in the ocean flood" (*Il.*, xviii, 489), has much vexed the souls of commentators; and whilst Strabo (I, i, 6) would give to the *Bear* the non-natural sense of "the Arctic Circle," Delambre and Sir G. C. Lewis think "that the Great Bear was the only portion of the sky which, in Homer's time, had been reduced [by the Greeks] into the form of a constellation." Strabo remarks that "the second [*Bear*] was not considered a constellation until, on the Phoenicians specially designating it and employing it in navigation, it became known as one to the Greeks." The view of Delambre is exceedingly improbable, and I understand 'Homer' to mean that the *Bear* alone of the constellations which he specially

[1] Vide Bérard, p. 129 et seq., where this point is proved at length.
[2] For a detailed account of this, vide R. B., jun., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i, 239–41; ii, 134–5.

names, the others being the *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Oriôn*, "hath no part in the baths of Ocean." But it is clear from Strabo and from other authorities[1] that the *Little Bear* was a Phoenician constellation; and as the Phoenicians did not borrow, but lent, constellation-names, it further appears that the *Great Bear* was one likewise. We have positive testimony that neither of the *Bears* appeared in the native spheres of Egypt and Babylonia.[2] It is true that we meet in *W.A.I.*, II, xlix, No. 4, l. 44, with a *Kakkab Dabû* ("Star of the Bear"); but this, whatever it may have been, was neither of the *Arktoi*. The Sumero-Akkadian name of the *Great Bear* was *Margidda* ("the Long-chariot")=the *Wain*, which "all the year is fixed" (*Kal satti izzaz*, *W.A.I.*, III, lii, No. 1, Rev. l. 24); and the fact, always insisted on, that the constellation had two names, *Bear* and *Wain*, seems to refer to different appellations having been given by different peoples. The *Little Bear*, a constellation peculiarly Phoenician, as above noticed, is a reduplication of the *Great Bear*,[3] and its special name Kynosoura—by a popular etymology understood as "Dog's Tail," which is absurd, for more than the tail is shown—would appear on the Hellenic side, like Lykosoura, to mean "Trail-of-light."[4] But, especially since the Zeus Lykaios of Lykosoura was a Phoenician divinity,[5] it is more than probable that *oura* in origin was the Sem. *aôr*, 'light.' Kynouros was a son of Perseus, and Kynosouros, a son of Hermês, who gave his name to a peak in Arkadia (Steph. Byzant. in voc. *Kynosoura*); and the word, which seems always to be connected with height and light, may probably be a transcription from the Semitic, or even an echo of a Euphratean name.[6] A gem from Asia Minor, figured in the *Thierbildler* of MM. Imhoof-Blumer and

[1] Vide R. B., jun., *The Celestial Equator of Aratos*, p. 2.
[2] Vide inf., p. 216.
[3] For illustration of the mythic Law of Reduplication, vide R. B., jun., *Eridanus*, sec. x.
[4] Vide R. B., jun., *The Heavenly Display*, p. 8, and authorities cited; Sir R. F. Burton, *Thousand Nights and a Night*, ii, 368.
[5] Vide Bérard, pp. 49-93.
[6] Vide R. B., jun., *Euphratean Stellar Researches*, pt. iii, p. 9.

Keller, shows the *Bears* and the *Serpent* (*Drakôn*) much as on a modern globe.

*Hêraklês*, the *Kneeler*. "Certains," says M. Bérard (p. 257), "ont voulu tirer 'Ηρακλῆς de *harokel, le voyager*, et peut-être trouverait-on à cette hypothèse une confirmation dans l' Ἀρχαλεύς de Gadès et l' Ἄργαλος de Laconie." 'Marathon' is, of course, a Phoenician name, and "the district of Marathon worshipped Hêraklês; indeed, it boasted that it had been the first of all the Hellenic countries to worship him (Paus., I, xxxii, 4). Hêraklês is Archal, the labouring, striving, fighting Baal Melkarth of the Phoenicians."[1] Whether there was a Hellenic, as well as a Phoenician Hêraklês, I shall not here inquire; but, if so, the latter has completely overshadowed the former, and even in Hellas, Hêraklês is particularly connected with localities especially under Phoenician influence, such as Boiôtia, Argos, and Arkadia. But this constellation-figure, rightly identified with Hêraklês, is especially called the *Kneeler* (*Engonasin, Nixus, Genunixus*, "Nixa genu species," etc.); and this special attitude links it with Euphratean art of the most archaic types and times: witness the specimen from Nippur given by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, 1896, vol. I, pt. 2, pl. xxvi: "Man fighting a lion." The Babylonian cylinders show the kneeling Gilgames in conflict with a lion, and the type continues from age to age until we come to the fine kneeling Hêraklês of Thasos (vide Svoronos, pl. xvi), a well-known Phoenician settlement (cf. Hêrod., ii, 44). The mythic history of Hêraklês is, to a great extent, that of the constellations. He obtains the golden apples, "idealized quinces,"[2] the "Kydonian [Kretan] apple," guarded by the *Serpent* (*Drakôn*) called Ladôn (=Sem. *Letaa* or *Letoöh*, lit. 'lizard,' crawling monster: cf. *El Lagarto*='alligator'), and alluded to in *Job*, xxvi, 13, as

[1] Professor Duncker, *History of Greece*, Eng. edit., i, 63.
[2] Hehn, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, Eng. edit., p. 185.

"the crooked Serpent" (*Nâkhâsh*); and in the sphere his right foot "is planted on the twisting *Serpent's* head" (Aratos, *Phai.*, 70) in token of his victory. As Merôdaχ fights with and overcomes the three Demon-birds (vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxi, 7), or contends with his bow and arrows against a single Bird (ibid., pl. liv, B. 11), so Melqarth-Hêraklês, in the sphere, kneeling, from his bow shoots an arrow (= the constellation *Oïstos-Sagitta*) against the constellations the *Eagle* (= the Euphratean constellation *Idχu*, "the Eagle." The Eagle is a frequent coin-type), the *Vulture* (=the Euphratean *Raditartaχu*, "the Lämmergeier," Heb. *Tartak*[1]), otherwise the Phoenician *Kinnôr* ("the Zither") or *Lyra* (which appears as a coin-type in the familiar Aiginetan Tortoise), and the *Bird* (*Ornis*), otherwise the *Swan*. He also in legend kills Kyknos (= *Cygnus*, 'Swan') in battle. With his lyre (*Kinnôr*) he kills Linos, the Phoenician dirge *Ai-Lênu* ("Alas for us!") personified, for, as a furious and raging Sun-god, also representative of the Phoenician human sacrifice ritual, he is constantly, in the myth, slaying those near and dear to him. Like his fellow constellation-hero *Perseus* he fights against a *Sea-monster* (= *Kêtos*: vide *Il.*, xx, 145), and also overcomes the *Bull* (= *Tauros*), whether Kretan, Tirynthian, or Marathonian, all Phoenician localities. He conquers the twin Moliones (= *Gemini*), who, according to some accounts, were united in one body with two hands, four arms, and four legs. He overcomes *Hydra* and *Karkinos* (*Cancer*), as shown on the coins of the Kretan town Phaistos. Like the Euphratean Gilgames he conquers the *Lion* (= *Leôn*) and wears its skin, with which he appears on Phoiniko-Kilikian coins, where he is also represented with club and bow, or holding up a lion by the tail in Euphratean fashion. He overthrows the Centaurs (= *Toxotês-Sagittarius* and *Kentauros*), and so, sun-like, goes triumphing through the Signs.

There are two natural shapes among the northern

[1] 2 *Kings*, xvii, 31. Vide R. B., jun., in the *Academy*, June 20, 1895.

constellation-figures, the *Crown* and the *Tridngle.* The former is connected in myth with the Semitic Dionysos, who gave it to the Kretan Ariadnê (= Sem. *'Aretah*?), and who traditionally invented buying, selling, the triumph, and the "diadema, regium insigne" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii, 57); that is to say, the Sun-god established civilization, and first triumphantly crowned heaven with his glowing circle. The *Crown* or *Wreath* appears upon Phoenician coins of Kossura and Gaulos. The three stars of the *Triangle,* called by the Greeks *Deltóton,* are exactly reproduced in the conical stone placed at times at each side of a Phoenician temple.[1] The *Triangle* also serves to indicate a Tripod, which appears on Phoenician coins of Gaulos, on Kretan coins *in genere,* and also on coins of the Kretan towns of Axos and Naxos, and on coins of Andros. Like most of the Signs, it is connected with Hêraklês, who was said to have carried off the Delphic tripod.

The *Serpent-holder* (*Ophiouchos*) was identified in legend with the god Asklêpios-Aesculapius, the principal seat of whose worship in Hellas was Epidauros, where tame serpents were kept in his temple. He is the Phoenician Eschmûn, who appears on the coins of Kossura holding a serpent in his left hand. "Une inscription trilingue de Sardaigne traduit *Eshmoun Merre* par Ἀσκλήπιος Μερρή et Aescolapeius Merre."[2] On the sphere he and his brother, Melqarth-Hêraklês, are placed head to head, like the *Gemini*-type on the Babylonian cylinders.

The *Charioteer* (Hêniochos) and his Car, the Babylonian constellation *Narkabtu*[3] ("the Chariot"), came from the Semitic east. In the Babylonian sphere *Narkabtu* was placed just over *Taurus,* where *Auriga* now is; *β Tauri* was called "the northern light of the *Chariot,*" and Ptolemy styles it, "The one at the tip of the northern horn [of

[1] Vide Coin of Kypros, figured in Perrot, *History of Art in Phoenicia,* Eng. edit., i, 281.
[2] Bérard, p. 253.
[3] Vide R. B., jun., in the *Academy,* Nov. 10, 1894.

the *Bull*], the same (which) is in the right foot of the *Charioteer*." On the cylinders *Hêniochos* appears in a special type, driving four horses[1]; and this type is exactly reproduced in Phoenician art,[2] and also appears in a curious classical instance at Rome, where a charioteer, driving four gryphons arranged in a similar manner, is being crowned by a female figure.[3] *Hêniochos-Auriga* is a Poseidôn Hippios, in one Greek legend called Myrtilos, which connects him with Adônis the Myrtle-god; in another, Erichthonios, which is an epithet of Poseidôn.

The *Bearward, Ploughman, Herdsman,* or *Shouter* (Boôtês) in legend is either Arkas or Ikarios. Arkas (Gk. "The Bright") is son of Zeus Lykaios (= Baal Khamman or Hamon = Palaimôn) and the beautiful Phoenician goddess whose name is translated Kallistê-Kallistô, at once virgin and mother. Like other youthful Sun-gods, he dies and comes to life again; and also shows the familiar Semitic aspect of triplicity. "Arcas, le héros-enfant, la dieu-soleil, est un triple dieu, l'infernal Apheidas, le céleste Elatos, et le fort Azan," which latter personage is Azeus, a hero of the Boiôtian Orchomenos, and "en Syrie, sous le nom d' *Ἄζων*, un fils de Melqart, fondateur d'Aza ou Gaza" (Bérard, p. 269). Ikaros or Ikarios is identical with the Megarian hero Kar the Karian, who is said to have built the Akropolis of Megara, where were temples of the Semitic divinities Dionysos and Aphroditê and a statue of Asklêpios-Eschmûn (Paus., I, xl, 4). The underlying historical fact is, that the Karians were constantly employed by the Phoenicians as mercenaries. In the Attic legend Ikarios is a friend of Dionysos and sire of Êrigonê, "une traduction populaire d' *Ἐρυκίνη*" (Bérard, p. 180) = *Erek-hayîm*, the Phoenician goddess of Mount Eryx in Sicily, *Astarte Erek-hayîm* ("Astarte longae vitae auctor"); and Ikarios, Êrigonê, and their little dog *Maira* ("the Sparkler") are translated to heaven as *Boôtês, Parthenos*

[1] Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xli, 3; Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders*, i, 6.
[2] Vide Perrot, i, 210.
[3] Vide Spon, *Recherches curieuses d'Antiquité*, 1683, p. 69.

(=Ph. Aschthârth; Bab. Istar), and *Prokyôn* (*Canis Minor*). The star *a Can. Min.* is called by the Arabs *Ghomaïsá* ("the Watery-eyed"), a reminiscence how in the myth the "canis ululans Mera" (Hyginus, *Fab.* cxxx) wept for the death of its master Ikarios. According to another phase of the myth, Maira was a daughter of the Phoenician Atel-Atlas (Paus., VIII, xlviii, 4), and was seen by Odysseus in Hades (*Od.*, xi, 326).

We next come to the Family Group—*Kêpheus*, *Kassiepeia*, *Andromeda*, and *Perseus*, with their foe the *Sea-monster*, and two other constellations more or less connected with them, the *Horse* and the *Dolphin*. Few stories are better known than that of Andromeda, the fair daughter of Kêpheus the Aithiop king, and the beautiful Kassiepeia, exposed at Joppa through the anger of Poseidôn to a Sea-monster, and rescued by Perseus, whose name is generally said to mean, as indeed in Greek it does, 'Destroyer.'[1] The whole tale palpably belongs, not to Hellas, but to the Outerworld.[2] Much has been written about it lately, but with small result, since the mere comparison of the legend with stories more or less similar from all parts of the world, leads to no particular conclusions and explains little or nothing. What is required is a searching examination of the mythic history of the several personages, with an inquiry into the meaning of their names—for the meaning of a mythic name generally contains the root of the whole concept—and an answer to the very difficult question how it was that these personages, at least three of whom are palpably not Greek in origin, came to occupy such important positions in the Greek sphere. It must be remembered that in this article I am merely giving an outline of the subject, not discussing it exhaustively.

In the first place, then, let us notice the important statement of Achilleus Tatios, one fully borne out by the monuments, so far as known: *Ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σφαίρᾳ οὔτε ὁ Δράκων ἐστὶν νομιζόμενος ἢ ὀνομαζόμενος οὔτε Ἄρκτ*

[1] As connected with *πέρσω*.
[2] Vide Gruppe, *Der phoinikische Urtext der Kassiepeialegende*, 18.

οὔτε Κηφεύς, ἀλλ' ἕτερα σχήματα εἰδώλων. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν Χαλδαίων (*Eisagôgê*, xxxix). Hence, it is clear that the *Serpent* and *Kêpheus* were neither Egyptian nor Babylonian constellations. But Kêpheus, not being a personage within the Hellenic, Egyptian, or Babylonian worlds, and connected with the Aethiopians and Joppa, must therefore have been either a Phoenician or connected with Phoenicia, a conclusion in accordance with the whole body of evidence respecting the constellations. According to Professor Sayce, with whom in this instance I am unable to agree, Kêpheus = "Kef-t, the Egyptian name of Phoenicia" (*Herodotos*, p. 2, n. 2); and he was also supposed by some to have ruled in Babylon or regions adjacent,[1] an opinion without foundation. Hêrodotos (vii, 61) says Kêpheus was a son of Bêlos —which is true in the sense that Phoenicia was a daughter of Babylonia—and makes Xerxes share his own confusion between Perseus and the Persians (ib., 150). Through another double mistake (between 'Khamman' and 'Khemmi-s,' and between 'Perseus' and 'Per-se,' "son of Isis") he represents the cult of Perseus as obtaining at Khemmis in Egypt (ii, 91). In another place (vi, 54) he says: "According to the Persian story, Perseus was an Assyrian ["The Assyrians . . . the Greeks call Syrians," vii, 63] who became a Greek." The Phoenician origin of that remarkable archaic civilization now known as Mykenaean, has been recently advocated with great ability by Dr. Helbig, and, whether his theory be correct or not in its entirety, it is certain that Mykênai, a name which M. Bérard connects with the Phoenician *Maχaneh*[2] ('Camp'), has borrowed much from Phoenicia; and, according to the legend, "Mycènes avait été fondée . . . par le héros oriental

[1] Vide Hellanikos, *Frags.*, clix, clx; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, Eng. edit., p. 337 et seq.

[2] "La traduction exact de Τυρίων Στρατόπεδον (Herod., ii, 112) serait *Maχaneh Tzor*, par analogie avec . . . *Maχaneh-Dan*" (*Jud.*, xviii, 12). The name appears in such Greek forms as Mêkônê, Mykônê, Mukonion, Makanîtai, Mykênoi, Migônion, Mêχanê (the Phoenician island of Thêra, also called Phoinikis: vide Bérard, p. 306). A plural city-name, e.g. Mykênai, as Professor Sayce notes, is an indication that the inhabitants were of more than one race.

Persée" (Bérard, p. 328). The Homeric Aithiopians, favourites of the Phoenician Poseidôn, and about whom so much has been written, divided into two parts and most distant of men, practically represent the "sun-burnt" inhabitants of the Palestinian seabord in the East (cf. *Od.*, iv, 84), and the Phoenician colonists and sailors in the West towards Atel ("the Darkness," Atlas), divided by the empire of Egypt, and only known to the poet through hearsay and romance.

From the foregoing considerations and a great mass of similar evidence, we arrive at the conclusion that even admitting, for the sake of argument, Perseus to be a combination of two mythic heroes, one Greek, the other Semitic, the remaining figures of the Family Group are undoubtedly Phoenician, imported bodily into the Greek sphere with the other Phoenician constellations, and that therefore it is in Phoenician myths and legends that they must be studied. It will be noticed that I am not here specially concerned with the primary meaning of the famous story of the Maiden delivered by the Hero from the Monster; but with the Phoenician signification to be attached to the various personages, and how and why they became constellation-figures. From a study so difficult dogmatism must necessarily be excluded, but the following conclusions are based upon a careful examination of the evidence available:—

In Phoenician kosmogony theories and religious belief the Serpent and the Wind played very prominent parts. From the Wind, Kolpia (=*Qôl-pîa'h*, "the Voice-of-the-Wind"), and his wife Baau ('Emptiness,' the Babylonian goddess Bahû, Heb. *bohû*, *Gen.* i, 2), "the Night," sprang Aiôn ('Period,' *'Havath*) and Prôtogonos (=*Adâm Qadmûn*, "the Primeval Man"), whence came other powers and personages, including Kassios (*Qassiûn*), who gave his name to Mount Kasios. There were two mountains of this name, both connected with Phoenician worship; one adjoining Egypt and the Serbonian Lake (cf. Hêrod., ii, 6), the other on the Syrian coast. The southern "Mount Kasios stretches

into the sea in the form of a promontory, and took its name from the Phoenician temple of Baal-Katsiu ('Baal of the Promontory'), which stood upon it. Like Mount Kasios on the Syrian coast, it was also known as the Mountain of Baal Tsephon, 'Baal of the North.' The name of the god Katsiu is found in Nabathean inscriptions, and *Ζεὺς Κάσιος* on bronze coins of Seleukia in Pieria, where the god is represented by a conical stone."[1] "Apollodore (I, vi, 3) nomme le Casion comme le mont où Zeus a foudroyé Typhon . . . Casion est le vrai nom qu'a dû écrire Phérécyde et que déjà ses copistes ou ses extracteurs, du temps d'Apollonios Rhod., avaient altéré, en faisant le Caucase. Cette montagne était le point où s'était localisée la fable phénicienne, et 'la Roche de Typhon' est sûrement la roche du Casion où s'élevait le sanctuaire . . . le *Ba'al Çephôn* . . . Zeus Casios . . . le *Qaçiu* des inscriptions araméennes est le dieu qui se précipite lui-même du ciel sur la terre sous la forme de foudre ou d'aérolithe."[2] We thus find Baal Katsiu or Qassiu, Baal Tsephon (= Zeus Kasios), a god of the promontory, of the north, of the storm-wind, and of the conical stone, connected with Typhôn (*Τυφάων, Τυφωεύς*), a creature of monstrous form. In the Byblos theogony Baitulos (= *Bêth-êl*), "the Living Stone"—for the god Ouranos (*Schâma*) endowed certain *Βαιτύλια* with souls—is a son of Ouranos and brother of Êlos (*Îl*-Kronos), Dagôn (the Fish-god Poseidôn), and Atlas (*Atel*). This Baitulos is the Zeus Kasios, the god of the North and of the Stone, Baal TSEPHON-KÊPH (Ph. *Kêph*, 'stone': cf. *Cephas*), Kêpheus, called "the King," and reduplicated in a stellar form as a constellation of the extreme north. Those who have read Gruppe's monograph (vide p. 216) will notice how much 'stones' are connected with the Kêpheus legend.

In the Phoenician kosmogony preserved by Pherekydês of Syros the world was first ruled by Ophiôn, *Γέρων Ὀφίων* (= *Nâkhâsh qadmûn*), and Eurynomê (= *Erebhno'emâ*,

[1] Sayce, *Herod.*, p. 128.
[2] Lenormant, *Les Origines*, i, 573–4.

"Beautiful-night"), who were hurled from power by Kronos (Îl) and Rhea (Ammâ). How Kêpheus was originally represented in the Phoenician sphere, we do not know; but Boreas appears as serpent-legged on the famous coffer of Kypselos (Paus., V, xix, 1), which has preserved several remarkable instances of archaic Semitic forms, such e.g. as the original type of the constellation *Kentauros*. On a vase (vide Roscher, *Lex.*, in voc. *Boreas*) the god appears as Janiform; and on another archaic vase (ib., in voc. *Giganten*) Zeus, kneeling on one knee (= *Engonasin-Melqârth*), is fighting with a huge winged monster, half man and half a double snake (= the two snake-legs of Boreas). Many personages connected with Phoenician influence—e.g., Kadmos and Harmonia, Asklêpios, Trophônios (= Baal *Trophâ*, "the Lord of Cure"), and Herkyna (= Venus Herycina = Astartê *Erek-hayîm*: vide sup., p. 215; Paus., IX, xxxix, 2), Erichthonios, Hekatê,[1] the Giants, etc.—are more or less serpentine; and this monstrous serpentine North-wind-power, double and yet single, has apparently produced in constellational form at the crown of heaven *Kêpheus* and *Drakôn*, for the Greek will rarely accept monsters as gods. Stellar arrangement, too, suggests the present form of *Drakôn* to harmonize and fit in with the two seven-star groups of the *Wains* (*Bears*).

Eurynomê, the consort of Ophiôn, though beautiful,[2] is also unanthropomorphic. She belongs to the group of piscine divinities—Dagôn, Poseidôn, Derketô - Atargatis

[1] As to the Semitic connection of Hekatê, vide Bérard, p. 362. Mr. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii, cap. xvi, Hekate, gives many excellent reasons in support of the view that the goddess is not in origin a Greek divinity, but hardly any evidence in support of his own theory that she came to Hellas from the North. He does not perceive that many points in her history on which he justly lays stress, mark her Phoenician connection. Amongst these may be mentioned, (1) her participation in the Kabeiric cult of Samothrakê; (2) her connection with horsemen and sailors; and (3) with Boiôtia and Boiôtian poets; (4) her triplicity; (5) her connection with Britomartis (vide inf., p. 225); and (6) her titles, Ἄγγελος, Εὐρίππα, Σωτείρη, and Καλλίστη (vide sup., p. 210).

[2] A doubtful line in the *Theogonia* describes her as "having a very lovely form" (πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα, l. 908), but it is noticeable that πολυήρατος was also at times understood as meaning 'deeply accursed.' This might, from a Greek standpoint, be supposed to refer to the fall and degraded shape of the goddess.

(Atar-'ati); and her statue in her ancient cypress-girt temple at Phigaleia in Arkadia, was that of a woman to the waist and a fish below, with gold chains (Paus., VIII, xli, 4), a link which connects her with "the Chained Lady," Andromeda. The Baal of the North had, as of course, his female reflection or Ba'alath (Baaltis, Beltis), and she was the beautiful Eurynomê of the Zeus Kasios, otherwise called QASSIU-PEAÊR (cf. Heb. *peaêr*, 'beautiful,' 'rosy-faced,' Rhodê-Rhodeia), Kassiepeia, a name which, according to Souidas (in voc.) signified Kallonê, "the Beauty" (cf. sup., Kallistê-Kallistô). In Homer, Eurynomê-Kassiepeia, already fallen from heaven, is, as becomes her Derketô character, a daughter of Ôkeanos (*Il.*, xviii, 399), dwelling with Thetis[1] by the ocean-stream; and a quaint remembrance of the fall of "sad Kassiepeia," as preserved in the constellation-figure, is thus expressed by Aratos:—

> "Nor seemly still
> Show from her seat her feet and knees above;
> But she head foremost like a tumbler sits,
> With knees divided; since a doom must fall
> On boasts to equal Panopê and Dôris."
>
> *Phai.*, 654–8.

According to one story, she had boasted that she was fairer than the Nêreids, and she is also represented as being the wife of Adônis.[2]

In Philôn's translation of the Phoenician kosmogonies it is stated that Ouranos married his sister Gê ('Earth'), "who was so called on account of her beauty." This statement, as it stands, is unintelligible, and we see at once that its force depends on the original name translated 'Gê,' which Lenormant admirably renders by Adâmâth, "the female Earth," or—as *adam*, As. *admu*, 'man,' is "connected with

[1] "Θέτις, dans la légende grecque, est l'épouse de Πηλεύς: le πηλός grec serait la traduction exacte du *thith* sémitique; tous deux désignent la terre humide, la boue, la Terre unie à l'Eau, la Matière primitive" (Bérard, p. 212).
[2] Vide Servius, in Ver., *Eclog.*, x, 18.

the root which means to be 'red'"[1]—"the Ruddy" or "Rosy-one." But this Adâmâth, as will be perceived, is the daughter of Tsephon-Kêph and Qassiu-Peaêr. The Greeks had evidently much difficulty in rendering the name, as their language did not supply them with any forms like 'man-ess' or 'male-ess,' which latter we find in the cuneiform inscriptions.[1] They could not translate Adâmâth by *'Ανδρόγυνος*, which meant something altogether different; and so they translated the first part of the name and transliterated the second, and thus of ADÂM-MÂTH made ANDRO-MED(A), a name which, so far as I am aware, no one has hitherto even attempted to explain.

Amongst the personages mentioned by Sanchouniathôn are the brothers Samêmroumos (*Schamê-mêrum*), called Hypsouranios ("the High-celestial") and Ousôös, "who was the first who made clothes of the skins of animals which he slew . . . and was the first who launched a boat. He erected two columns or pillars to Fire (*Isch*) and Wind" (*Qolpîa'h*), and these two pillars play a great part in Phoenician religious history. Thus Hêrodotos (ii, 44) says:—"I made a voyage to Tyre in Phoenicia, hearing there was a temple of Hêraklês [Melqârth] at that place, very highly venerated. I visited the temple, and found it richly adorned with a number of offerings, amongst which were two pillars, one of pure gold, the other of emerald [glass ?], shining with great brilliancy at night" (ap. Rawlinson). Movers has shown that one pillar was dedicated to Schamê-mêrum-Kîyûn (Chiun, Amos, v, 26, whence Gk. *Κίων*)-Kronos,[2]

[1] i.e. the Assyrian *zikarat* (*W.A.I.*, III, liii, No. 2, Rev. l. 31).

[2] The etymology of Κρόνος is generally regarded as unknown. In *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii, 127, when considering the god at length, I explained Kronos as = Karnos, Karneios, and connected the word with the As. *Karnu*, Heb. *Kerên*, 'horn' (cf. Ashtereth Karnaim), as also meaning 'power.' In Sanchouniathôn, 'Kronos' is regarded as a translation of 'Îl' ("the Powerful"). The transposing of the *Rho* was archaic (cf. Paus., III, xiii, 3); thus the Sem. *Karkôm* = Gk. Κρόκος. We have only to compare the accounts of Kronos in Sanchouniathôn with those in the Boiôtian Hêsiod to see the hopelessness of attempting to make him a purely Greek divinity. Mr. Farnell well says he is "one of the figures of a lost and defeated religion" (*Cults of the Greek States*, i, 25).

in a planetary aspect the planet *Saturn*; the other to Ousôös-Khamman-Hêraklês. As Schroeder and Lenormant have proved, a form such as the Gk. Ou-sôös represents an original Bo-sôös (e.g., Ph. *Bo-dam* = Gk. *Ou-dam*), and *Bo* is a contraction of *Bar*.[1] Hence, Bosôös = BAR-SAV (cf. E-*saw*), "the Son of hair," or "the Hairy," Ousôös clad in the skins of animals, Hêraklês with his lion's skin = Gk. PERSEUS. With the original meaning of the Andromeda-myth, whether the rescue by the Sun-god of the earth from the grip of winter, or of the dawn from the clutches of darkness, I am not here concerned. Thus, then, we have on Phoenician ground the origin of the Aithiop king Kêpheus and the constellation-figures connected with him, which, being important personages in Phoenician belief, were naturally translated to the sky. The *Sea-monster*, the Whale (*Kêtos*), connected with Joppa and Jonah, follows, as of course, in their train. Many such 'monsters' were "pastured in the deep" (*Od.*, v, 421-2).

The Horse is an animal especially connected with Syria and Semitic divinities, such as Poseidôn-Hippios and Astartê, the latter being the goddess called by the Greeks Dêmêtêr Hippia.[2] At Phigaleia she was represented as "seated on a rock, like a woman in all respects except her head, for she has the head and mane of a horse, and representations of serpents (δρακόντων) and other monsters about her head; and she has on a tunic reaching to the feet, and a dolphin in one hand and a dove in the other" (Paus., VIII, xlii, 3).[3] The Asiatic monster-gods, which arise naturally enough through symbolism, are never pleasing to the Greek; and the *Andromeda* of the sphere is of human form, but over her head in heaven is the *Horse*, not a whole, but a Demi-horse, be it observed, the steed

[1] e.g. "*Bo*milcar pro *Bar*milcar" (Gesenius, *Script. Ling. Phoen.*, p. 431).
[2] Vide Bérard, p. 114 et seq.
[3] This goddess and her Semitic origin have been so fully treated by Lenormant and M. Bérard that I do not discuss the matter at length. Mr. Farnell innocently says, "Arcadia lies remote from Oriental influences" (*Cults of the Greek States*, ii, 430). As M. Bérard has shown, in great detail, it was at one time almost a mass of Phoenician ideas and cult.

Pêgasos, i.e. "the Horse [Sem. *sûs*] of the Fountain," sacred to the goddess, the Winged-horse of Bellerophôn (=Baal Raphon, "the Lord of Health"), which appears alike on Hittite seals[1] and on the Phoenician coins of Syracuse, whilst the Horse's head and the Demi-horse with Fish (the *Dolphin*), is found on those of Panormos. "Astarte, mistress of horses," passes from the East across Greece to the Latin West, where she reappears as Venus Equestris.

The remaining constellation is the *Dolphin*, which, as we have seen, is connected alike with the *Horse* and with the Hippia-goddess. It is useless to ask, could not Greeks as well as Phoenicians have invented a dolphin-constellation? In the abstract, of course they could; but we are not concerned with possibilities, only with actualities. When Inô (=Ph. Anna, "the Merciful," Dido, "the Beloved"), daughter of Kadmos (=Ph. Qadmûn, "the Easterner," "the Primeval," who appears in the cuneiform inscriptions as the god Qadmu[2]) and wife of Athamas, "in Ionic Tammas"[3] (Ph. Tammuz), to escape from the fury of her husband (= Hêraklês Mainomenos) threw herself and her son Melikertês (= Melqârth), also called Palaimôn (= Baal Hamon), into the sea, it is the sacred Dolphin, the fish which appears on Phoenician coins of Gades holding the trident of Poseidôn, that carries the child in safety to the isthmus of Korinth (Paus., I, xliv, 11). Like every other constellation-figure, the *Dolphin* appears in a thoroughly Phoenician connection, and is then adopted by the Greeks, alike as a coin-type and as a heavenly Sign; for it is not Phoenicians who borrow these symbols from Greeks, but Greeks from Phoenicians.

In further illustration of the subject generally, let us notice some Greek Kretan coin-types. Here we meet with Diktynna, the Net (*δίκτυον*)-goddess, Aphroditê of the

[1] Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xliv, 3*a*. Another Asiatic instance given by Lajard (pl. xliii, 27) shows a winged Demi-horse, in fact the exact constellation-figure of Aratos.

[2] *Tablet K*, 2100, col. iv, 8.

[3] K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 156.

Net (*Od.*, viii), Eurynomê and Andromeda of the Chains, called Britomartis ("the Sweet-virgin"), "quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem,"[1] in Phoenician Ast-No'emâ (=Gk. Astynomê). Next comes the god Dionysos, whose name appears in the cuneiform inscriptions as "the Sun-god *Da-ai-nu-tsi*" (*W.A.I.*, IV, xxviii, 1, Rev. l. 6)=Dionyxos; or as "the god *Di-wa-nu-χa sa ali*" (ibid., III, lxvi, Rev. col. v, l. 40), "Dionysos of the City"=Melqârth ("the King of the City"); or, again, as *Di-wu-nis-i* (ibid., III, lx, No. 2, l. 40), "the Great Judge of men"=Dionysos, called at Teôs ὁ τῆς πόλεως θεὸς Διόνυσος. There were at least seven different Greek forms of the name. Then we find Europê (=Ph. *Erebh*, "the West," as the side of night and darkness, whence Gk. Ἔρεβος[2]) and her Bull (*Tauros*), Eagle (*Aetos*), Altar (*Thytêrion-Ara*, once also zodiacal, and held by the *Claws* of the *Scorpion*[3]), Dog (*Kuôn* and *Arktos*), Tripod (*Deltôton*), Raven (*Korax*) and Serpent (*Hydra*) together, Hêraklês with Lion's skin opposed to Crab (*Karkinos*) and *Hydra*, Hêraklês kneeling with bow, Bow (often put for *Toxotês-Sagittarius*), Zither (*Lyra*), Dove (*Plêiades*),[4] Dolphin (*Delphis*), Prow of Ship (=*Argo*),[5] Bull, Bull butting, Bull's head and star, Hound suckling infant (vide sup., p. 209), Amphora (=*Krêtêr*), Bunch of Grapes, a type of the *Plêiades* (vide Svoronos, p. 107), Lion's scalp, Sea-monster (=*Kêtos*), Trident, the symbol of Poseidôn, Trident between two Dolphins, Poseidôn, Arrow-head (=*Oïstos-Sagitta*), Forepart of Goat (=Amaltheia-*Aix*), etc., etc. The connection of coin-types such as these with the constellation-figures, is as obvious as that of Krete with the Phoenicians.

[1] Solinus, xi, 8.

[2] Cf. *Od.*, xii, 81, where the Cave of Skyllê is to front "towards the west, to Erebos."

[3] Vide R. B., jun., *Remarks on the Euphratean Astronomical Names of the Signs of the Zodiac*, sec. vii.

[4] Really "the Clusterers" (vide R. B., jun., *The Heavenly Display*, p. 9).

[5] "*Argo* is often drawn as a demi-ship, and this singular circumstance apparently had its origin in the very peculiar shape of the Phoenician war-galley" (R. B., jun., "Phoenicia and the Ancient Constellation-figures," in the *Academy*, Nov. 7, 1896).

Philôn of Byblos translated the work of Sanchouniathôn *On the Phoenician Letters*, and in a passage on the nature of the Serpent, preserved in Eusebios (*Prop. Euan.*, i, 10), he says, *Εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις περὶ Ἐθωθιῶν.* As Lenormant observes, "Les *ἐθώθια* sont manifestement les signes célestes, *êthûth*, hébr. *ôthôth*" (*Les Origines*, i, 552). The Phoenician treatises on the constellation-figures are unfortunately lost, but patient research will enable us to reconstruct the Phoenician sphere, the parent alike of the Greek and of our own.

ART. IX.—*A Historical Basis for the Questions of King 'Menander,' from the Tibetan, etc.* By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D.

IT may interest students of Buddhism to learn that the famous *Questions of King 'Milinda'* appear to be known to the Tibetans.

Last year (1895), when I was making inquiries on this subject from Lāmas at Darjiling, I found that most of the Lāmas knew of the existence in their literature of conversations purporting to have been held between Nāgasēna and a certain ancient king, who, however, was named 'Ananta,' and not 'Menander' or 'Milinda.' I failed to procure any Tibetan text or book bearing on this question, except the few references which will presently be cited. But from the character of the questions, as quoted from memory by the Lāmas, and the statement that this king Ananta was the greatest of Nāgasēna's converts, there could be little doubt that he is intended for the same person as the 'Milinda' (or Menander) of the Pāli text.

This conjecture now seems confirmed by an old Chinese version of the story which has been translated by Mr. Takakusu in his article in our Journal,[1] in which the king is called Nanda.

Now this difference in the name of the king is very interesting. For, when it is considered in connection with the other differences which apparently exist in Tibetan, both as regards the personality of the king and the locality

[1] J.R.A.S., Part I of 1896, p. 16. This Chinese version is found in the 111th tale of the *Samyukta-ratna-piṭaka sutra*, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 472.

of his kingdom, the question arises whether (even if Menander be really the name which was intended for 'Milinda' by the author of the Pāli text) there was not an earlier version of the book or a primitive tradition on which it was based, with its scene laid in a more truly Indian setting, and more in keeping with the details of the story? For there are many incidental references in the text of the *Milinda Praṣṇaya* which are inconsistent with the theory that the king in question was Menander, or that the site of his kingdom lay so far to the extreme north of India.

Indeed, the chief expounder of the *Milinda Praṣṇaya* has alleged that that work is, after all, only a 'romance,'[1] and that the dialogues are 'not real conversations,' but only questions 'put into the mouth of' King Milinda, and answers 'put into the mouth of Nāgasēna.'[2] But, is it not probable that this highly finished classic was founded upon a simpler tale or traditional sayings of the celebrated sage Nāgasēna? The Chinese and Tibetan accounts appear to support this hypothesis.

Nāgasēna is not improbably a real historical personage. His name is well known to Tibetan Buddhists, who always draw a sharp distinction between him and Nāgārjuna, the chief propagator of the Mahāyāna system. This latter sage, Nāgārjuna, has an altogether different personality, and lived about the second century A.D.[3] and subsequent to Kanishka's Council; whereas Tibetan history, as we shall see, makes *Nāgasēna a contemporary of King Nanda of Magadha*, and places him 27 years after the second Council B.C. The *Mahavanso* also places King Nanda after Kalasoka, under whom this Council was held.[4] Nāgasēna is one of the sixteen great *Sthaviras* (Pāli, *Mahā-thera*) —the sixteen great 'Rahans' (Arahats)—of the Chinese,

[1] Rhys Davids' *Questions of King Milinda*, vol. xxxv of 'Sacred Books of the East,' p. xvii.
[2] *Idem*, p. xvii.
[3] See Wenzel in Journal Pāli Text Society, 1886, p. 2; and my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 10, 11, 15, etc.
[4] Turnour's translation, p. 21.

while Nāgārjuna is not one of these, and he is only given the epithet of *Ācārya* or Teacher.

I have no access to the detailed biographies of Nāgasēna, which are said to exist in Tibetan literature, but I have consulted the short descriptive list of these sixteen *Sthaviras*, of which every Lāma has a copy, and of which a translation has been made by Pander.[1] It states that the hermitage of Nāgasēna, the *Sthavira*, was at the mountain called in Tibetan 'ŋos-yaŋs,' which literally means 'face or side'[2] + 'wide or great.' This word is restored by Pander to 'Urumuṇḍa near Rājagṛiha'; but my copy of a large Tibeto-Sanskrit dictionary gives as its equivalent *Vipula-pārśva*, or 'the side of Vipula,' which is the most northerly of the five hills of Rājagṛiha.

According to the Japanese manual entitled the *Butsu-zo-dsui* (p. 142), the hermitage of Nāgasēna was at Mount 'Paṇḍuva.' The *Milinda Praśṇaya* introduces us[3] to his father Soṇuttara, his teachers Rohaṇa (who was also his uncle[4]) and Assagutta (Aśvagupta), of the Vattaniya hermitage on 'the Guarded Slope' in the Himalayas, 100 *yojana* distant from Pāṭaliputra,[5] Dharmarakshita[6] of the Aśoka monastery near Pāṭaliputra, and Āyupāla dwelling at the Saŋkheyya hermitage near Sāgala. And the Chinese translations in the Journal by Mr. Takakusu supply some further particulars about him.

Now let us look at the personality of the king in question. The Chinese variant of 'Nanda' for his name seems to bring the story into relation with King Nanda of Magadha, an Indian Croesus, who, according to Tibetan history, as has just been mentioned, was a contemporary of Nāgasēna. This reference has already been published

[1] *Das Pantheon des Tschangtscha Hurthuk'tu*: Königlichen Museum fur Völkerkunde, I, 2/3, p. 87.
[2] Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 128.
[3] As Prof. Rhys Davids notes, *Questions*, etc., p. xxv.
[4] J.R.A.S. 1896, p. 9.
[5] Rhys Davids' *Questions*, p. 26.
[6] Two of this name appear as Aśoka missionaries, Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 233.

by Vassilief[1] and Rockhill.[2] As some doubt has been thrown on the accuracy of Vassilief's translation, and the reference is important, I have looked it up in the Tibetan and here extract it—not, however, from Bu-ston's history, which was the authority quoted by Vassilief, and which I have not available, but from Z'alu,[3] who is quite as trustworthy, and who gives this narrative in almost the identical words of Bu-ston. And I should say that there is not the slightest doubt here as to the correct restoration of Nāgasēna's name,[4] or seemingly as to the identity of the *Sthavira* here referred to with the sage of the *Milinda*, for only one *Sthavira* Nāgasēna is known.

This author, after describing the first and second great councils of the primitive Buddhists, goes on to say (fol. 98): —"Concerning the third council there are several opinions, as no (specific) prophecy exists regarding it. Some (say) that 137 years after the death of The Guide (*i.e.* Buddha), King Nanda and Mahāpadma lived. In the city of Pāṇdupura (? Pāṭalipura[5]), the doctrines of the virtuous ones were disordered by a demon named 'the Noble Sinner,'[6] who during the time of the elder Mahākaśyapa and the other clergy (*Uttara*) had entered into a Bhikshu, who displayed many miracles. On this, the *Sthaviras* Nāgasēna[7] and Manoratha[8] collected the different orders (? statutes)."[9]

[1] In the appendix to Schiefner's German translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, p. 298.

[2] *The Life of the Buddha*, etc., p. 187. Here, translating from Bhavya's commentary in the 90th vol. of the Tan-gyur, the Sthavira's name is given as 'Nâga.'

[3] Z'alu Lotsava's 'Suṇ-'bum.'

[4] The Tibetan translation is 'ḳLu-hi-sde.'

[5] The Tibetan word is 'skya-wo-hi-pura,' which my Tibeto-Sanskrit dictionary restores as above. The 'skya' may, however, be a contraction for 'Skya-nar,' which means the *Pāṭali* flower, and hence probably the city was Pāṭaliputra.

[6] Skt. Pāpiya-bhadra, or Unruhen-bhadra.

[7] Tibetan 'ḳLu-hi-sde.'

[8] Tibetan 'Yid-'oṇ' = 'mind + become or suitable.' Rockhill, *Life*, etc., p. 187, gives 'Sthiramati.' Neither of these two names are found in the list of the sixteen great Sthaviras.

[9] The word simply means 'orders or classes.' Schiefner translates it 'Spaltung der Schulen,' *op. cit.*, p. 298. And Rockhill's text (*op. cit.*, p. 187), which is less condensed, gives details of 'a great schism.'

This recorded co-existence, then, of King Nanda and Nāgasēna, as contemporaries, supports the authenticity of the simpler form of the story which is found in the Chinese translation as early as A.D. 472.

But the question is further complicated by the still different explanations offered of the Tibetan variant of the king's name, to wit, Ananta.

Thus, although I am told that the most detailed conversations of Nāgasēna and King Ananta are to be found in Tibetan only in the Tantrik section of the *Kālacakra* cyclopaedia, which we know[1] was composed about the tenth century A.D., in a country (Shambhala) to the north-west of India, corresponding generally to the ancient Bactrian-Greek kingdom of Menander; still, a small MS. which I found with a Lāma places the scene of these conversations somewhere in or near Bengal; and the birthplace of the king, or of his more immediate ancestor, is placed in 'the eastern Tipura,' which is evidently the modern district of '*Tripura*' (Tipperah), lying between Bengal and Burma, in the eastern portion of the ancient Tri-Kaliṅga, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, from which, strange to say, the *Kālacakra* is said to have been originally derived.[2]

This MS. bears no date or reference to any authority. It is evidently very corrupt and modern; but I abstract it here for what it is worth. Fuller and authoritative accounts of Ananta are to be found, I am told, in the books noted below.[3]

The MS. is entitled—"Ananta, the eighth in descent from King Bhupāla Rāmānanda,[4] having invited the noble

[1] Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 192. Also my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 269, etc.

[2] From Cuttack, in Orissa: *see* Csoma, *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 192.

[3] In the *g*Z'an-*s*toṅ-*d*bu-mahi-'grel-pa, translated by Danaśri and Lotsava Rin-ch'en-*b*zaṅ-po. Also in the Ñe-wahi-*m*k'o-wahi Luṅ-*s*pyod, in the *g*Z'an-*s*toṅ-*d*bu-mahi-*r*gyen. These books seem to be contained in the Tan-gyur.

[4] Tibetan '*d*gah-byed' or 'pleasure + causing,' which words my Tibeto-Sanskrit dictionary restores as above.

*Sthavira* Nāgasēna from Urumuṇḍa,[1] the king of mountains, worshipped him, and having received instruction in all the vehicles of the *Dharma*, his entire *Skandhas* became a Buddha."

The leading names in the MS. are here abstracted:—'In the chain of the eastern Tipura' (=?Tripura) lived a king of the lunar race called Bhupāla 'Rāmānanda.'[2] His son 'Āga-meroja' was crowned king of the southern country of Ōḍiṣa (Orissa). The son of the seventh generation was King Mukundadeva,[3] who possessed the countries of 'Ōḍiṣa, Ghahurā (?Gaura), Bhagala (?Bengal), Boṭa, Jārikhanda, and Kaliñjar'; and by force of arms he conquered the greater part of the three Kaliṅgas and 'the middle country' (Magadha). He was famed as 'the king (who was) The Master of the Elephants.' This king's son was named Ananta or 'The Infinite.' Ananta's mother was the Princess Lakshimāni (*sic*), who from the first had faith in the Buddha. The *Sthavira* Nāgasēna having come from Urumuṇḍa,[4] 'the king of mountains in the West' instructed the prince fully in the doctrine and caused him to comprehend 'the higher points.' Ananta asked many questions, and afterwards resigned his kingdom, and becoming a member of the Order, delivered many sermons[5] at Meghanātha and elsewhere; and finally he attained Buddhahood.

In support of this tale, a Lāma recited to me a stanza professedly from the Kah-gyur—the Tibetan Buddhist canon; but he could not tell me the particular volume in which it is to be found, nor does Feer's vocabulary of Csoma's *Analysis* contain any reference to it. It is in the form of a prophecy and is rather enigmatical:

[1] Tibetan 'ɲos-yaṅs,' as before.
[2] See previous note for Tibetan equivalent of this word.
[3] A king of this name belonging to the Sena dynasty is mentioned by Tāranātha: Schiefner's translation, p. 256.
[4] Tibetan 'ɲos-yaṅs.'
[5] These are called 'Avadanas,' and are said to have been translated by the Tibetan interpreter Zla-wahi-'od-zer—who is possibly the same as Zla-bzaṅ, the fabulous author of the *Kālacakra*.

"The letter Ma from first to last enjoys the *Dharma*.
"He (or she) will invite Nāga.
"The one named with the letter A will be great.
"He will love The Teacher's Law, and be respected by the wise."[1]

Here the letter M is said to stand for 'Mother,' that is to say, for Ananta's mother. 'Nāga' represents Nāga-sēna. And A is interpreted as Ananta.

The name Ananta is chiefly known to Indianists as the cognomen of one of the greatest of the semi-divine dragon-spirits or *nāgas* of Hindu and Buddhist mythology. But these latter beings had doubtless their human prototypes amongst the semi-aboriginal *Nāga*-tribes, so called, as in the case, for instance, of the great *Nāga*-king Nanda. The full name of Ananta is said by a Lāma to be Ananta *Gupta*. The name appears to bear no real homology to the 'Anantakaya' of the *Milinda* text,[2] for that individual was a *Yavan* foreigner and merely a servant of the hero Milinda.

Further, a site much further south than the extreme north-west of India would fit in better with many of the incidents and illustrations of the text of the *Milinda Praṣṇaya*.

In that text, a passage, the authenticity of which Professor Rhys Davids sees no good reason to doubt,[3] states that king Milinda afterwards gave up the kingdom to his son, and having entered the Buddhist Order attained to Arahatship. This we know was certainly not true of Menander, though, on the other hand, such abdications for religious retreat are not usual amongst Hindus, down even to the present day.

That text also states, that king 'Milinda' was born in "an island called Alasanda, about 200 *yojana*"[4] from Ṣāgala

[1] The Tibetan is: Yi-ge ma z'es *gz*'on-nu-ma | daŋ-po t'a-mar ch'o*s*-la *d*gah | *k*lu-po*s* z'es-kyaŋ *s*pyan draŋ-ŋo | yi-ge ā miŋbdaqñid ch'e | *s*ton-pahi-*b*ston-pa *gc*'es- 'dsin- *b*yed | *b*lo-*l*dan yon-tan kun-gyis-*b*kun ||
[2] *Questions*, p. 49.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.
[4] *Questions*, p. 127.

city. This reference to a maritime site for his birth is confirmed in one of the Chinese accounts,[1] which says that the king was born as the crown prince of a country "bordering the sea." And as that very vague unit of measure, the *yojana*, was seldom less than from five to seven miles, 200 *yojanas* from Ṣāgala in the Panjāb could carry us to the Indian seabord in the neighbourhood of Orissa and the Sandarbans, with their numerous islands. Indeed, the word Alasanda-dīpa may have been intended for the 'Sanda-dīpa' of the Sandarbans, in the Tri-Kaliṇga, and bordering on Tipperah, which is probably the 'Tipura' of our text.

The Chinese account adds: "He (Milinda) afterwards succeeded to the throne in a country *bordering on the sea.*"[2] Now, this description could scarcely apply to the inland Ṣāgala of the Panjāb, but, on the other hand, it could easily denote Bengal, Orissa, and the Kaliṇga country.

The reference to the three Seasonal rains of the country in question, can only apply to a part of India which receives the so-called North-eastern Monsoon, like the coast-districts of Madrās, and including Kaliṇga and Orissa. The text states that "there are three kinds of well-known rains reckoned in the world—(1st) that of the rainy season, (2nd) that of the winter months, and (3rd) that of the two months Āsālha and Sāvana."[3] Thus we have it definitely stated that *the* proper rainy season of that country did not fall during the months of June–July and July–August (*Āsālha* and *Sāvana*), but between this period and the winter months. This account cannot therefore apply to the Panjāb, and it scarcely applies even to the greater part of Bengal; but it does apply to Kaliṇga and Orissa—from which latter place, it will be remembered that the *Kālacakra*, with its detailed accounts of Ananta, claims to be derived. As this point is a crucial one, and

[1] Mr. Takakusu's article, *loc. cit.*, § 8.
[2] *Id.*, p. 10. The italics are mine.
[3] *Questions*, p. 171.

can readily be tested by our statistics of the rainfall, I have obtained from the Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India [1] the following statement (see p. 236) of the average monthly rainfall throughout the year, which speaks for itself in regard to the places in question. And that official himself remarks that the rainfall as noted in the text above quoted "appears to me to fit in fairly well for Orissa, Ganjam, and the north Madras districts."

The references to 'tidal waves' [2] and 'the saltness of the Ocean,' [3] and to 'dead bodies cast up by the sea,' [4] are appropriate to the maritime provinces of Bengal and Orissa, but not to the Panjāb.

Again, the Gāyāl (*Bos frontalis*), which is referred to,[5] is a bovine animal which is peculiarly restricted to Eastern Kaliṅga, Tipperah, and Assam. The name is sometimes also applied to the Gaur (*Bos gaurus*), but this animal is seldom found north of the Nerbudda, nor is it probable that it extended to the Panjāb within historic times.[6] Wild buffaloes, too,[7] are common in Orissa and the plains of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, but are wanting in the Panjāb.[8]

The Wood-apple, which is used as a common simile,[9] is not a native of the Panjāb. The greatest authority on Indian Botany writes [10]: "Wood-apple (*Feronia elephantum*) is wild in hilly parts of Southern India, also along the Sivaliks and inter-Himalayas up to 1500 feet, as far west as the Ravi. It does not occur in the plains of the Panjāb unless planted or in gardens."

Further details in regard to both Nāgasēna and the king, from the more precise Tibetan sources, are much to be

[1] Professor Pedler, F.R.S.
[2] *Questions*, p. 276.
[3] *Id.*, pp. 131, 133.
[4] *Id.*, p. 259.
[5] *Id.*, p. 211.
[6] Blanford's *Mammalia of India*, p. 485 *et seq.*
[7] *Questions*, p. 211.
[8] Blanford, *op. cit.*, p. 492.
[9] *Questions*, p. 262.
[10] Dr. George King, F.R.S., in a letter to me.

## AVERAGE MONTHLY RAINFALL AT CERTAIN STATIONS IN INDIA.

(The central month of *the* Rainy Season proper is printed in thick type.)

| PROVINCE. | STATIONS. | Jan. | Feb. | March | April. | May. | June. | July. | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SINDH ..... | Karachi ..... | 0·69 | 0·25 | 0·15 | 0·16 | 0·18 | **2·90** | 1·75 | 0·76 | 0·05 | 0·21 | 0·19 | 0·05 |
| PANJÂB ..... | Multan ..... | 0·36 | 0·30 | 0·47 | 0·30 | 0·43 | 0·39 | **2·14** | 1·37 | 0·68 | 0·10 | 0·09 | 0·27 |
| | Lahore ..... | 0·71 | 1·13 | 0·96 | 0·56 | 0·86 | 1·80 | **7·23** | 4·95 | 2·15 | 0·51 | 0·15 | 0·49 |
| | Peshawar ..... | 1·53 | 1·21 | 1·74 | 1·86 | 0·63 | 0·30 | 1·61 | **1·96** | 0·75 | 0·22 | 0·71 | 0·59 |
| BURMA ..... | Moulmein (Suvarnadvipa)..... | 0·21 | 0·08 | 0·21 | 2·97 | 19·75 | 37·89 | **44·38** | 42·56 | 29·70 | 8·26 | 1·43 | 0·03 |
| BENGAL..... | Comilla (Tipperah) ..... | 0·60 | 0·87 | 2·89 | 6·40 | 10·28 | **18·31** | **17·78** | 16·36 | 11·18 | 5·39 | 1·26 | 0·24 |
| | Patna (Pâṭaliputra) ..... | 0·69 | 0·47 | 0·33 | 0·26 | 1·83 | 7·13 | **11·18** | 10·33 | 7·84 | 2·70 | 0·21 | 0·15 |
| | False Point..... | 0·54 | 0·89 | 1·08 | 2·04 | 3·46 | 9·29 | **13·96** | **13·58** | 11·12 | 10·29 | 2·94 | 0·63 |
| | Sangor (Sandarbans) ..... | 0·31 | 1·13 | 1·27 | 1·21 | 4·42 | 10·91 | **15·36** | **15·54** | 12·23 | 9·67 | 1·08 | 0·27 |
| ORISSA ..... | Puri..... | 0·25 | 1·04 | 0·57 | 0·83 | 2·59 | 7·77 | 10·07 | **11·30** | 9·98 | 8·31 | 2·59 | 0·71 |
| KALIṄGA ... | Gopalpur (border of Orissa) ... | 0·15 | 0·51 | 0·61 | 0·54 | 1·95 | 6·54 | 7·96 | 8·29 | 7·30 | **10·79** | 6·11 | 1·32 |
| | Rambha ..... | 0·13 | 0·52 | 0·86 | 0·72 | 1·40 | 5·08 | 5·59 | 6·13 | 8·34 | **9·19** | 2·47 | 1·08 |
| | Vizagapatam ..... | 0·32 | 0·22 | 0·37 | 0·55 | 2·92 | 4·49 | 4·95 | 6·17 | 7·47 | **11·14** | 4·75 | 1·95 |
| | Cocanada..... | 0·21 | 0·20 | 0·17 | 0·39 | 2·13 | 4·54 | 5·53 | 5·37 | 6·55 | **8·67** | 3·88 | 0·92 |
| | Masulipatam ..... | 0·23 | 0·10 | 0·30 | 0·09 | 1·61 | 4·67 | 5·38 | 6·00 | 6·29 | **8·35** | 4·44 | 0·69 |
| CARNATIC... | Nellore ..... | 0·43 | 0·08 | 0·21 | 0·13 | 1·44 | 1·48 | 2·18 | 3·03 | 3·03 | 9·93 | **10·73** | 3·62 |
| | Madras ..... | 0·92 | 0·27 | 0·40 | 0·64 | 2·16 | 2·11 | 3·86 | 4·50 | 4·70 | 11·02 | **13·47** | 5·29 |

desired. In Chinese and Japanese literature also more references will doubtless reward further search. Meanwhile sufficient evidence, perhaps, has been adduced to warrant the belief that this Buddhist classic, entitled 'The Questions of King Milinda,' was probably founded upon a simpler story or traditional tale of dialogues held between the quasi-historic sage Nāgasēna and a king of Bengal or of South-Eastern India.

ART. X.—*A Study of the Dakhan Villages, their Origin and Development.* By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.R.A.S.

IT is probably well known to most readers interested in tenure questions, that the villages of the Dakhan Districts of Bombay are in that form in which no joint-ownership of the whole (separately named) area appears: the holdings within the village are entirely separate,[1] and no area of waste land is included as the 'common' property of the whole body, and capable of partition. But apart from the fact that the village is a geographical unit, the feeling of being a 'community' is maintained by the common interests and customs of the local group, by obedience to one hereditary headman, and by its self-contained life: having its own staff of artizans and servants, the village does not need to look outside its own limits for the supply of its ordinary wants. This constitution is quite different from that of the joint-village of Upper India, though some features (such as the artizan staff) must necessarily be common to both.

To these Dakhan villages the modern Bombay Revenue system has been applied, with its special system of permanently demarcating the holdings by corner-stones or other marks, its local method of comparative valuation of soils for assessment purposes, and its simple but efficient forms of recording the separate holdings; so that it might be thought that the raiyatwārī village was a modern invention, or at least something widely different from what

[1] Whatever joint-ownership now exists (following the Hindu law), it is *within* the different family holdings, which themselves are, and always have been, separate.

it was in days long past. This is not the case: with all its refinements, the Bombay Revenue system has really restored, and not originated, the essential basis of land-holding which the preceding Marāthā and Moslem systems tended to upset; it has crystallized into definiteness what, in fact, were the original and ancient features of the tenure.

It is true that modern theories of '*the* Indian village' have ignored the raiyatwārī form as a specific one, and have been based on a consideration of the village forms of Upper India, and in reality on only one class even of those. But the time has come when such theories need to be re-examined in the light of a closer study of facts. We need not, however, in so saying, be ungrateful for what the theories have done for us; since they have more or less directly stimulated inquiry and provided valuable suggestions for guidance as to its method. There can be no doubt that the last twenty years have seen our means of studying villages very greatly enlarged. But while the Settlement Reports and other documents of this period, written in the light of the results of modern historical and economic inquiry, are our most natural sources of information regarding the fuller detail we require, there are a certain number of older Reports which have long been out of print, and are now only occasionally to be met with, but which have a special value of their own. For one thing, they have the advantage of presenting things as they were, at a date much closer to the beginning of British rule, and before the old native system of land-management had become so much superseded by progressive legislation. They also present the facts in full detail, because everything was new to the writer and nothing could be taken for granted. Of this type is the exhaustive monograph on the Dakhan villages written in 1852 by Mr. R. F. Gooddine, of the Bombay Revenue Survey Department. The immediate occasion for this Report was the necessity, then beginning to be felt, of arranging some plan for the regular

remuneration of village-headmen and officers, to replace the older custom of allowing them to levy fees of various kinds called parbhārā hak.[1] These were at once precarious as a source of income and oppressive to the villagers from whom they were extorted. In reporting on the custom previously in force in a large number of villages in the Aḥmadnagar Collectorate, a typical district of the Bombay Dakhan, it was necessary to explain the whole system of village organization and how the land was held and village affairs managed. Mr. Gooddine, like other official writers in the early years of settlement operations, had no such suggestive guides as the works of Sir H. S. Maine and others, which indicated the way to study customs and apply observed facts. The general conclusions about village history arrived at in the Report are based, in some instances, on undeniably mistaken premises; and the author was unable to sift his facts or trace them to the respective periods to which they really belong. The case, in fact, strikingly illustrates the want of such a method of co-ordinating customs with the economic stage to which the people of the time belonged, as Dr. R. Hildebrand, Professor of Political Economy at Graz, has recently been recommending.[2] Nevertheless, the Report contains a mass of valuable information; and what is more, the local terms (which themselves often enshrine information about the origin and meaning of things) are presented not only in the unfortunate 'phonetic' disguise usually employed at the time, but also in the native character. On the basis of this information I propose to consider the probable life-history of the Dakhan villages.

It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that as regards India generally, villages—i.e. settlements for permanent agriculture—were established in favourable

[1] Parbhārā means 'intermediate,' 'indirect.' I use throughout the common Marāthī form hak for the Arabic ḥaq, and so the (M.) spelling *mirās* for (Ar.) mirāṣ, and watan or vatan for waṭan, motarphā for muḥtarfah, etc.

[2] "Recht und Sitte auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen." (Jena: G. Fischer, 1896.)

localities in the culturable plains and in the vicinity of rivers, before the Aryan invasion.

Apart from the evidences of a pastoral stage among the various tribes, or one of shifting or nomadic cultivation such as even now continues in various jungle-clad hill ranges of Central and Eastern India, we have actual local survivals of ancient (and apparently little changed) non-Aryan villages, both Kolarian and Dravidian. It is equally difficult to doubt that these villages represent very much the natural, original, form adopted everywhere by the early agricultural races of India. Such villages were, necessarily, first established under tribal or patriarchal conditions of life. In fact, the tribal stage, with its greater and lesser clans, septs, and sections, was naturally one which would produce a number of limited groups adapted to settle down to agriculture in the same place, thus forming *villages*; and this tendency of tribal groups to settle together must have been further reinforced by the physical conditions under which agricultural operations had to be carried out. All the earliest evidence we can gather from non-Aryan village locations shows that the groups were led by a *headman*, who almost certainly derived his position from a clan constitution in which the smaller septs or sections (of 'village' dimensions) had their petty chiefs as the larger groups had their greater chief and patriarch. We have, however, no evidence tha among those early tribes a whole village was looked o as a unit, either held 'in common' or 'owned' by an one man or family and afterwards held by a co-shari body of descendants. Nor is any trace to be fou a process (such as we see in the later N.W. Panjāb Frontier) whereby the n group was counted head by head, an land made to each, in their several fa It is quite likely that in very early groups had much more of a cl traceable in the villages as they a but it is impossible to say whether

the several holdings were formally allotted by any process whatever. So much seems certain, that the culturable land must have been vastly in excess of the wants of the population; and that certain general clan-territories (traces of which are met with all over India)[1] were acknowledged. It is quite possible either that the earliest village groups settled anywhere they pleased within their own 'territory,' and that around the site fixed on for residence, each man (or head of the household) selected what land he liked (and to the extent he could manage) out of the abundant waste; or that the method of making lots for the headman, original settlers, and for the priests, etc. (such as is traceable in the Dravidian settlements in S.W. Bengal), was also common all over Dravidian India. I think the latter very probable. No trace of any idea of property in land referable to non-Aryan tribal times, or even to Aryan tribes up to the date of the *Institutes of Manu*, has been found, except one which applies to the separate holding, and that in virtue of first occupation and of labour bestowed in the first clearing and preparation of the soil for the plough.[2]

It will also necessarily follow that no such early village could have treated any area of waste and unoccupied land adjoining, as a definite property of the whole body—to be partitioned when the occasion arose. The great area of surplus waste was 'no man's land,' or at best was subject to the vague claim of being within a general clan-territory. Definite areas of waste *belonging* to village groups and included as an integral part of the 'estate' in a ring-fence, are only found in the later joint-villages. However this may be, there is not the least evidence that any 'raiyatwārī'

[1] In some cases still designated by old terms, such as nāḍu, parhā (muṭṭhā among the Kāndh tribes), etc. In other parts they became the ṭappa, 'ilāqa, pargana, tālukā, etc., which marked the local limits of later conquering chiefships; and later still, official divisions of land recognized for administrative purposes.

[2] On this subject, and as to the (superior) Aryan title being regarded as an overlordship, not at first an actual soil-ownership, see my "Indian Village Community" (Longmans, 1896), p. 204.

village was, at any period, different from what it is still, in respect of the adjacent waste. It is very likely that when a group was well established, if in later times newcomers sought to join it and obtain land to cultivate, they would have to ask consent of the older settlers; and they might not have had the same privileges in extending their holdings (and perhaps in other matters) as the original settlers: but once admitted, their 'title' to the cultivated holding was just the same—a right (hereditary and permanent) in virtue of first clearing and conversion from the ownerless jungle. It may be suggested, in passing, that this early absence of any definite claim to land not actually cleared and occupied, must have facilitated the growth of the (very ancient) claim of 'the Rājā' to the waste land. When the days came in which patriarchal rule gave place to a Rājā and his subordinate territorial chiefs, the Rājā (very likely a foreign conqueror) invariably assumed, without apparent opposition, the right to make grants out of the waste, or to reserve it for his own hunting; always, of course, respecting the customary use, by the villages, of an ample margin for grazing and other requirements, near their settlement.

This ancient village, with its headman and its separate family holdings, and with certain other features to be noticed presently, is evidently the prototype of the raiyatwārī form of village, which is by far the most widely extended in India, prevailing as it does over all Central, Western, and Southern India, as well as Bengal and Rājputānā. Moreover (as shown in Mr. W. C. Benett's Gondā Settlement Report), it anciently prevailed in the kingdoms of Oudh before Rājput landlord-communities and other forms of landlord-right arose. And it is evidently the form of village known to Manu, whose work is held to belong primarily to Northern India and the Ganges Plain generally.

But over villages so established it is always possible that a change, forming a second stage in their existence, should come. If any conquering clan of a superior, energetic

race gains the dominion over the country, it is extremely likely that the ruling and military class, at least, will be non-agriculturist. They will establish their rule locally, and as their branch families multiply, a network of overlordships is observed to be formed over the villages, which at first expresses itself, not by interference with the actual landholders, but by exacting from them a share in the produce of the land.

In India, Aryan and other later dominant races have been observed to possess the 'joint-family' idea; and when an overlord's family multiplies, the descendants, all equally entitled according to their place in the family table of descent, divide this source of income into family shares, and these shares are attached to certain definite portions of the village area; and the lands become called by the names of the heads of the family divisions. We are well aware in India how an overlordship of this (or any other) kind always, in time, grows into a virtual soil-ownership.[1] From one cause or another the co-sharers are drawn closer to the land; they become resident managers and *de facto* owners, however vaguely defined their title may be, according to our modern juristic notions. We have abundant opportunities in India for tracing and verifying the mode of growth of this overlord right, which is invariably designated by some term indicating 'inheritance.'

Where such dominant tribes come in succession and in considerable numbers, and also multiply rapidly in their new home, they acquire possession so widely, and form so many new village-groups constituted on their own ideas of superior (and also joint-family) right, that they completely (as far as later times are concerned) obliterate the older form of village as a prevailing feature in the province. Villages then appear to consist entirely of these tribal groups, or of co-sharing bodies of descendants from the

[1] For example, in days of revenue-farming, the village manager—and his family after him—constantly have become, unless circumstances interfered, co-sharing 'proprietors' in later days.

local chiefs or their grantees: the older cultivating bodies have become tenants and lost all traces of an original constitution of their own.[1] Thus a new type of village becomes altogether the prevalent one,—all the more so that a great number of villages are new locations, and not merely superstructures on an older foundation.

Such a change of type has, as a matter of fact, occurred all over that part of India which lies north of the Vindhyan hills; the obvious cause being that there we have the special sphere of the conquests of Aryan, Jat, Gujar, and Moslem tribes, who successively settled and dominated, having the tribal concentration, and often the monarchical organization, and special type of family constitution, which produced the joint or co-sharing type of (Upper Indian) village.

If we now revert to the Dakhan, and accept the strong probability that the earliest villages were pre-Aryan (and if so certainly Dravidian), and in the simplest form just now sketched, it will appear that there was also here, at a remote date, a conquering immigration, and the villages became subject to an overlordship. But the superior families were destroyed by war, or otherwise disappeared. In fact, the privileged tenures of village lands would have disappeared altogether, but for certain special circumstances which caused them to be retained under Moslem and Marāthā rule, but practically in a modified form. Subsequently, they disappeared in everything but the name.

As regards the proof of the earlier stages of this process of change, we can only draw inferences from the circumstances of the case; but there are certain indications which, fortunately, are in themselves hardly disputable. For the rest, it is matter of plain history. We know how the progress of tribal movements has been both facilitated and retarded by the geographical peculiarities of India. The central mass of hills, which it may be permitted to include

[1] In the co-shared village the old institution of a privileged headman entirely disappears; the village is governed by a council of the heads of the shareholding families.

under a collective name as the 'Vindhyan,' and which stretches across India from west to east below the Ganges plain, undoubtedly served (in ancient times, at any rate) as a dividing line or barrier. On the whole they kept the main course of Aryan progress to the plains of Upper India, as far as Bengal and Western Assam. They left the Dravidian country south of the Vindhyas largely untouched by any popular or extensive immigration. 'Hindu' influence, as such, came there at a later time, and in a very different mode. But at the western extremity, the 'Vindhyan' barrier ceases, some way before the coast is reached; and thus the interesting country of Gujarāt is open (with hardly any other obstacle than the desert country to the north) to an approach from the Indus Valley, and from the passes through the Sulaimān hills to the west of the Indus; and once in Gujarāt, it would not be difficult to dominate the Narbadā Valley, and to extend to the Tapti Valley, to Berār, and to the Dakhan, as represented by the Ahmadnagar district, for instance, as far as the limited number of the invaders served. A short study of the map will make this obvious. Now, among the Vedic tribes we find the Yādava, and the tradition that they occupied the Indus Valley. Certainly very ancient Sanskrit-speaking princes were found there, and Sanskrit words were in use at towns or ports at the mouth of the Indus in remote times. Moreover, throughout Upper Western India, we find the population from early times Aryanized, though with a distinctly Dravidian basis. Other northern tribes, sometimes not at all connected with Vedic times, also found their way by the same open route to Kaccḥ, Kāthiāwār, the Bālā country, the peninsula of Saurāshṭra, and the neighbourhood. The Yādava (or Jāduñ) origin is also everywhere traditionally asserted for the ruling clans, not only in Sindh, but in Western India. Such an origin is claimed by many of the Marāthā chiefs' houses. Now so much is certain that, whatever Aryan tribes, Yādava and others, took this Indus Valley route, and settled in Sindh and in Upper Western India, and possibly in parts of the Panjāb, they were completely cut off and separated from that (probably

larger) body of Aryan clans which crossed the Panjāb and settled near the Jamnā River, in Brahmavartā, and afterwards extended over the wider range called Aryāvartā, and finally over the whole Ganges plain to Mithilā, Magadhā, to the confines of Assam. It was only among these latter clans that the Sanskrit literature, the caste system, the 'Hindu Law,' and the Puranic religion, were developed. The Western Indian and Indus Valley Aryans and the northern tribes originally could not have had all these developments. They would, therefore, have mixed readily with one another, and with the superior Dravidian families. Probably the great agricultural race of Kuṇbī, and possibly the Ahīr and others, are due to such a mixture. Their speech, doubtless, is mainly Sanskritic or Aryan, but with a certain Dravidian element; and the Puranic religion and the Brahmanic types of thought and speech which now mark the Marāthā dialect, are clearly later additions. The so-called 'Marāthā' Brahmans are not of Marāthā race, but, like the Drāviṛa, Gauṛ, and other Brahmanical sections, foreign and much later importations. The old Yādava may have had a type of religion more like that of the Veda; whatever it was, it was of such a character that it did not keep the Aryan and Dravidian races distinct; and whatever the form of belief may have been it soon gave way to a new one: all the early Aryan remains in the Dakhan are connected with Buddhism and Jainism, before the Puranic religion and caste rules, etc. (now prevalent), were introduced. For the earliest centuries we have nothing but vague indications of a long-continued period of quasi-Aryan rulers and local chiefships in the Dakhan. In the Gujarāt country, however, northern (Indo-Scythic) and Aryan clans are abundantly traceable. It is not until a period which can be fixed with some definiteness in the early centuries of the Christian era, that the more developed 'Hindu' chiefs from Rājputānā (and tradition says even from Ayodhyā or Oudh) came to the West from Mālwā, and thence through the Mahi hills to Gujarāt and the peninsula, where they established kingdoms and

ultimately extended to the Dakhan. Who those primitive Dravidians were, over whom such Aryan and northern adventurers ruled, we have, of course, no definite evidence; but in the hill country Koli, Bhīl, Mer, and other tribes are certainly of pre-Aryan origin; and a once numerous race of Mhār or Mahār were evidently also dominant.[1]

Altogether, the undoubted Aryan or northern basis of the Marāthā races and others in Western India suggests that they were derived from the Yādava and other northern immigrants; they represent probably a certain mixture of blood, but are clearly distinguishable from the more purely Dravidian races of the Madras Presidency and the southern Dakhan.

It is important to bear in mind the fact, which is proved by actual survivals in or about the first quarter of the present century, that in the Dakhan villages the privileged or 'superior' holdings in family shares were called by *names which indicate ancestors of the Aryan type*—names still borne by the Marāthā houses.[2] Now it is a perfectly well-known fact that these early Aryan or quasi-Aryan houses disappear from history, either as the result of inter-tribal wars, later Rājput victories, or of the early Moslem conquests, or of all of them combined; and that the races (since called Marāthā) only emerge again to view in the late seventeenth century under Sivajī.[3] From the rapid disappearance of the old family holdings in villages, it is clear that they were never sufficiently numerous, or did not endure for a sufficient time to enable them to displace the older village constitution. Their over-lord right appears, so to speak, rather as a thin layer over the villages, and only the memory of it would have survived, perhaps not that, if it had not been for the later Revenue System of the

[1] The name given to the country by the later Hindu writers, Mahārāshtra, seems much more likely derived from the name of this race than from the wholly unmeaning mahā = great, sc. '*magna regio*,' as sometimes suggested.

[2] See Colonel Sykes' paper in J.R.A.S., Vol. II, p. 208.

[3] Who was a Marāthā Kuṇbi, and who became a 'Rājā,' performing various ceremonies and taking the title of a Kshatriyā from the Brahmans. See Grant-Duff, "History of the Mahrattas" (Bombay reprint), vol. i, p. 225, note.

Moslems, which was the means (undesignedly) of reviving it, in other hands.

The first raids of the Ghaznī Sultāns in the eleventh century (conducted by this same open route from the Indus Valley into Gujarāt) did not affect the Dakhan. The first established rule there dates from the fourteenth century. The subsequent division of the Dakhan kingdom into five, the partial overthrow of these rulerships by the Mughal emperors, and the final predominance of the resuscitated Marāthā chieftains, are all well-known historical facts. The effect that these later administrations had on the older family holdings will be better reserved for statement in a later section, in which the history of 'mirās' (shares in the superior tenure) is collected together.

Having indicated the general history so far, it will be desirable at once to sketch the village constitution, as regards its officers, its artizans, and menials and servants, and the mode of their remuneration.

In the isolated and self-contained existence of the villages it would have been impossible for the residents to supply the simple wants of daily life, or get the necessary cloth, shoes, carpentry, pottery, etc., without going perhaps long distances to a town. Each, therefore, attached to itself a staff of artizans, menials, and servants, who became hereditary and served the village, not for payment by the job, but for a regular remuneration, which in the Dakhan seems chiefly to have been by means of fees in cash and grain, etc., paid at each harvest.[1] It might of course happen that in small (and contiguous) villages, one artizan would serve two or more, taking the remuneration in each.

[1] Such fees are also common in North India; also in the Madras villages, where they are called merai. Such a plan of providing for daily wants is, naturally, one that would be found in every kind of village, no matter what its internal constitution or origin.

## The Village Staff and its Remuneration.

### 1. *The Pātel or Headman.*

I have already explained that in all raiyatwārī villages the headman is a relic of the old tribal life, and has always remained as the central figure. He is called Pātel, and by the Moslems Muqaddam. Pātel (Pātalika) is certainly an ancient title; probably not the earliest, unless we may take it that the grāmādhikāri, grāmakūṭā, etc., of books are rather literary designations than titles used in popular speech. Probably too, there were earlier (non-Sanskritic) titles which varied (as they do at the present day) in different localities. Naturally enough, when a 'Rājā's' Government was established, the headman became adopted into the state system[1] from obvious advantage, if not necessity; but he certainly existed from the earliest times. When we recollect the instances given by Sir J. Malcolm, of the extraordinary sensitiveness of the people to the hereditary right of the old Pātel; how essential it was, in restoring a deserted village, to find some descendant of the old Pātel family to head the party; and how in cases where a new man had to be appointed, it was with the understanding that he should resign if ever an even remote descendant of the real family should reappear,[2] it is quite incredible that the headmanship should have *originated* as a mere State appointment at the comparatively later date of the establishment of the monarchical form. As a matter of fact we have actual survivals of old Dravidian villages in South-West Bengal, where not only is the hereditary and originally tribal character of the village-chief obvious, but where the first form of the interference of the 'State' was not that of adopting the (probably illiterate)

[1] As appears, for instance, in Manu (vii, 115) when the king appoints a head of each village, a head of a small group of ten, and a head of a district of 100 (deṣmukh), etc., thus adopting the immemorially existing organization of agricultural society.

[2] Malcolm, Memoir of Mālwā and Central India (Bombay reprint), vol. ii, pp. 17, 18.

headman, but of supplementing him by a second officer, who could keep accounts of the king's revenue-share of the grain, and who was called Māhato, and afterwards pāṇḍyā, paṭwārī, and other local titles.[1] Still, the headman could not be ignored, and he also was recognized as a State official. In an interesting paper read to the Society of Arts,[2] by Mr. J. F. Hewitt, an officer who had local experience both in the Central Provinces and also in South-West Bengal (Chutiyā Nāgpur), a full account is given of the old Dravidian villages and the (tribal) headman, and the subsequent establishment of the Rājā's manager and his grain-share. From traces which occur elsewhere, the conclusion seems to be inevitable that something of the same kind was the typical form, wherever the widespread Dravidian races occur; and that the modern raiyatwārī villages are the lineal descendants of this early type. We notice first, that the headman, as leader of the party of settlers, in some of the ancient villages, had a special holding of the best land set apart for him; and that the original settlers and soil-clearers (bhūīṅhār) were in several ways privileged. Another lot of land was reserved for the worship of the gods.[3] The territorial chief was also (in such early times) supported by another lot of land in each village, the entire produce of which went to him;[4] and this latter plan was gradually superseded, or rather supplemented by the chief (probably by that time called Rājā) taking a share in the grain-produce of all lands, except the village headman's and those of the old privileged settlers. It is when the grain-share was introduced that we find a second official,

[1] And, of course, it is not intended to be denied that where the Rājā was a conqueror or an alien it must frequently have happened that the headmanship was seized by, or conferred on, one of the ruling race to the displacement of an older indigenous chief.

[2] Journal Soc. Arts, vol. xxxv, p. 622, May, 1887.

[3] This is the natural prototype of the devāsthān and dharmādāi lands in the villages, still reserved for religious and charitable objects, just as the headman's holding was the prototype of the watan lands.

[4] In some parts it was cultivated by slaves or by special tenants, who were given holdings of their own to support them.

the prototype of the paṭwārī or kulkarnī, also appointed; and he is remunerated by a hereditary holding of land somewhat smaller than the village headman's. Now in the Dravidian countries there are traces of this ancient allotment of 'Royal lands' locally, which seem to have been antecedent to the Revenue-share of the grain.[1] It is equally universal to find traces at least of the headman's privileged holding and of a similar one for the kulkarnī and others of the village staff.

It is these ancient holdings that were afterwards called by the Moslem rulers watan = the 'home' or 'native' lands—the ancient and most cherished family possession; and in the course of time they became associated with certain mānpān,—dignities and places of precedence which were hardly less valued than the land itself. In later times, too, it was very natural that this *ex-officio* land should be allowed by the State to be held partly or wholly free of revenue charge. Such an exemption is referred to in Manu[2]; and the headman's land was in later times often held as inām (in'ām), free of revenue charge, or at least had only to pay a quit-rent. Under the Marāthās, their plan of revenue farming, and their habit of surcharging everything, destroyed the privilege in some localities, but it is still abundantly in evidence.[3]

[1] It can, of course, be no more than a suggestion of probability that the old 'allotment for the (territorial) chief' was sufficient in days of patriarchal or tribal government; but that when a Rājā with his court appeared, either the land was not sufficient, or was granted away by him to courtiers, relatives, or dependents. At any rate we have evidence, all over India, that in remote times a share in the grain became the principal source of 'State' revenue, and the still older 'Royal farms,' if ever they were general, were forgotten, having become private holdings, and only survived in local memories here and there.

[2] See Manu, vii, 119, where the king is to allow certain revenue officers the privilege of a certain area free of charge. It is reckoned by kulam, the area sufficient for the support of one family. One commentator explains it as equal to a ghaṇṭā, a double plough-land cultivated with six pairs of bullocks. (See Bühler's note ad loc.) It is remarkable, however, that this *landed* privilege is assigned to the chief of a *small group of villages*; the *village* headman is allowed, as a perquisite, such articles of food, wood, and grass, etc., as the villages were bound to find for the king's service. This is perhaps the real origin of the hak or grain fees and perquisites.

[3] The Marāthās destroyed the privilege in the Central Provinces, but it survived under the Moslem rulers in the Nimār district: it is abundantly traceable (as a tenure) in Berār, and in many parts of the Madras Presidency.

From the Dakhan Reports I gather that the watan land (occasionally held as inām or free of revenue charge) is confined to the headman, the kulkarnī, and to the Mahār watchmen. But in other parts, in Berār, for instance, the barber, the sweeper, and other such, had their petty watan lands as remuneration for village service—at least, when these grants had not been absorbed, as they sometimes were, by some great chieftain of later times.[1]

Thus we see the village headman to be an essential feature of the raiyatwārī village. He is president of the community, head of the village police, and also presides over the pançāyat or assembly of elders that could be called to decide any dispute on social or caste questions, or having reference to property. There is one feature of the position which deserves notice. Whatever the earliest form of succession in the days of tribal village-chiefship may have been, the Pātels of historic times have been Hindus, or at all events have had the 'Hindu' institution of the joint-family. Consequently all the watan land and the various haks, privileges, dignities, and precedences (mānpān) constitute a family property which is capable of descending to a number of heirs jointly; the pātelgī or headmanship becomes jointly held by a number of branches; and sometimes special arrangements have been made to provide for their holding the actual official position in rotation. In other cases a 'tarfbandi' arrangement has been sanctioned, under which a village would be divided into two parts, and the proportionate allotment of revenue laid to the separate responsibility of each sharer. These parts were apt to become separate villages.[2] Much complication also arose in later times, when the Pātel was made personally responsible for the whole revenue; in such a case he might fall into pecuniary difficulties, and he would have to sell even a share (taksīmu) of his own family watan and the privileges

[1] See Berār Gaz. 1870 (A. C. Lyall), p. 101.

[2] Hence the addition to some village names of Khurd (corr. of Khurd) and Budrūkh (P. buzurg), and = greater and less, or rather elder (i.e. original) and younger (the offshoot).

thereto attaching; and as a formal partition had to be made, a jury or pancāyat would have to apportion some of the dignities and precedences to each party. One would retain the precedence of throwing the first cake into the Holī festival fire, another the privilege of having the drums first beaten at his house, and so forth.

The multiplication of shares of the pātelgī must have been a fruitful source of multiplied exactions on the humbler villagers, as each branch or sharer would be inclined to demand the shoes, the blanket, the woven piece, etc., that was the original Pātel's hak.

## 2. *The Kulkarnī or Accountant.*

Next as to the Kulkarnī. A writer and accountant was needed, not only for official duties, but as the village 'notary' in general. He would also be frequently needed as referee regarding all those numerous details of collecting the various haks for payment of the village artizans and menials, which were further complicated by levy of similar haks for the headman and accountant himself, to say nothing of the bābtī or extra revenue cesses which were levied from time to time in the later days of revenue farming.[1]

The village affairs, it will be continually borne in mind, may be regarded as in two 'departments,' the cultivated and waste area,—the sphere of the cultivator and landowner, and the village-site or group of houses, with its walls for defence and gates, its central dwelling for the Pātel and his family, the Cāvadī (Chowree or Choultry of books) or public meeting-place, and its group of residences for all classes, including the village artizans and craftsmen and the shop-keepers.

[1] In Elphinstone's celebrated minute "On the Territories Conquered from the Peshwā" (see Forrest's "Official Writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone," p. 292), an account is given of these levies—bābtī, jyāsti-pattī, etc.—which went to the treasury, or at least to the superior revenue-farmers, and were quite distinct from the hak by which the village officers levied for their own purposes.

This distinction gave rise to two heads of taxation, known by the terms kālī and pāṇḍhrī. The land was said to be the black or kālī, and the residence site and its affairs were the pāṇḍhrī or 'white.'[1] I will first of all enumerate the staff that served the village, and then the haks by which they were paid—part of which come under the head of kālī and part of the pāṇḍhrī.

### 3. *The Artizan Staff.*

Captain Grant Duff, in his *History of the Mahrattas*,[2] says that the whole staff theoretically included twenty-four members, called alūte-balūte, twelve of each. The term balūte refers to the grain-fees (or hak) by which the staff were paid: perhaps the whole compound term is rather due to the love of alliterative reduplications so often observed; but alūte (whatever its origin) refers to the non-effective, or non-labouring section of the staff, all of whom, at any rate, did not receive haks. But it will be observed that such a complete staff is rather ideal than actual; nothing like the number could even be desired, in any but very large and mixed villages. Mr. Gooddine gives a smaller list of twelve only, also divided into 'effective' and 'non-effective' (kāru-nāru is another term applied); and he justly remarks that even this number was not attained in smaller villages; it being easy to see what members would be indispensable, and what would only be wanted in more developed communities. In either case the *official* staff—the headman, his executive deputy (Caughulā) and the Kulkarnī—are not included, as too dignified. They (and, *originally*, the holders of the mirās lands or overlords

[1] It is said that the former term had reference to the prevalent black soil of the arable land, the latter to the white or lighter-coloured (and less friable) clay of which walls and cottages were built. Flat-roofed houses of sun-dried bricks are common, and the villages were formerly walled and gated or surrounded by thick hedges of 'prickly pear' (*Opuntia Dillenii*).

[2] Bombay reprint, vol. i, 27, note.

of the village) were distinguished as the gāoṅkarī or the village controllers.

I will very briefly enumerate the entire twenty-four above spoken of, as it is interesting to see what *could* be required. The alūte comprised (1) the sonār or goldsmith, whose special duty was to assay the coins paid in—a duty in former times of great importance; now, of course, not so. (2) The jangam or priest of the lingāit sect; (3) the tailor; (4) water-carrier; (5) Tarāl or veskar,[1] the headman's peon or messenger who attended visitors, and watched the gates (whence the name); (6) the gardener; (7 and 8) certain religious persons who beat tambourines and played the pipes on festival occasions; (9) a Rāmosī or a Bhīl (of the old indigenous tribes, now fallen to a very low position), employed in aid of the police, etc., and for defence, under the name of bartanī (or bartaniyā); (10) a seller of pān, the aromatic leaf universally chewed; (11) the oil-seller; (12) goṇḍalī or beater of kettle-drums. The effective or kāru (balūte) staff, in theory, were (1) satār or carpenter; (2) blacksmith; (3) shoemaker or tanner—who does not, however, make any articles of *raw* hide; (4) the mahār, usually four or five or more of them, the remnant of an aboriginal race, of superior intelligence, employed in various capacities of watch and ward, messenger, etc., and especially being the repository of knowledge of boundaries; (5) a māng or low-caste scavenger, who could also make ropes of raw hide; (6) potter; (7) barber; (8) washerman; (9) a Guro, whose duty it is to wash and ornament the village idol, applying red lead, etc. He also makes the leaf platters (patrāolī) for a village festival: these are used by Hindus instead of plates. (10) A Brahman jyoshī or astrologer; (11) bhāt or bard; (12) a mulānā (=mullā), a Muhammadan, who is employed to kill beasts for food, saying over them the proper formula; he is not otherwise a butcher. It is curious that the Marāthās adopted the custom of net, i.e., making some invocation of the deity at the slaying of

[1] Sometimes written yeskar.

animals for food, which was doubtless copied from the Muhammadan rule of 'halāl.' Hence the Marāthās allowed the killing to be done by a Moslem.

It is not easy to see how or why some of these are distinguished from the alūte first enumerated; others, no doubt, are distinctly working craftsmen or makers of specific things requisite for daily life. In a small village, and perhaps generally at an earlier stage, only some of these would be found; as the carpenter, smith, potter, barber, water-carrier, and washerman. The distinction, however, is evidently a matter of importance, since we find three 'grades' (oḷī, or in Moslem villages kās) recognized. These grades are supposed (theoretically) to correspond to the relative distinction between pay at 30, 25, and 20 sheaves of corn from each pāīn of land (a certain area-division, of which presently) in the village. The actual customary rates of reward are all fixed. The duties of the staff are obvious from their names. The barber (nhāwī), besides doing the village shaving, carries messages connected with betrothals, as in Upper India. The blacksmith is only supposed to make the iron parts of *agricultural* implements; not of *carts*, e.g.; for the latter he gets paid separately. The potter is obliged (against his village remuneration) to supply free earthen vessels to the Mahārs and to the other artizans of the village, and also for any official visitor. The goldsmith is of course paid for ornaments that he makes; his village duties are assaying coin (now no longer required), and making the mangalsūṭra or bridal thread on occasions of marriage. It will be observed that in dignity he is reckoned as nāru, not kāru.

The Mahār, who is always of this (aboriginal) race, is of curious importance.[1] There are always several of them who divide in shares the duty and emoluments. For this is almost the only member of the staff that has a special

[1] It has been suggested that the position of the tribe with regard to *boundaries* and their intimate knowledge of the old village holdings and limits generally, point to the probability (which accords with their own tradition) that they were once (in days long gone by) the original possessors of the soil. Cf. Gustav Oppert, "The Original Inhabitants of India," pp. 21, 47, etc.

(watan or *ex-officio*) holding, called Haḍoḷī[1] or Haḍkī or Domnī (according as it is for one branch of duty or another). "The Mahār," says Mr. Gooddine, "is emphatically called 'the village eye.' He is the watchman and guardian of the village, and the living chronicle of its concerns. His situation and his curiosity make him acquainted with everybody's affairs, and his evidence is required in every dispute." He knows all about the boundaries, not only as between holding and holding, but between one village and another. He has also multifarious duties as watchman of crops and of cattle, and as porter at the gates; he assists travellers, carries messages, delivers letters, furnishes a guard at night, and so forth. He is, therefore, fairly well paid, having his hereditary landholding, a tithe of produce, and various presents of bread, oil, condiments, etc., from the dealers.[2] At some former period each village had a certain number of Mahārs, 8, 12, or 16, according to its size. On this account the duty (and the emolument also) is divided into shares among the number, and sometimes three brothers (say) will hold the office and take the remuneration in turn—one getting it every third year. In a large village the duties will be divided, and the grants also: thus there will be one set watching the gates (veskar), also the threshing-floor or stacking-yard; others will be the gāoṅ-mahār or general servants: it is these who arrange for conveying the baggage of travellers, who clean the horses of the official visitors, and find pegs for picketing[3] them, as well as collecting firewood, grass, etc.

[1] Haḍoḷī is stated by Mr. Gooddine not to refer to haḍ, the boundary (Arabic), but to be derived from haḍ, 'a bone,' and oḷī, 'a row,' because of the Mahār having to see to the clearing of the village of dead cattle. Domnī means 'a dish' of a certain kind, and refers to the means of filling it, or perhaps to the scraps or remains.

[2] He also got the skins of cattle dying in the village, *except* those belonging to the Pātel, whose dignity demanded that the Mahār should return their skins on receiving a small fee called hāth-dhone = to 'wash his hands' (after the skinning). When the services of the Mahār to certain district officials were not required, they used to levy on the Mahār families a small tax called rābtā in lieu of the services.

[3] It may be mentioned as showing the minute division of duty which custom enforces that for the *pegs* the Mahar finds the wood, while it is the duty of the Sutār or carpenter to shape and point them.

### 4. *Method of Realizing the Haks.*

It was stated just now that the hak or fees for remunerating these artizans, etc., came partly from the 'department' of cultivation or kālī, and partly from the pāṇḍhrī. But those which come from the cultivated land are again the subject of customary classification. Some crops yield grain that can be measured, or tied into sheaves; others do not admit of this treatment: moreover grain, etc., may be taken when it is ripe and threshed out, or in the ear before it is ripe. So we have the following rather curious distinctions. Grain, I should premise, is measured by pāīlī, one of which is about four local ser.[1] (1) Allowances for the usual or common grain crops are calculated at so many sheaves (gūr) or so much grain by weight or measure. But (2) a variety of dues are collected under the head of nimbūr, properly referring to a number of stalks and ears gathered when the corn is still green. And (3) some crops are grown in smaller quantities—such as oil-seeds, tobacco, hemp, ambārī (another fibre-plant) and vegetables; dues of these are collected in small lots, as may be convenient, under the denomination of wānwūlā. Lastly (4) there are dues from the bāgāit or garden lands—a lapful of peas or beans, a handful of fruit, a small bed (waphā) of carrots or onions. And under this head also come the varied dues connected with sugar-cane—so many sticks, cups of the juice, and moulds of the boiled sugar.

The carpenter, blacksmith, and shoemaker (as the principal artizans) have also the privilege of sowing in every landholder's farm a strip of four furrows, with a particular grain called rallā: the landholder tills the land, the artizan brings a basket of the seed-grain to sow, and reaps the plot when it is ripe.

Except so far as the artizan class get help from one

[1] The reckoning in the Dakhan is by Khaṇḍī (Candy), and the scale is 1 khaṇḍī = 20 man. 1 man = 16 pāīlī. 1 pāīlī = 4 ser. But the ser is a local one which (judging from some of Mr. Gooddine's calculations) is of such size that four of them = $3\frac{1}{2}$ (nearly) of the standard (2 lb) ser.

another, as when the potter gives earthen vessels gratis, the variety of tolls taken in the other 'department,' the pāṇḍhrī does not directly contribute to the *remuneration of the artizans and menials.*

This, however, reminds me that the collection of hak or dues in the village, whether under the head of kālī or pāṇḍhrī, was not only, or chiefly, confined to the paying artizans and menials. A large portion of the whole, nearly all that of the pāṇḍhrī collected under the name of motarphā, went to the Pātel and the Kulkarnī (some also to the Mahār).

In fact, if we place the *whole* of the haks together, including some that were taken in cash, we may observe that they were variously devoted—

1. To the remuneration of the artizan staff as just explained;
2. To remunerate the Pātel and Kulkarnī; and
3. To provide for the sādilwār or expenses common to the whole village.

The haks from the kālī *chiefly* go to the artizans, but from this source the Pātel used to get several special fees called aḍepāḍe,[1] bhīknī, āūtkī, māparkī (so many sheaves of corn, on different occasions). So also the Kulkarnī used to get a salāī, or 'tale-fee,' for keeping the tale of the several heaps, and measuring the grain at the threshing-floor (one heap out of each lot of 100 pāīlī). Also he took an oḍhā, or 'haul,' out of each landholder's heap, being as much grain as he could take up by clasping his hands and extending his arms in a loop.

It will be remembered that these (and also the following) fees to Pātel and Kulkarnī have long been abolished in favour of a fixed pay and allowances; but some of them, no doubt, are still levied by custom. The haks of the artizans remain as always. It is, however, interesting to see what various pretexts were made for raising the Pātel's emoluments. It

[1] The Kulkarnī took a similar fee called gūgrī.

is probable that some presents or offerings were really ancient; but the regular *haks* are usually believed to date from Moslem times, when the officer became responsible for a more or less fixed revenue-demand, and had to be remunerated extra for his labour and responsibility.[1] The officers' imposts (in the pāṇḍhrī department) came under two heads: the motarphā and the mushāharā; the one (generally) in kind, the other in cash.

I may as well state the different fees together, adding the letter (P) and (K) to distinguish those that go to the Pātel or the Kulkarnī respectively. The motarphā heads were:—

Kharīdkhat and khotpatrā (K) are two kinds of fee on documents of sale, whether of the produce of a field or something else.

Jakāt (Ar. zakāt = alms, 'poor-rate'), a toll of a paisā per head on bullocks laden with merchandise entering the village (P).

Peobūd (lit. 'the bottom of the grain-pit'), an allowance paid (K.) on opening a store-pit and selling the grain. The Mahār also gets a portion for lifting the grain as (K.) does for making the account of contents. Theoretically the grain given is the inferior stuff at the bottom of the pit.

Seosabjī (lit. 'green business'), a toll on sale of green-grocery (P.).

[1] By this means the Treasury was saved the task of finding a larger salary, and the Pātel was always able to refer to his fixed allowance of free-land or cash as his only emolument; if pressed with the fact that he got so much more from *fees* he would have a hundred excuses—that they were not paid, that this was for a special and different service, etc., etc. It is certainly curious to notice how oriental races seem always to cling to an idea of *fixed rates*, although circumstances have long compelled a change: the increase is disguised by a fiction. Thus we are familiar with the way in which not only later Mughal rulers, but also the Marāthās, would often profess to retain the *original revenue rates*, but add on a lot of *cesses*—which *appeared* to be temporary and for special reasons, but which, once imposed, were never taken off. This method also concealed, on *both* sides, the real extent of what was taken or charged, and this both liked. I notice a curious instance of the same feeling in Grant Duff's account of a treaty in which Sivajī engaged to compensate the British Government of Bombay (in the seventeenth century) for depredations committed on a certain factory. He was *really* to pay 10,000 pagodas, but he stipulated that it should *appear* as an agreement for the Governor to purchase Marāthā merchandise to the value of 5,000 pagodas annually for three years, which was only to be paid for at one-half the value. And for the rest an exemption from customs duty was granted. Thus pride was salved and the Treasury saved from a ready-money demand.

Lagnāmuhūrt,[1] a fee of a shawl or a turban given on marriage occasions (P.).

Sāli-koshtī (P.), a piece from each loom according to the different kinds of make. Thus the Dhangar caste give the (P.) a blanket from each loom; and being shepherds they also offer him at the Dasahrā festival a sheep from each flock.

The shoemaker was expected to find (P. and K.) a pair of shoes gratis, and sometimes one for each of the branch families of the Pātel's house.

These are the personal dues; but then there were various expenses belonging to the community as a whole: such were called the ċillar, including the sādilwār (Ar. ṣādir-wārid = going away and arriving). They consisted of travelling expenses of village officials on duty, holding festivals and entertainments for the village, alms and charity in certain cases, entertaining guests, finding oil for lighting the public meeting house, stationery for the clerk, etc., etc. The headman defrayed all these in the first instance, and was allowed to reimburse himself by a cess levied as mushāharā—a cash percentage on the revenue (25 per cent., more or less, according to the place) over and above the State revenue. After defraying the village expenses, and certain fees to the *district* officials (deṣmukh, deṣpāṇḍya, etc.) he took the rest himself as part of his remuneration, and also paid the Kulkarnī either by a lump sum, or at so much per cent., or so many *anas* per ċāhūr division of land. If the officers had sufficient remuneration otherwise—I suppose by means of inām land—this mushāharā would not be granted, and then the headman only levied an amount to cover the sādilwār; in either case it is obvious that unless the superior officials were watchful the Pātel would make the sādilwār an excuse for the most oppressive levies.[2]

[1] Lagnā is a first marriage; muhūrt a second.

[2] In the joint-villages of Northern India the 'village expenses' are paid out of the malba, a fund collected from the profits of the waste and the undivided part of the estate (if any), and by a rate on the co-sharers. The headman had to pay the charges and recover them subject to audit by the co-sharers, who might dispute the propriety of the charge in any instance.

## Land-Management and the terms in use.

Having thus seen how the officers and the village artizans are paid, we shall glance at the *land-management*. In 1852, the most prevalent caste of landholder was the Kuṇbī—an agricultural caste of enterprise and ability, which, originating in these parts, has also extended itself far into Hindustan in search of good lands to cultivate. It must be explained that the condition of things then existing was, that certain parts of the villages were still held under the denomination of mirās lands, and the superior title thus implied had become chiefly a matter of name and dignity; *but* until the abolition of the haks and the other irregular imposts taken by the village officers, it had this advantage, that it might be wholly, or at least partly, *exempt from such payments*. Other land, not so privileged, was held by persons called Uprī. Lands held by Uprī, if once mirās but no longer in possession of the old families, were said to be gatkul. The holder or 'owner' of mirās land was called thalwāhīk or thalkarī.

Both thalkarī or mirāsdār and Uprī were resident in the village and had their interest in its affairs and paid pāṇḍhrī dues; so that a person cultivating land in the village but not resident, was on a somewhat different footing and was called wowaṇḍkari (or āoṇḍkari or āwaṇḍkari—all being forms of the same word).

It will be well also to note that the total area within the geographical limits of a village is called śiwār; that cultivated land in general is bāwar (or wāwar); a field is śet (Hindi khet).[1] The term partaṇ is also applied to a field as arranged for ploughing (partaṇe 'to turn': cf. the ghumāo measure in the Panjāb—ghumānā 'to turn' the plough). Ṭhike also means a field; but especially the lot or ultimate subdivision of the thal or major-share of the mirās family in the village. Uncultivated land reserved for grass cutting, etc., is kuran, and unculturable waste gairān

[1] Malāi is a field in the soft alluvium on the edge of a stream.

(evidently corrupted from the Arabic wairān).[1] Certain lands reserved for State purposes, or (owing to some dispute or otherwise) excluded from calculation, were called śerī.

## Further History of the Mirās Title.

These terms, relating to land-management, enable us to examine more closely the rather curious history enshrined in them.

I have already adverted to the fact that the Aryan family names by which mirās lands were known indicates (what is also intrinsically probable) that the quasi-Aryan overlords, who certainly found their way as conquerors or adventurers into the Dakhan districts, established a claim to various village lands. It should be explained as regards the term mirās[2] that the Moslem administrators merely introduced the Persi-Arabic term for these old hereditary holdings; and being short and convenient it became universally used.[3] They certainly did not invent the superior rights, because (as I have said) they had long existed on lands held by Aryan families, which is conclusive. But the Moslem system indirectly brought about the levy of haks, and that again introduced a new element into the mirās privilege, at any rate when it had passed into the hands of new holders.

[1] Mr. Gooddine's derivation from gāē 'a cow,' and ran 'pasture,' is surely fanciful; nor would the long vowels of the first member go into the syllable gai-.

[2] Connected with the root wirs, wirsa = 'inheritance,' 'hereditary,' etc.

[3] Their revenue system necessitated the use of many terms (naturally Persi-Arabic), which became fixed in the usage of the country, and were kept up by the Marāthās long afterwards. It should be added that the term mirās became also common in the Tamil country of Madras, where (as always) it indicated a superior privileged tenure; but in Tamil the term kānīādsī also survived, expressing the same idea. In Marāthī there is a term kuṇbāvā (bhāvā) which is said to mean 'agriculture' in general, being connected with kuṇ (the Kuṇbī caste) and bhāvā, state or condition. But I should like to be sure that kuṇbī was not itself derived from kuṇ, meaning some superior kind of agricultural tenure, and not *vice versâ*. Certainly in the Marāthā State of Tanjore (see *Mirasi Papers*, 1862, p. 89) it was stated that kuṇbāvā was the equivalent of kānīādsī, i.e. the *superior* tenure or privileged holding of land. In the Dakhan thalwāhīk or thalkarī was certainly used not for any tenant, but as the equivalent of mirasdār.

It has indeed been suggested that the term mirās only means (in general) 'hereditary,' and that as in the oldest form of village there probably was some distinction between the *original* settlers and first-clearers of the holdings,[1] and *later comers* who joined the community and obtained land, perhaps long after the village was established, so these distinctions mirāsdār and uprī may merely indicate the old hereditary holders as distinct from later settlers; or, again, that mirās may merely refer to the special (hereditary) holdings of the village officers. But there are several reasons for rejecting these interpretations, in spite of the plausibility which attaches to the former. In the first place mirās could not mean the special (hereditary) holding of the pātel, etc., for that was distinctly called his watan. Moreover, wherever land is found (in other parts) called mirāṣi, wārisī, wirāṣat, etc., it is *always land held on* a quasi-landlord or *superior tenure*.[2] 'Inheritance' is, in fact, a euphemism for 'conquest,' or at least for privilege by grant of the Rājā or his officers. Moreover, if the mirās lands of the Dakhan villages were only the more ancient holdings of original settlers, how came they to be divided into shares, and invariably called after *Aryan* names, those of the limited number of houses belonging to old Aryan, or semi-Aryan families? The Dravidian settlers show no signs (as far as can be traced) of having held village lands in shares, nor even that they (before becoming 'Hindus') had the 'joint-family' institution.[3] The ancient houses, Colonel Sykes informs us, were confined to ninety-six names, showing that (as might be expected) the overlordship was that of a limited body of adventurers of a superior type. This limitation accounts

[1] See p. 244, ante.

[2] Land held by the distinctly *tenant* class when privileged (for any reason) is said to be 'hereditary,' but the term used is maurūṣī—another and distinct derivative from the same root.

[3] Nor do we find such a distinction in *other* raiyatwārī villages of Dravidian origin. Mirāsī rights do occur in Madras, it is true, but not in the same way as in the Dakhan. For an account of the Madras tenures see my "Indian Village Community" (Longmans, 1896), p. 362.

for the local character of the overlordship (it was not found outside the Bombay Dakhan and probably Berār); it also accounts for the fact that evidently the mirās existed, as I have already said, as a mere layer or varnish of overlordship which did not destroy the older constitution of the village. It is evident also that the mirās represents an overlord right over villages *already in existence*. Had the early Yādava or other northerns come to a complete wilderness and themselves established the first villages, in the co-sharing form, there would have been no Pātel (with the *watan* holding). This is a distinctive feature. All the circumstances of the case point to the belief that the early Aryan clans took the rule of the country they conquered, over an earlier (Dravidian) population, already tilling the soil and settled in small tribal groups, each under its own headman. It is quite impossible to believe that the Pātel was a late addition, after an earlier co-sharing constitution had decayed.

Colonel Sykes in 1827 was still able to find some of the thaljārā or lists of mirāsī shares. The villages were found to be divided into larger shares—for the main branches of the family, called thal or sthal,[1] and the ultimate share thiké (M.). Whatever may have been the effect of the Moslem conquest in reducing the older (quasi-Aryan) ruling families, the Moslems did not generally assume the mirās right in the villages; Colonel Sykes found only one instance of a thal or major-share which had come to bear a Muhammadan name.

The lands remained in a few cases, even in Colonel Sykes' time, possessed by alleged descendants of the families; but most frequently they were either vacant (as regards privileged holders), i.e. were held by common cultivators, or had been annexed by the Pātels' families themselves

[1] Tal means 'level,' and it is possible that as some of the ruling families would be concerned in holding the forts (gaḍh) on the hills, while others were occupied with the lands in the level villages, cultivated under the protection of the first, they were called talkari as opposed to gaḍhkari. The Reports, however, all write 'thal.'

(whence a certain confusion between mirās and watan), and it soon became the custom to grant or sell the mirās title in vacant holdings, because the dignity attaching to the title still gave the holders a certain position in the village body, as gāoṅkari.[1]

It is now time to explain how it was that the Moslem, and afterwards the Marāthā, revenue systems affected the mirās title. The policy, at any rate of the Dakhan (Moslem) kingdoms, was to preserve the older village institutions, and they found in the mirās-holders an element of stability and attachment to the land which led them to make revenue settlements with such superior holders if they existed.[2] We possess no detailed information about the *earliest* method of Moslem revenue management. We know that of old the Aryan and semi-Aryan princes took their revenue or overlord fees (as the case might be) by a share in the grain of each holding: this was in fact a pure raiyatwārī system; and it had this advantage, that it necessitated no internal interference with the holdings; each gave its customary share, full or diminished according to the actual out-turn of the harvest. Even the later, more complicated methods of 'kaltar' or estimating a certain yield from the fields, and demanding that, did not interfere much with holdings or internal management. No holder was called on to make up any deficiency from his neighbour's field. There is reason to believe that the first change was roughly to assess the holdings in cash at so many takā (= dām) or small copper coins. Such a form, at any rate, was long remembered in some districts. The later Moslem reforms

[1] Mr. Gooddine remarks: "The priority of place in an assembly at a festival, or in a procession, and the right of sitting in the Municipal Council (this high-sounding phrase means nothing more than the village panchāyat), are inestimable marks of distinction to a people among whom there is so little real property. . . . I have been told that in some parts of the Sattāra district a mirāsdār would consider himself insulted were even a private merry-making to take place without his being at least asked to take pān-supārī at it" (p. 8, § 14).

[2] I have even seen it suggested that Malik 'Ambar *created* the mirās title: this he certainly did not as regards the general institution, but he may have revived it, and even granted it anew where the old family had disappeared.

consisted in measuring the land, introducing a system of assessment by area (bīghotī or bighāonī), and substituting a *silver* tankā coin for payment.[1] It is also, however, held that the Moslem (cash) assessment derived its name from tankhwā—a fixed sum or standard total payment. I do not pretend to determine which is correct.[2] In the Northern Dakhan Districts the minister Malik 'Aṁbar (*circa* 1610 A.D.) made a measurement of lands and a settlement of the revenue, so that the village demand was a total of the measured assessable lands (excluding all inām or freehold) in the several (separate) holdings. In the Mughal districts, after Shāh Jahān's authority was established (1636), a settlement was made on similar principles under Murshid Qulī Khān.

As long as the revenue could be collected according to the individual assessment of holdings, no disturbance of tenures would occur; but as the kingdoms fell into difficulties, the tendency was to look to the total revenue of each village and to make the Pātel responsible, giving him increased liberty to tax the people in any way, so long as the total sum was paid in. It was to recompense the labour and risk involved in such a position, and to meet the various extra expenses and village charges, that the Pātel was allowed to levy haks and the mushāharā already spoken of.[3] The Marāthās developed this into a regular farming system, under which a district contractor undertook annually (or for some short period) a considerable area, subletting the several villages to the Pātels or other managers. This

[1] Grant Duff, "History Mahrattas," i, 106.

[2] Grant Duff states, on the authority of the native historian Khafī Khān (Muḥammad Ḥāshim Khān) that the silver tankā was introduced by the Mughals in 1637, and about twenty years earlier in the Nizām-shāhī territories ("History of the Mahrattas," i, 81). He notes also that many Kulkarnīs could still state the village revenue in the older copper currency.

[3] Mr. Gooddine states that the Moslems recognized and even defined these haks. It seems likely that the levy of them by the Pātel and Kulkarnī was suggested by the analogy of the similar but old customary haks already taken by the village artizans and servants. The Pātel's responsibility, which was an arbitrary and new imposition, would at once deprive him of any benefit from the exemption of his watan lands from revenue-payment, and necessitated his having some way of recouping his losses.

upset all respect for holdings; since a total sum had to be raised, and everyone was made to pay, not according to his landed right, but according to his ability. These changes affected the mirās lands in two ways. The title, originally held in virtue of family inheritance, now became the subject of sale or grant; and when so sold, it might be a part of the bargain that it should or should not be, in part or wholly, liable to pay the haks.

It will be remembered that considerable social dignity attached to a mirās holding; hence it was a desirable possession. The Moslem Governors supported the institution because they were able to hold the mirāsdār absolutely liable for his revenue; he could not 'relinquish' his land like a casual cultivator. The Pātels, being now free to manage as they best could, found in the mirās title, sometimes a secure possession for their own families, sometimes a means of attracting permanent settlers to vacant holdings (it was always an object to have every available bīghā under the plough); and, not infrequently, a means of raising money when there was a threatened deficit in the revenue payment.

When the Pātel thus sold or granted the mirās title, it was very natural that the older (and real) mirāsdārs should be able successfully to resist paying the village haks, and the purchasers should bargain that they were to be exempt, or partly exempt from them also.[1] Hence it came to pass that (before the modern abolition of haks, motarphā, etc.) mirās lands were found under three conditions: (1) wholly exempt from such charges; (2) partly exempt; (3) not exempt at all.

By this time, it will be recollected, the claim of the ruler to be virtual owner of all land had come into full force,

[1] As Mr. Gooddine remarks (§ 14), "the native account of *mirās* is [i.e. as existing at the time] that it has generally been obtained from the Pātel in troublesome times, when from some predatory visitation or pecuniary difficulty he has been compelled to seek assistance from the villagers, granting them in return immunities from the Pātel's share of the haks on their land." (This, in fact, came to be the chief advantage derivable from mirās besides the social position.)

not as a matter of formal decree or declaration, but as a matter of practice, so that really there was but little *tenure* distinction between mirās and *ordinary* land except this fact of exemption.[1] The same features continued under Marāthā rule. Undoubtedly the Marāthās had *some* respect for the mirās title, and allowed it to survive. On the one hand, their own chiefs liked to get village titles for themselves, and often held such land in their own names.[2] They therefore could not ignore the privilege; they are said even to have paid a price for mirās land when wanted for a State or public purpose. On the other hand, they were too keen financiers to forego the advantage that could be got out of mirās-holders who still felt that some dignity and immunity attached to their tenure; sometimes they made them pay at a higher rate of revenue than other landholders; and even where this could not be done they invented a special tax called mirās-pattī, levied once in three years.

Thus, then, we have good ground for establishing four stages as regards the mirās title to land:—

1. Originally it represented a superior or overlordship right enjoyed (in shares) by Aryan (or semi-Aryan) chief families, and probably was exercised by taking a share of the produce raised by the original cultivators of such lands, without interfering with their hereditary possession. While such a stage lasted, the Pātel would probably not be allowed much influence, and would only manage such lands as were not mirās, or would act in subordination to the mirāsdārs. These may *originally* have not paid any revenue to the State

[1] Hence (Report, § 18) the mirāsdars used to express their position by saying "the land is the Sirkār's (Government), but the mirās is mine."

[2] See the excellent remarks of Sir J. Malcolm ("Central India," vol. i, p. 67) on the way in which the Marāthā chiefs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (at that time returning to a life of military duty and governing function from the peasant or village life) preferred *village* titles, watans or village headship privileges, to the more ostensibly regal and aristocratic tenures taken by the Rājput chieftains or Mughal nobility. For an example of a village headship seized by a Marāthā chief, and the mirās lands taken into his own hands, and mostly *not* exempted from imposts where they still remained in other hands, see the village table further on.

or Rājā; but when any change by conquest took place, this freedom would certainly not be maintained—the 'jathādār' (this was another designation) had to pay a fixed revenue for his village lands.

2. The families partly disappear and partly are reduced to the actual cultivation or management of the mirās lands. Many such lands, being vacant, become held by persons who have *purchased* (or otherwise obtained) the privilege. The Pātels by this time have imposed on them a special responsibility, and accordingly assume, or are allowed to sell or grant, the mirās title, and make it more or less subject to payment of their own fees, etc., as well as the State revenue.

3. The villages become subject to a regular and oppressive farming system; all distinctions of tenure become very much obliterated; but mirās lands are still to some extent valued, and are still able to claim exemption from some, at any rate, of the imposts. The rulers also accord a certain consideration to the holders.

4. Under British rule the Pātel and Kulkarnī get fixed remuneration, and are allowed a fixed cess to meet village expenses; all their special and oppressive haks and exactions are abolished[1]; hence the last vestige of practical distinction between mirās holdings and others disappears. In the ordinary raiyatwārī village of the Dakhan as it is to-day, if the distinction be observed at all, it is a mere matter of *names* and *memories*, having no practical meaning, at least as regards tenure.

The interesting feature of the history is that, had the old Aryan holders of mirās been sufficiently numerous and persistent, they would have developed, as elsewhere, into joint-holding village landlords, and have abolished the Pātel and changed the whole constitution. This they failed to do, but the divisions and names of the old family holdings having

[1] It would be interesting to know to what extent custom still enables Pātels and Kulkarnīs to levy certain dues in kind—as pairs of shoes, shawls or turbans, and special offerings, etc. Doubtless some are still given, *out of respect for* old custom and to secure favour or good will. The village artizans' and menials' customary haks are, of course, not interfered with.

survived, a changed revenue system resuscitated the title—often in other hands, with a new and different importance. Then, too, had the Marāthā rule been less vigilant, the Pātel, being made responsible for the whole revenue, would surely have developed into sole landlord of the village, and so have produced (in the persons of his descendants) a co-sharing landlord body in another way. But Marāthā rulers were too strict to allow of this. Hence, when the Pātel's haks and levies were abolished (in modern times), and the revenue was levied on a careful valuation and measurement of each holding, the raiyatwārī constitution (so seriously threatened by the preceding farming arrangements) was fully restored, and in a stable and perfected form.

We now pass on to another class of lands, those granted to be *free of revenue* by the State. These also were, as we shall see, seriously affected by this plan of ignoring specific rights and holdings which a farming system usually produces.

## Inām Lands.

Lands that were specifically exempted from paying the Royal Share or the land revenue, were called māniyam or inām (Ar. in'ām). When the old method of a proportion of the grain from each holding was in force, this exemption was a matter of definite importance. And when the Moslem systems fixed a cash revenue as the result of an assessment of each holding, the exemption continued to be specific. But when in later times the tankā came to be merely a lump sum demanded from the village as a whole, the inām exemption became a matter concerning the rest of the village more than anyone else; if particular persons were allowed to hold land without paying, the rest would have to give so much more to make up the total demand. This was always the case under the Marāthās. Under British rule, the revenue once more became assessed, not by bargain for a total sum, but

holding by holding, at an acreage rate according to survey and valuation, and lands, specifically inām, became once more distinguished.

The Pātel's watan land was originally held free, or at least free up to a certain percentage; so was the Kulkarnī's; in later times it very commonly became assessed, or was made to pay, at any rate, a joḍī or quit-rent, which was often pretty heavy. There were also some special inām holdings of the Pātel's. One was called the pasoḍī or 'shawl grant,' referring to the Pātel as being the person who received the honorary shawl or turban (as the case might be) at weddings. Another plot was held for the Pātel's wife, as her coḷī (i.e. the 'bodice' grant). I have already mentioned that the Mahār had certain free grants, called haḍoḷī, haḍkī, and domnī.

The religious and charitable inām were always among the most stable as well as the most important. Even in the times when inām privileges were confused or lost (in the manner stated) it is probable that the total revenue demand was made up with some consideration for the continued exemption of such lands. Lands for the temple were called devāsthān (abode of the god). Others for various charitable and religious maintenances, and apparently for other (public) purposes, were called dharmādāi.

But the mention of the destruction of inām privileges (especially as regards the Pātel's watan) by the system of revenue farming, reminds me that some peculiar tenures have arisen in this way. The Pātel being personally liable, he would sometimes be driven, as I have above mentioned, to sell a share of his own watan to raise money. But also he would (on behalf of the whole village) borrow money, or obtain it, by an out-and-out sale, from some individual, who would then take possession of part of the village lands, on the understanding that, in future, he was not to pay anything in the way of a contribution to the village revenue, which must be made up as best it might on the remaining lands. So various lands were called 'gāoṅ nisbat inām lands,' held free 'on account of

the whole village.' The State had really nothing to do with it, as the Treasury would make no deduction from the total dues on this account.[1]

I may conclude this section by giving a short table which shows the different heads under which lands were actually held—mirās, upri or gatkul, inām, and so forth.

In three selected villages, the figures of Rāhātī will at once strike the reader.

TABLE I.

(Area in bīghās, fractions omitted.)

| Kind of land (A.D. 1852). | Kumbhārī village. | Mahegāoṅ. | Rāhātī.[2] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Pātel's special holding (watan, etc.) ... | 2,269 | 2,072 | 0 |
| 2. Mirās land (1) wholly exempt from paying haks and imposts ... ... ... | 1,116 | 153 | 195 |
| ,, ,, (2) Partly exempt ... | 0 | 0 | 315 |
| ,, ,, (3) Not exempt ... ... | 0 | 0 | 5,027 |
| 3. Gatkul and ordinary land ... ... ... | 0 | 512 | 4,773 |
| 4. Held on inām of various kinds ... ... | 580 | 430 | 629 |
| 5. Reserved grazing (kuran) ... ... ... | 400 | 30 | 0 |
| 6. Waste (*gairān*) ... ... ... ... ... | 1,240 | 802 | 9,631 |
| 7. S'erī or State and other land excluded from calculation as effective village land ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 259 | 0 |

[1] In the Gujarāt districts we find many lands held in this way (from the whole village) under the designation of pasāetuṅ. This is a Gujarāti term which means free land for payment of village servants or for religious and charitable grant: it requires a further addition to explain what particular purpose is intended. Thus we have vechāniya (land sold out-and-out), girāniya (land mortgaged), etc., etc. These terms do not occur in the Dakhan Report; but the idea is the same. Someone would advance money and take a pasāetuṅ (or pasāita) grant from the village on the understanding that until the land was redeemed (in case of a mortgage) the holder should not pay any rent or revenue on it; the villagers must make up their revenue total, on the other lands, as best they could.

[2] In Rāhātī the Marāthā chief who has become Pātel has not cared to reserve any watan for himself by that name, since he has taken more than half the village as paying haks to him. Observe the small area he allows to be held as mirās, which is wholly or partly free from his haks. The inām area is moderate; I find it made up of necessary holdings for the Kulkarnī, the Pātel (perhaps allowed to the working deputy), the Mahār, etc., and for religious and charitable objects. Even where the land was nominally mirās (5027 B.) the chief had made it nearly all pay haks to him. I suspect, too, there is something peculiar about the very large area of gairān or unculturable; this was probably written down so that it might not be assessed to revenue, but was really held for the chief's advantage.

TABLE II.

Detail of the 580 bīghās shown as held in Inām, or free of revenue, in village Kumbhārī in the table No. 1.

| | | B. |
|---|---|---|
| (A) Official ... | Held by the *district* official or 'zamindār' ... ... ... ... | 60 |
| | ,, ,, Moslem Qāẓī or law officer ... ... ... ... | 60 |
| | ,, ,, Pātel ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 120 |
| | ,, ,, Kulkarnī ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 |
| (B) Service ... | ,, ,, Bhīl ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 10 |
| | ,, ,, Mahār (as haḍkī and haḍolī) ... ... ... ... | 150 |
| (C) Religious and Charitable. | ,, ,, Temple (devāsthān) ... ... ... ... ... ... | 0 |
| | ,, ,, dharmādāi for a gosāwī ... ... ... ... ... | 45 |
| | ,, ,, ,, for a mosque ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| | ,, ,, sambhāwīt grihasth (some religious grant regarding which I have no detail) ... ... | 120 |
| | Total ... ... ... | 580 |

The Qāẓī is a judicial officer among Moslems, required to validate marriages and divorces, to put his *seal* on deeds of sale, etc. He gets fees besides his inām land.

The dharmādāi seems to have been a head under which a number of purposes could have been included, such as paying for oil to light the çāvaḍī, etc.

## Divisions of the Village Lands; Measurement, etc.

A few words may be said about some village customs preserved in certain local terms connected with the land-measurement and customary division of the village area generally.

They show, among other things, that in the days of Moslem, as well as Marāthā rule, in spite of the official measurement by bīghās (so that every holding was said to consist of so many of these) the people remembered an earlier customary method of dividing the area for various purposes of calculation. The word bīghā is no doubt not a Persian or Arabic word; but I have never heard any reasonable suggestion as to its real meaning or origin: it was certainly first given a definite length and breadth and was utilized as an area measure, by the Moslem rulers.

But in spite of the 'divine gaz,' it continued to vary in different places.

The *natural* land-measures are—(1) those, still traceable in Dravidian countries, where a plot was reckoned according to the number of 'baskets' (or other measures) of *seed* required to sow it. We shall presently notice a survival of this in some few villages in the Dakhan. (2) The other (and commoner) was to count by 'ploughs,' i.e. by areas that could be cultivated with one pair of bullocks, or four pairs, and so on; and the 'plough' was naturally subdivided, where necessary, into 'bullocks,' and sometimes still further.

The Dakhan villages in general were reckoned as consisting of so many çāhūr, or what I may call 'greater ploughs' (i.e. areas worked by four pairs of bullocks). Recognized fractions (rukā) of this were pāīn or 'fourths.' So that a village consisted of so many çāhūr or so many pāīn. (An average village might contain 20 c. or 80 p.)[1] So little had the idea of a fixed area-measure taken hold, that in some cases the custom was to reckon the bīghā as much larger in inferior soil than it was in rich soil. This afforded a clumsy method of equalizing the incidence of an all-round rate, since a rate 'per bīghā' would really mean half or one-third for the *actual* bīghā in one kind of soil, and the full rate only on the best soil.

There were also some interesting traces of old plots (or holdings) which are at once distinguished by *Dravidian* names. The survival of these names is quite occasional and local; but the fact that such areas were in memory enabled the Marāthās, or possibly the later Moslems, when they were inclined to depart from a strictly raiyatwārī collection, and get in *lump sums* for the whole village, or for some recognized block of lands within it, to make use of such old remembered aggregates of fields: and if (as was likely) they were, at the time, possessed by a *number* of

[1] Applying the bīghā measurement, it was understood that 30 went to the pāīn, and therefore 120 to the çāhūr.

holders, these would be compelled to arrange among themselves how the total should be contributed or made up. Thus we find relics of a mūṇḍbandī, i.e. an arrangement for assessing in the lump the areas called mūṇḍ. The mūṇḍ was, quite possibly, one of the old divisions of the village land, and perhaps one of the primitive allotments for the chief, or the gods, or the original settlers. Of course this is only a suggested possibility, but the word is certainly *Dravidian*, and is traceable also in Berār.[1] Mr. Gooddine reports that in 'many villages' was found a method of assessment called kāsbandī—an assessment by areas called kās. The writers in the *Gazetteer*, on the other hand, speak of this as rare and quite local, and conclude that it is an old (Dravidian) division of land. The peculiarity seems to have been that each kās was a holding made up of bits of different kinds of land—a bit of garden land (bāgāit), of dry crop land (jirāit), and of waste (gairān), and, in order to equalize the rates in their incidence on these different qualities, the bīghā of the superior land was small and that of the inferior large.[2]

Sometimes a lump sum was assessed on the 'plough,' as indicated by the term āūṭbandī (āūṭ = agricultural implements in general, and the plough *par excellence*). There are also methods known as ṭhokābandī and ṭhikébandī. Ṭhokā implied a lump contract for any fixed area, and probably is to be referred to the days when the old overlords had established shares and lots, which were made to pay revenue

[1] See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xiii, p. 550. There are several words connected with mūṇḍ, e.g. mūḍī, mūḍā, still used in the Karnātā country. Mūḍā or mūṛā means a certain quantity of grain. Mr. Gooddine conjectures kās to be connected with an Arabic word qās, but there is no reason for this; the word qās never occurs in any revenue terms whatever. We have the term khās and mukhāsa (mokāsā), but these are from khās (and the participial form), meaning 'private,' 'special,' 'reserved,' etc. In the rare cases where the kās land-measure survives, the name is certainly not derived from any Persi-Arabic word.

[2] This, and the fact that several persons might be together holding one of the old kās lots, led to the absurd idea that the kāsbandī represented a co-sharing system of holding like the pattīdārī of Northern India! The idea of equalizing holdings by artificial measures, such as making the bīghā small for good land and large for inferior, *is* found in Northern India, not in pattīdārī, but in other forms of village; but it is a perfectly natural device for equalization, and is not connected necessarily with any system of joint-holding.

by subsequent rulers. Thikébandī is also a fixed assessment for the smaller share or thika. Perhaps it has no reference to mirās land, but only to an assessment field by field in general, as opposed to a method of varying soil rates, or to assessment in the lump.

We may conclude, then, that though at an early date a superior tenure of village lands, in shares, existed in the Dakhan, it represented no primeval 'communal' tenure: it was an overlordship over still more ancient (Dravidian) villages of separate family holdings, presided over by a hereditary village chief: the artizan staff was probably an equally ancient feature. A number of circumstances combined to cause the old 'superior' holdings to survive, though in a very modified form. These circumstances, in time, ceasing to exist, the superior holdings were only remembered in name; and the uniform 'survey-tenure' for all village lands has become naturally established. Of course, it still happens that sometimes the recorded survey-tenant is 'superior occupant,' and that he has an actual tenant under him. But the Dakhan tenures have never given rise to those vexed 'tenant-right' questions which have invariably accompanied the regular landlord-village tenures of the North.

ART. XI. — *Notes on Alaṅkāra Literature.* By Colonel G. A. JACOB, Indian Staff Corps.

## I.

THE *Alaṅkāraśāstra* may be said to bear somewhat the same relation to the Plays and Poems that the Vedānta system does to the Upanishads, and the student of that general literature is not fully equipped without it. The most popular and probably the most generally useful work of this class is the *Kāvyaprakāśa*,[1] and the main object of this paper is to assist the unlearned by indicating as far as possible the sources from which its illustrations were drawn. As, however, much of its material was derived from older treatises of the same kind, it will be desirable in the first instance to notice them very briefly in chronological order, especially as no such epitome exists at present; and in doing so I shall not only draw from my own resources, but also endeavour to bring together valuable items of information scattered about in Reports, Prefaces, Periodicals, and such-like literature not always easy of access. The first section of the paper will, therefore, be devoted to Notes on the date and authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and on the treatises which preceded it; and before that work itself is dealt with I hope to give the hitherto unpublished text of Udbhaṭa's short treatise, to which reference is made below.

The authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* has generally been attributed to Mammaṭa, but we have now conclusive evidence that a small portion of it was contributed by another writer. The perusal of a manuscript of the *Kāvyaprakāśanidarśana*

[1] The references in this paper are to the Calcutta edition of 1866.

led Professor Peterson,[1] in the first instance, to notice the fact of joint authorship; but his first impression was that the *kārikās* were by Mammaṭa, and the *vṛtti*, or comment, which accompanies them, by another. Subsequent research, however, made it clear that Mammaṭa composed the whole work as far as the definition of the ornament styled *Parikara*, and that it was then completed by an author whose name was at first supposed to be Alaka, but is now clearly established as Allaṭa. For this last piece of information we are indebted to Dr. Stein, the Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, who, after discussing the question in the Introduction to his fine Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Mahārāja of Kashmir's Jammu Collection, concludes as follows:—"In order to complete the case for Allaṭa as the real name of the continuator of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, it suffices for me to point out that, according to the statements of Paṇḍits Govind Kaul and Sahajabhaṭṭa, this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of the Kashmirian Paṇḍits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar." As to Mammaṭa's date, Dr. Bühler, writing in 1877 after his famous tour in Kashmir, was disposed to place him *after* Jayaratha, the author of the *Alaṅkāravimarśinī*, whom he assigned to the end of the twelfth century.[2] A closer examination of this work, however, showed that view to be impossible, since it refers to Mammaṭa three times by name and seven times as the 'Kāvyaprakāśakṛt,' whilst quotations from his treatise abound. Writing in 1884, Dr. Peterson came to the conclusion that Mammaṭa must be put in the beginning of the twelfth century; and, in an article contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* in December of the following year, Dr. Bühler assented to this. As for Jayaratha, I think we must place him even later than the end of the twelfth century; for, in the *Vimarśinī* (p. 64 of Bombay edition),

[1] See Extra Numbers of Journal of Bombay Branch R.A.S. for 1883 and 1884, and *Indian Antiquary* for January, 1884.

[2] *Kashmir Report*, p. 68.

he quotes from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, a work "describing the victories of the famous Chāhumāna king Pṛthvīrāja of Ajmīr and Dilhī, who fell in 1193 A.D." (*Kashmir Report*, p. 62).

The *Alaṅkāravimarśinī* is a commentary on the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* of Ruyyaka, a writer whose date is extremely puzzling. He is supposed to be the Ruyyaka referred to in chap. xxv of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* as the teacher of its author Maṅkha (or Maṅkhaka), and to have lived in the first half of the twelfth century; and yet, when illustrating the figure *samāsokti* ('modal metaphor'), he quotes the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iv, 441), a work which was not completed until about 1151 A.D.[1] Again, Ruyyaka's work contains five verses of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*[2] (viz., ii, 49 on page 21; vi, 70 on page 87; and v, 23, vi, 16, x, 10 on page 90)—in other words, the *guru* apparently quotes the *śishya*, a very unlikely proceeding. How is it to be explained? In the early part of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, the author quotes four stanzas, in praise of Śiva, from a poem of his own named *Śrīkaṇṭhastava*, and probably the whole had reference to some of the doings of that god. Would it be beyond the bounds of possibility to suppose that the pupil borrowed from it the five verses in question for his own poem? Unacknowledged borrowing is by no means unknown in Sanskrit literature.

Another possible solution is that only the *sūtras* of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* are Ruyyaka's, and that the *vṛtti* was written by the pupil Maṅkha, who in that case quoted from his own poem. The only foundation, however, for this is a MS. of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva* described in Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue and attributed to *Mankhuka* (sic), who in his opening verse ascribes the *sūtras* to his *guru*—"Gurvalaṅkārasūtrāṇāṁ vṛttyā tātparyam ucyate." A *vyākhyāna* to this, by an anonymous writer, also assigns the text to *Mankhuka*. There is still another difficulty in regard to the relative position of Ruyyaka and Mammaṭa.

[1] S. P. Paṇḍit's *Gauḍavaho*, p. cxciii.
[2] For a short description of this, see *Kashmir Report*, p. 50.

Neither refers to the other by name, and yet they have thirty-three verses in common, which I can trace to no other source. If it were absolutely certain that Ruyyaka is the same as Ruchaka, the author of a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, we should, of course, have to give the priority to Mammaṭa, and also credit him with the authorship of the thirty-three stanzas if still untraceable to other sources; but the supposed identity seems mainly to depend on the correctness of the colophon to the *Sahṛdayalīlā*.[1]

The old writers on Alaṅkāra quoted in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and whose works are, with a few exceptions, still extant, are the following:—

1. *Daṇḍin.* Sixth century A.D. His *Kāvyādarśa* is probably the oldest existing work on Poetics, and is universally quoted. The rules and examples are supposed to be his own, with the single exception of ii, 362 (found also in part in ii, 226), which is taken from the *Mṛchchakaṭikā*; yet even this stanza is ascribed to him by Indurāja when citing it in his commentary on Udbhaṭa. The following verse of Rājaśekhara's (according to *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*) makes Daṇḍin the author of *three* famous works:—

"Trayo 'gnayas trayo Vedās trayo devās trayo guṇāḥ
Trayo Daṇḍiprabandhāś ca trishu lokeshu viśrutāḥ."

One of the three is, of course, the *Kāvyādarśa*, and another the *Daśakumāracarita*, but the third has been the subject of speculation; it is certainly not the *Mallikāmāruta*, however, which is by some attributed to him. Dr. Pischel, in his valuable Introduction to Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka*,[2] has propounded the ingenious theory that the third work is no other than the *Mṛchchakaṭikā* itself, and he has certainly made out a strong case in its favour.

[1] See Dr. Pischel's edition (1886).
[2] This and the *Sahṛdayalīlā* form one volume.

2. *Bhāmaha.* No complete work of this writer now remains, and we are ignorant of his exact date. We know, however, that he is older than Udbhaṭa, who wrote a commentary styled *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* on some treatise of his. His writings are constantly quoted, and I have met with the following extracts from them in later authors down to Mammaṭa:—

(*a*) In Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 208 of Bombay edition):

"Saishā sarvatra vakroktir anayārtho vibhāvyate
Yatno 'syāṁ kavinā kāryaḥ ko 'lankāro 'nayā vinā."

(*b*) In Abhinavagupta's *Dhvanyālokalocana* (Bombay edition):
Page 10. "Śabdaś chandobhidhānārthaḥ."

Page 38—

"Neyaṁ virauti bhṛṅgālī madena mukharā muhuḥ
Ayam ākṛshyamāṇasya kandarpadhanusho dhvaniḥ."

This is quoted anonymously, but is ascribed to Bhāmaha in *Subhāshitāvali*, 1644.

Page 40. "Gṛheshvadhvasu vā nānnaṁ bhunjmahe yadadhītinau."

Page 90. "Anyarūpaṁ yat tat sahoktyupamāhetu-nirdeśāt trividham."

Page 182—

"Svādukāvyarasonmiśraṁ vākyārtham upabhunjate
Prathamalīḍhamadhavaḥ pibanti kaṭubheshajam."

(*c*) In Indurāja's commentary on Udbhaṭa, under *vidarśanā*:

"Ayam mandadyutir bhāsvān astaṁ pratiyiyāsati
Udayaḥ patanāyeti śrīmato bodhayan narān."

Again, under the ornament *bhāvika*:

"Citrodāttādbhutārthatvaṁ kathāyāṁ svabhinītatā
Śabdānākulatā ceti tasya hetūn pracakshate."

Also, when explaining *kāvyaliṅga*:

"Vṛttadevādicaritaṁ śasi cotpādya vastu ca
Kalāśāstrāśrayaṁ ceti caturdhā bhidyate punaḥ."

(*d*) In his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, viii, 84, Namisādhu quotes Bhāmaha's definition of the figure *arthāntaranyāsa*, viz.:

"Arthadvayasya nyāsaḥ so 'rthāntaranyāsaḥ."

(*e*) In Bhojarāja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (p. 226), under *utprekshopamā*, occurs the following verse, which the *Subhāshitāvali* ascribes to Bhāmaha:

"Kiṁśukavyapadeśena tarum āruhya sarvataḥ
Dagdhādagdhām araṇyānīm paśyatīva vibhāvasuḥ."

(*f*) The three stanzas quoted by Mammaṭa at the beginning of his sixth chapter are attributed to Bhāmaha by the commentator Sarasvatītīrtha. Paṇḍit Maheśacandra wrongly ascribes them to the Dhvanikāra.

3. *Udbhaṭa.* We owe to Dr. Bühler[1] the recovery of one of the works of this Kashmirian writer, whom he assigns to the time of King Jayāpīḍa (779–813 A.D.), namely, his *Alaṅkārasārasangraha*, with the Commentary of Pratīhāra Indurāja. It consists of about 175 stanzas, divided into six chapters, devoted to the explanation of the following 41 *alaṅkāras*:—

*Chap.* i. Punaruktavadābhāsa, Chekānuprāsa, Anuprāsa (subdivided into Parushā, Upanāgarikā, and Grāmyā Vṛtti), Lāṭānuprāsa, Rūpaka, Dīpaka (ādi, madhya, and anta), Upamā, Prativastūpamā.

*Chap.* ii. Ākshepa, Arthāntaranyāsa, Vyatireka, Vibhāvanā, Samāsokti, Atiśayokti.

[1] See his *Kashmir Report* published as Extra Number of Journal of Bombay Branch of R.A.S. in 1877.

*Chap.* iii. Yathāsaṅkhya, Utpreksha, Svabhāvokti.

*Chap.* iv. Preyasvat, Rasavat, Ūrjasvi, Paryāyokta, Samāhita, Udātta, Ślishṭa.

*Chap.* v. Apahnuti, Viśeshokti, Virodha, Tulyayogitā, Aprastutapraśaṁsā, Vyājastuti, Vidarśanā, Saṅkara (with four subdivisions), Upameyopamā, Sahokti, Parivṛtti (with three subdivisions).

*Chap.* vi. Sasandeha, Ananvaya, Saṁsṛshṭi, Bhāvika, Kāvyaliṅga, Kāvyadṛshṭānta.

From the title of this treatise it has been supposed to be an abridgment of the author's larger work *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* referred to above, from which Indurāja quotes the following verse when explaining *rūpaka*:—

"Ekadeśasya vigame yā guṇāntarasaṁstutiḥ,
Viśeshaprathanāyāsau viśeshoktir matā yathā."

The verse is quoted too by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p. 38), though anonymously; but on page 40 of the same work he criticizes a statement of the "Vivaraṇakṛt," by which he most probably alludes to the author of the *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*, which he mentions on page 159.

When explaining Udbhaṭa's *upamā* in chapter i of the *Alaṅkārasārasangraha*, Indurāja tells us that the examples in that treatise were taken by the author from a poem of his own entitled *Kumārasambhava*.

4. *Śrī-Śaṅkuka.* This writer is referred to on page 42 of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and the verse "Durvārāḥ smaramārgaṇāḥ," on page 319, is ascribed to him in the *Subhāshitāvalī* and *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. If he is the poet mentioned in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, iv, 705 (Bombay edition), as the author of the poem *Bhuvanābhyudaya*, he must have lived during the reign of King Ajitāpīḍa, whose time is fixed by S. P. Paṇḍit at about 816 A.D.[1] It would be extremely interesting if this

[1] Preface to *Gauḍavaho*, p. lxxxvii, and Peterson's *Subhāshitāvalī*, p. 127.

poem were forthcoming. In 1877 one of Dr. Bühler's paṇḍits obtained a clue to the existence of a copy, but did not succeed in persuading "the ignorant owner" to produce it! It is not included in Dr. Stein's recent catalogue of MSS. in the royal Library at Jammu, and it is possible that no other copies exist.

5. *Vāmana.* This writer's work, the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtras*, with a *Vṛtti* by himself, is well known. An edition was brought out several years ago by Dr. Capeller, who assigned it to the twelfth century; but this view has been shown by Dr. Bühler to be untenable, inasmuch as it is quoted by Abhinavagupta, who wrote in the early part of the eleventh century. He says[1]:—"This quotation makes it impossible to place Vāmana later than the middle of the tenth century. But I am inclined to give credence to the tradition of the Kashmirian Pandits that he was the Vāmana whom Jayāpīḍa employed as one of his ministers." This would, of course, make him contemporary with Udbhaṭa. Dr. Pischel has pointed out that we have, at any rate, fairly strong proof of his being anterior to Ānandavardhana (ninth century); for that writer's *Dhvanyāloka* contains a verse ("Anurāgavatī sandhyā," etc.) which the commentator Abhinavagupta tells us was composed by the author himself with reference to the conflicting views of Bhāmaha and Vāmana. The stanza in question and the gloss on it are found on page 37 of the Bombay edition.[2] In a verse at the end of his fourth *adhikaraṇa* Vāmana states that his illustrations were partly his own and in part drawn from other sources. If that given under *sūtra* 4, 3, 4 ("Lāvaṇyasindhuparaiva hi keyam atra," etc.) belonged to the former class, then we should have undoubted proof of his priority to Ānandavardhana, who has taken it to illustrate his *kārikā*, iii, 35; and if we might include in the same class the stanza "Gagaṇaṁ gaganākāram," etc., which stands under *sūtra* 4, 3, 14, then we could place him even before Udbhaṭa, for the second line

[1] *Kashmir Report*, p. 65.
[2] Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1891.

of that stanza is quoted by Kumārila in his *Tantravārtika*, 1, 4, 5 (page 298 of Benares edition). This great philosopher lived before Śankarācārya, whose death is believed to have taken place in 820 A.D. (*Indian Antiquary* for June, 1882); and my learned friend Mr. K. B. Pāṭhak would put him in the first half of the eighth century. The point is ably discussed in his valuable lecture, "Bhartṛihari and Kumārila," delivered before the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. in June, 1892.

6. *Ānandavardhana.* This writer is assigned by Dr. Bühler to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v, 34, which makes him one of the ornaments at the court of Avantivarma (855–884 A.D.). Dr. Pischel, however, has pointed out two passages in which the commentator Abhinavagupta (1000 A.D.) seems to speak of him as one of his teachers, but I do not think that this is at all certain. He is the author of several works, but that which immediately concerns us is the *Dhvanyāloka* (called also *Kāvyāloka* and *Sahṛdayāloka*), a good edition of which, with the commentary, was prepared by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād, and published in 1891. It consists of a *vṛtti* on certain *kārikās* which treat solely of *dhvani*, or 'suggested meaning.' The commentator carefully distinguishes between the *kārikākāra* and *vṛttikāra* (see pp. 59, 60, 122, 123), which shows that the former is a different and older writer. Mammaṭa, too, who quotes Ānandavardhana frequently, distinguishes him from the writer of the *kārikās*, whom he styles '*dhvanikāra.*' For instances of this see pp. 108 and 109 of Maheśacandra's edition. On p. 202, however, Mammaṭa ascribes to the *dhvanikāra* a verse which, in our edition of *Dhvanyāloka*, is incorporated in the *vṛtti*. So, too, is the verse "sa vaktum akhilān śaktaḥ," etc., which Jayaratha attributes to the *dhvanikṛt* on p. 119 of his *Alankāravimarśinī*. Kshemendra, on the other hand, in the *Aucityavicāracarcā* (p. 134 of *Kāvyamālā* for 1886) makes Ānandavardhana responsible for *kārikā* iii, 24; and, if I understand Abhinavagupta aright, he does the same thing with regard to iii, 54. Excluding Amaru, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, and

Śrīharsha, the following authors and works are quoted by Ānandavardhana, in many cases anonymously:—

Arjunacarita (by himself), 148, 176.
Udbhaṭa, 96, 108.
Ḳādambarī, 87.
Gāthāsaptaśatī, 16, 112, 113, 119, 158, 212.
Tāpasavatsarāja (a drama in six Acts?), 151.
Dharmakīrti, 216, 217.
Pancatantra (i, 45), 49.
Pāṇini (so Subhāsh.), 35.
Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, 100.
Bharata, 147, 150, 163, 181.
Bharvu (so Śārṅga.), or Bhaścu (so Subhāsh.) } 38.
Bhallaṭa, 53, 218.
Bhāmaha, 39, 207.
Madhumathanavijaya, 152.
Manoratha (so Com.), 9.
Mahānāṭaka, 61, 90, 153.
Rāmābhyudaya (by Yaśovarma), 133, 148.
Vāmana, 205.
Vishamabāṇalīlā (in Prākṛta, by himself), 62, 111, 152, 241.
Veṇisaṁhāra, 80, 81, 150, 225.
Śakavṛddhi (so Subhāsh.), 99.
Śṛṅgāraśataka, 234.
Sarvasena (author of Harivijaya), 148.
Sātavāhana, 145.
Sūryaśataka, 92, 99.
Setu (=Setubandha), 87.
Harivijaya (Prākṛta), 127, 148.
Harshacarita, 99, 100, 101, 127.
Hitopadeśa, 166.

The verse quoted twice from Bhallaṭa is ascribed to Indurāja in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (1052), and to Yaśovarma in *Subhāshitāvali* (947). It occurs, however, in *Alaṅkāravimarśinī* (p. 108) in immediate connection with two others of Bhallaṭa's, and there is no reason to doubt that it is his. On the other hand, the stanza "Amī ye dṛśyante," etc., which stands as number 68 in the edition of *Bhallaṭaśataka* (*Kāvyamālā*, 1887), is distinctly claimed by Ānandavardhana (p. 218) as his own ('mamaiva') composition! On pages 96, 101, 110, 226, and 246 are six other verses which he appropriates in the same way. That on page 110 ("Lāvaṇyakānti," etc.) is cited anonymously by Dhanika[1] (Hall's *Daśarūpa*, p. 168), and by Indurāja

[1] This is a valuable aid to the determination of his age.

near the end of his commentary on Udbhaṭa. In the *Subhāshitāvali* this stanza is wrongly attributed to Jayavardhana.

Another treatise of Ānandavardhana's is mentioned by the commentator. Near the close of the third chapter, the former says: "yat tvanirdeśyatvam sarvalakshaṇavishaye Bauddhānām prasiddham tat tanmataparīkshāyām *granthāntare* nirūpayishyāmaḥ." On which the commentator remarks: "Granthāntara iti *Viniścayaṭīkāyām Dharmottamāyām* yā vivṛtir amunā granthakṛtā kṛtā tatraiva tad vyākhyātam." The work in question, therefore, seems to be a gloss on one named *Dharmottamā*, itself a comment on one styled *Viniścaya* (?). Our author also wrote a *Devīśataka*, from which Mammaṭa has quoted four stanzas. It was published in 1893 (in the *Kāvyamālā*) with a *ṭīkā* by Kayyaṭa, written, as he tells us, in Kali 4078=978 A.D. (see editor's footnote). On pages 34, 130, 137, 147, and 164 of *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana has given what he terms '*parikaraślokāḥ*,' or 'ancillary verses,' an expression which I have not met with elsewhere. It is thus defined by Abhinavagupta: "Parikarārtham kārikārthasyādhikāvāpam kartum ślokaḥ parikaraślokaḥ." The verse "Ākrandaḥ stanitair," etc., which is ascribed to Ānandavardhana in *Subhāshitāvali* 1776, is found on p. 92 of the *Dhvanyāloka*. The publication of this treatise has dispelled the idea of a "lost geographical work" by Bāṇa, which was entertained by two of my learned friends in consequence of a bad reading in a MS. The passage in question is correctly given on page 100, and refers to a description of the country of Sthāṇvīśvara in Bāṇa's *Harshacarita* (p. 108 of Bombay edition [1]), from which a quotation is given.

7. *Rudraṭa.* This author, who bears the name of Śatānanda also, is now well known to us by his excellent work entitled *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, published in Bombay, with Namisādhu's commentary, in 1886. It was described by Dr. Bühler in his *Kashmir Report* (p. 67) as follows:—"The

[1] Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1892.

Kāvyālaṅkāra is a work which not only treats of the *alaṅkāras*, but contains, like Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, a complete view of the Indian speculations on poetical compositions. It gives many details which are left out in other books. It is divided into sixteen *adhyāyas*, and written in the Āryā metre. The quotations illustrating the rules are numerous, but in no case has the source been given." There can be little doubt that Rudraṭa, like Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, composed his own rules and illustrations.

Professor Peterson has given a very appreciative account of the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* in an extra number of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of R.A.S. for 1883. Dr. Bühler had assigned its author to the latter half of the eleventh century, but Dr. Peterson showed good grounds for placing him rather in the middle of the tenth. Three years later, in his edition of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* referred to above, Dr. Pischel argued that it was impossible to give him a later date than the middle of the ninth century, and this certainly seems the most probable. He, with some other scholars, considers the Rudrabhaṭṭa of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* to be identical with Rudraṭa, an identity which was not admitted by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād, who brought out an edition of that work in 1887.

The *alaṅkāras*, etc., explained by Rudraṭa are given below. It will be seen that some of them are not found at all in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, whilst others appear there under different names. To the former class belong the ornaments *tadvān*, *pihita*, *pūrva*, *bhāva*, and *mata*. Of the latter, *atimātra* may possibly represent Mammaṭa's *atiśayokti*, though both appear separately in *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The ornament *avasara*, which occurs under the same title in *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, iv, 124, corresponds with the *udātta* of Mammaṭa, who has reproduced Rudraṭa's illustration. The ornament *rīti* (found, too, in Vāgbhaṭa and Bhoja) is identical with the *svabhāvokti* of the Kāvyaprakāśa; and both names are given by Daṇḍin in ii, 8. *Leśa* is equivalent to *vyājastuti*, as is directly stated by Daṇḍin (ii, 268) and Bhoja (iv, 56). Lastly, *hetu* is synonymous with Mammaṭa's *kāvyaliṅga*.

Atimātra (dosha), xi, 17.
Atiśaya (12 varieties; see arthālaṅkāra), ix, 1–55.
Adbhutarasa, xv, 9, 10.
Adhika, ix, 26–29.
Adhikaślesha, x, 7, 8.
Anuprāsa (5 varieties; Prauḍhā = Ojas), ii, 18–32.
Anyokti, viii, 74, 75.
Anyonya, vii, 91, 92.
Apahetu (dosha), xi, 3, 4.
Apahnuti, viii, 57, 58.
Apratīta (dosha), xi, 5.
Aprasiddhi (dosha), x, 34, 35.
Artha (comprises *dravya, guna, kriyā, jāti*), vii, 1–8.
Arthadosha (nine kinds), xi, 1–17.
Arthāntaranyāsa, viii, 79–84.
Arthālaṅkāra (*vāstava, aupamya, atiśaya*, and *ślesha*), vii, 9.
Avayavaślesha, x, 18, 19.
Avasara (=Udātta), vii, 103–105.
Aviśeshaślesha, x, 3, 4.
Asaṅgati, ix, 48, 49.
Asambaddha (dosha), xi, 8.
Asambhava (dosha), xi, 32, 33.
Asambhavaślesha, x, 16, 17.
Ahetu, ix, 54, 55.

Ākshepa, viii, 89–91.
Ākhyāyikālakshaṇa, xvi, 24–30.

Uktiślesha, x, 14, 15.
Uttara, vii, 93–95; viii, 72, 73.
Utprekshā, viii, 32–37; ix, 11–15.
Upamā, viii, 4–31.
Ubhayanyāsa, viii, 85, 86.

Ekāvalī, vii, 109–111.

Aupamya (21 varieties), viii, 1–110.

Kathālakshaṇa, xvi, 20–23.
Karuṇarasa, xv, 3, 4.
Kāraṇamālā, vii, 84, 85.

Grāmya (dosha), xi, 9–11.

Citra, v, 1–33.

Jāti (alaṅkāra), vii, 30–33.

Tattvaślesha, x, 20, 21.
Tadguṇa, ix, 22–25.
Tadvān, xi, 15, 16.

Dīpaka, vii, 64–71.
Dṛshṭānta, viii, 94–96.

Nāyaka (described), xii, 7–12.
Nāyikā (described), xii, 16–40.
Nirāgama (dosha), xi, 6.

Parikara, vii, 72–76.
Parivṛtti, vii, 77, 78.
Parisaṅkhyā, vii, 79–81.
Paryāya = paryāyokta, vii, 42–46.

Pihita, ix, 50, 51.
Pūrva, viii, 97, 98; ix, 3, 4.
Pratīpa, viii, 76–78.
Pratyanīka, viii, 92, 93.

Bādhayan (dosha), xi, 7.
Bībhatsarasa, xv, 5, 6.

Bhayānakarasa, xv, 7, 8.
Bhāva (alaṅkāra), vii, 38–41.
Bhāshābhedāḥ (Prākṛta, Sanskṛta, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, Saurasenī, Apabhraṁśa), ii, 11, 12.
Bhrāntimān, viii, 87, 88.

Mata (alaṅkāra), viii, 69–71.
Mahākāvyalakshaṇa, xvi, 3–19.
Mīlita, vii, 106–108.

Yathāsaṅkhya, vii, 34–37.
Yamaka, iii, 1–59.

Rīti (1, *samāsavatī*=Pānchālī, Lāṭīyā, Gauḍīyā; 2, *asamāsā*=Vaidarbhī), ii, 4–6.
Rūpaka, viii, 38–56.
Raudrarasa, xv, 13, 14.

Laghukāvya (defined), xvi, 33, 34.
Leśa (alaṅkāra), vii, 100, 101.

Vakrokti (kāku and ślesha), ii, 13–17.
Vākyadoshāḥ, vi, 40–47.
Vākyalakshaṇa, ii, 7–10.
Vāstava (23 varieties), vii, 10–111.
Vipralambhaśṛṅgāra (fourfold), xiv, 1–34.
Vibhāvanā, ix, 16–21.
Virasa (dosha), xi, 12–14.
Virodha, ix, 30–44.
Virodhaślesha, x, 5, 6.
Virodhābhāsa, x, 22, 23.
Viśesha, ix, 5–10.
Vishama, vii, 47–55; ix, 45–47.
Vīrarasa, xv, 1, 2.
Vṛtti (*samāsavatī*, *asamāsā*), ii, 3.
Vaishamya (dosha), xi, 29–31.
Vyatireka, vii, 86–90.
Vyāghāta, ix, 52, 53.
Vyājaślesha, x, 11–13.

Śabdadoshāḥ, vi, 1–39.
Śabdālankārāḥ (Vakrokti, Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Ślesha, Citra), ii, 13.
Śāntarasa, xv, 15, 16.
Śṛṅgārarasa, xii, 5, 6.
Śṛṅgārābhāsa, xiv, 36.
Ślesha, iv, 1–35; x, 1–23.

Saṁśaya, viii, 59–66.
Saṅkaṛa, x, 25–29.
Samāsokti, viii, 67, 68.
Samuccaya, vii, 19–29; viii, 103, 104.
Sambhogaśṛṅgāra, xiii, 1–17.
Sahokti, vii, 13–18; viii, 99–102.

Sāmya (= Sāmānya), viii, 105–108.
Sāra, vii, 96, 97.
Sūkshma, vii, 98, 99.
Smaraṇa, viii, 109, 110.
Hāsyarasa, xv, 11, 12.
Hetu (alaṅkāra), vii, 82, 83.

8. *Indurāja*, or *Pratihārendurāja*, is placed by Dr. Pischel in the middle of the tenth century. He was a pupil of the alaṅkāra-writer Mukula; and, if he is identical with Abhinavagupta's teacher, his father's name was Śrībhūtirāja.[1] The only complete work of his now extant is the commentary, just referred to, on Udbhaṭa's *Alaṅkārasārasangraha*; but numerous stanzas are assigned to him by later writers. In his commentary he quotes Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa's *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*, Vāmana, the Dhvanikāra, *Dhvanyāloka*, Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, Patanjali (as Cūrṇīkāra), Pancatantra, Amaru, and the *Mahānāṭaka*. The following verses, too, are found there, and I can trace them to no other source.

(*a*) On page 118 of Bühler's MS.:

"Murārinirgatā nūnaṁ narakaparipanthinī
Tavāpi mūrdhni gaṅgeva cakradhārā patishyati."

Ruyyaka quotes this anonymously in his *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (p. 203).

(*b*) On page 149:

"Kopād ekatalāghātanipatanmattadantinaḥ
Harer hariṇayuddheshu kiyān vyākshepavistaraḥ."

This stanza is quoted by Namisādhu on *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, vi, 9.

(*c*) On page 162:

"Vivakshyam avivakshyaṁ ca vastvalaṅkāragocare
Vācyaṁ dhvanau vivakshyaṁ tu śabdaśaktirasāspade.

Bhedashaṭke caturdhā yad vācyam uktaṁ vivakshitam
Svataḥsambhavi vā tat syād athavā prauḍhinirmitam.

Daśa bhedā dhvaner ete viṁśatiḥ padavākyataḥ
Pradhānavadguṇībhūte vyaṅgye prāyeṇa te tathā."

[1] *Kashmir Report*, p. 80.

9. *Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.* If this is the man referred to in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v, 159 (Bombay edition), as suggested by Dr. Peterson, in his Introduction to the *Subhāshitāvali*, he must have flourished during the reign of Avantivarma's son, that is, about 884 A.D. We know, at any rate, that he was older than Abhinavagupta, who alludes to him on p. 33 of his *Dhvanyālokalocana*, and quotes him on pp. 15, 19, 21, 27, 29, 63, and 67 of the same. It will be seen below that Ruyyaka, too, names him as an authority on p. 9 of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*; and the commentator appears to quote from him when explaining that passage. He is included in our list of old writers because Mammaṭa refers to him in his fourth chapter (p. 43); but whether he was further indebted to him or not, it is impossible to say. Mammaṭa mentions also Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, who is otherwise unknown to us.

10. *Abhinavagupta.* We have here, to quote Dr. Bühler, "the great Śaiva philosopher who wrote in the last quarter of the tenth and in the first half of the eleventh century. Like many other holy men of the East, he did not disdain secular poetry, and gained as great a reputation in the *alaṅkāraśāstra* as in the *śaivadarśana*. His work on poetics, the *Lochana*, is a very profound and difficult commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*." Only three chapters of it have been found, and they were edited with the *Dhvanyāloka* by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād in 1891. The commentary is more difficult than the text which it professes to elucidate, and is practically an independent display of learning on the part of the philosopher. He names as his teachers Utpala, Tauta, and Indurāja. The first-mentioned, whom he calls *paramaguru* and quotes from on p. 30, was the author of the *pratyabhijñāsūtra*, and is quoted, too, by Kshemendra in each of his three treatises—*Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Suvṛttatilaka*, and *Aucityavicāracarcā*. The stanza, "Ahau vā hāre vā," etc. (cited also on p. 59 of *Kāvyaprakāśa*), which is ascribed to Utpala by Kshemendra, stands as one of the verses of Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka*. The teacher Tauta is quoted on p. 29, and is referred to again on p. 178 as the

author of a work named *Kāvyakautuka*, on which Abhinavagupta himself wrote a commentary. Indurāja, however, is the teacher most frequently quoted, and citations from him are found on pages 25, 43, 116, 160, 207, and 223. That on p. 43 has been wrongly attributed to Bhallaṭa, and appears as verse 102 of his *śataka*. The only genuine quotation from the *śataka* that I have found in the *Locana* is the verse "Etat tasya mukhāt," etc., which is cited on p. 292 of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* also. The editor of Bhallaṭa was therefore hardly correct in saying "Śrīmad-Abhinavaguptācāryeṇāsya śatakasya bahavaḥ ślokā Locanākhyāyām Dhvanyālokavyākhyāyām udāhṛtāḥ santi."[1] The high esteem in which Indurāja was held by his learned pupil is evidenced by the epithet 'vidvatkavisahṛdayacakravartin,' which is applied to him on p. 160! Four times in this commentary, namely, on pages 123, 174, 185, and 215, Abhinavagupta controverts some view that had been put forth by an earlier writer *belonging to his own family*, and he concludes his criticism in each case with the remark, "*ity alaṁ nijapūrvajasagotraiḥ sākaṁ vivādena*," or words of like import. In the third instance he calls this person the *candrikākāra*, and refers to him again under that name on p. 178. In addition to Amaru, Kālidāsa, Jaimini, Daṇḍin, Śrīharshadeva, Bhartṛhari, Rājaśekhara, Vyāsa, Vāmana, and Nārāyaṇa (*Veṇīsaṁhāra*), the following are quoted in the *Locana*:—

Arjunacarita, 176.
Udbhaṭa, 10, 26, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 107, 207.
Kādambarīkathāsāra (mentioned, and *ascribed to Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka*, though his son Abhinanda is the reputed author), 142.
Kāvyakautuka (mentioned), 178.
Kumārila's Tantravārtika, 53, 56.
Kumārila's Ślokavārtika, 47, 188.
Candaka (so Subhāsh.), 75.
Tatrabhavān (?), 171.
Tatrabhavān (= Vākyapadīya), 187.
Tāpasavatsarājanāṭaka, 150, 165, 173.

[1] *Kāvyamālā*, part iv, 1887, p. 140.

Dhanika (?), 12.
Nyāyasūtra, 177.
Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka, 142.
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, 15, 19, 21, 27, 29, 63, 67.
Bhallaṭaśataka, 42.
Bhāguri (mentioned), 175.
Bhāmaha, 10, 38, 40, 91, 182, 209.
Bhāmahavivaraṇa, 38, 159.
Manoratha (contemporary of Ānandavardhana), 9.
'Mamaiva' (without naming any work), 36, 40, 43, 75, 84, 94, 117, 179.
Mātaṅgadivākara (so Subhāsh.), 44.
Muni (=Bharata), 26, 29, 66, 75, 138, 143, 146, 149, 150, 172, 174, 177, 178, 182. [In the first and fourth instances the quotation is anonymous.]
Yaśovarman (author of *Rāmābhyudaya*), 148.
Rāmābhyudaya, 132, 148.
Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 45.
Vatsarājacarita (=Tāpasavatsarāja?), 162.
Vākyapadīya, 47 (three quotations), 187.
Vivaraṇakṛt (=Udbhaṭa?), 40.
Vishamabāṇalīlā (Ānandavardhana's Prākṛta poem), 152, 222.
Vīradeva (so Suvṛttatilaka), 75.
Shaṭprajnāgāthā (defined), 35.
Setu (=Setubandha), 43.
Svapnavāsavadattānāṭaka, 152.
Harivijaya (Prākṛta), 148.
Hṛdayadarpaṇa, 27, 28, 63.

11. *Namisādhu.* A Śvetāmbara Jain, a contemporary of Bilhaṇa. In 1068 A.D. he wrote a very concise and simple commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, in which, as he himself tells us, he followed on the lines of an older *vṛtti*. This is the only composition of his now extant, and MSS. of even this are rare. We are indebted for its recovery to Drs. Bühler and Peterson; and to Paṇḍit Durgāprasād for an edition of it. In addition to Amaru, Kālīdāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Bhavabhūti, and Śrīharsha, I have found the following quoted by Nami:—

Argaṭa (so Subhāsh.), 141.
Arjunacarita, 168.
Indurāja, 63.
Udbhaṭa, 69, 82, 150.
Jayadeva (a writer on Chandas), 6, 7.
Tilakamanjarī (by Dhanapala), 167.

Daṇḍin, 5 (bis), 169.
Dūtāṅgadanāṭaka, 11.
Pātālavijaya (by Pāṇini), 12.
Pingala, 7.
Bāṇakathā (= Kādambarī), 167.
Bṛhatkathā (in Paiśācī), 14.
Bharata, 150, 156, 164.
Bhartṛhari, 12, 91, 149.
Bhāmaha, 116.
Mṛcchakaṭikā, 98.
Medhāvin, 2, 145.
Vāmana, 11, 100, 116.
Vīradeva, 4.
Veṇīsaṁhāra, 90.
Śukasaptati (?), 98.
Hari (a Prākṛta writer), 17.

When explaining vii, 83, Nami gives as a further illustration of the ornament *hetu* the verse, apparently of his own composition, to which Mammaṭa takes exception in his *vṛtti* on *kāraṇamālā* (p. 328), viz.:

"Āyur ghṛtaṁ nadī puṇyam bhayaṁ cauraḥ sukham priyā
Vairaṁ dyūtaṁ gurur jñānaṁ śreyo Brāhmaṇapūjanam."

The line commencing "Hetumatā saha," etc., at the top of page 328, which Maheśacandra ascribes to Udbhaṭa, is Rudraṭa's definition of *hetu* (vii, 82); and the verse which follows on the same page, "Aviralakamalavikāsaḥ," etc., is his illustration (vii, 83), to which Nami added the above stanza. In the first two words of it—"āyur ghṛtam"—may we not see the source of the stock illustration of one of the varieties of *lakshaṇā*?

12. *Bhojarāja.* There is some uncertainty as to the exact date of this writer, the author of the well-known *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.* Telang (in his Preface to *Mudrārākshasa*, p. xix) assigns him to the tenth or eleventh century; Bhāṇḍārkar (in the Preface to *Mālatīmādhava*, p. x) to the middle of the eleventh century; whilst Aufrecht (*Indian Antiquary*, xi, 236) thinks that "we cannot place the work earlier than the end of the eleventh century." This last date is undoubtedly the most probable, since Bhoja quotes (i, 152) a verse from the *Caurasuratapañcāśikā* of Bilhaṇa, whom Bühler (in his Preface to *Vikramāṅkacarita*, p. xxiii) assigns to the

third and fourth quarters of the eleventh century. Bhoja is mentioned in the second verse of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, and the *vṛtti* explains that he was the author of *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*; but Vardhamāna did not write till 1140 A.D., and does not therefore help us. The only edition of Bhojarāja's work that I know of is that brought out by Anandoram Borooah in 1883. It consists of five chapters which discuss the following topics: (1) Doshaguṇavivecana, (2) Śabdālaṅkāra, (3) Arthālaṅkāra, (4) Ubhayālaṅkāra, and (5) Rasavivecana. These contain 662 *kārikās* and 1509 illustrations. Of the former, 41 are taken from Daṇḍin, 6 from the Dhvanikāra, and 2 from Bharata; but in every case without acknowledgment; and Daṇḍin proved a veritable *kalpataru* for the illustrations also, no less than 164 of which are from his *Kāvyādarśa*! I subjoin an alphabetical list of the *alaṅkāras*, etc., explained by Bhoja, and also one showing the authors and works quoted as far as they can be ascertained. They are somewhat full, but, as the work has never been indexed, should prove useful.

Atimātra 14; 49 (guṇa).
Atiśayokti, 257.
Adhikārokti, 69.
Adhikopama, 9, 15; 44 and 51 (guṇa).
Anarthaka, 2; 33 (guṇa).
Analaṅkāra, 12; 47 (guṇa).
Anirvyūḍha, 12; 47 (guṇa).
Anukṛti (6 varieties), 65.
Anuprāsa, 95.
Anumāna (alaṅk.), 182.
Anyārtha, 2; 33 (guṇa).
Anyonya (alaṅk.), 161.
Apakrama, 14; 49 (guṇa).
Apada, 8.
Apahnuti, 217.
Apārtha, 13; 47 (guṇa).
Apushṭārtha, 2; 33 (guṇa).
Apratīta, 3; 34 (guṇa).
Aprayukta, 1; 32 (guṇa).
Aprayojaka, 4; 35 and 47 (guṇa).
Aprasanna, 11; 46 (guṇa).
Aprasiddhopama, 16; 51 (guṇa).
Aprastutapraśaṁsā, 227.
Abhāva (alaṅk.), 190.
Abhinaya, 186.
Amangalārtha, 5.
Amarshatva, 287.
Arītimat, 10.
Arthavyakti, 20, 27.
Arthāntaranyāsa, 241.
Arthāpatti (alaṅk.), 188.
Avahittha, 285.
Aśarīra, 10; 45 (guṇa).

Aśru, 282.
Aślīla, 16; 36, 52 (guṇa).
Asadṛśopama, 15; 51 (guṇa).
Asabhyasmṛtihetu, 5; 36 (guṇa).
Asabhyārtha, 5; 46, 52 (guṇa).
Asabhyārthāntara, 5
Asamartha, 2; 33 (guṇa).
Asamasta, 12; 46 (guṇa).
Asādhu, 1; 32 (guṇa).
Asūyā, 287.
Ahetu (alaṅk.), 153.

Ākshepa, 237, 239.
Āgama, 184.
Āptavachana, 184.
Ārabhatī, 64, 378.
Ālasya, 291.
Ālekhya, 187.
Āvantyā, 363.

Īrshyā, 287.

Ukti (guṇa), 24,31; (of 6 kinds; vidhyukti, etc.), 69.
Ugratā, 288,
Utkaṇṭhā, 283.
Uttara (alaṅk.), 156.
Utpreksha, 225, 377.
Utsāha, 279.
Udāttatā, 21, 28.
Udāratva, 21, 27.
Unmāda, 290.
Upamā, 193.
Upamāna (alaṅk.), 185.

Ṛjūkti, 129.

Ekārtha, 14 (dosha); 48 (guṇa).
Ekāvalī, 249.

Ojas, 21, 28.

Aurjitya, 21, 28.

Kaṭhora, 11; 45 (guṇa).
Kampa, 282.
Kashṭa, 2; 32 (guṇa).
Kānti, 20, 27.
Kāraṇamālā, 154.
Kāvya, 137.
Kaiśikī, 64, 378.
Krama (alaṅk.), 253.
Kramabhrashṭa, 7.
Krodha, 279, 287.
Klishṭa, 3; 34 (guṇa).

Khinna, 14; 49 (guṇa).

Gatārtha, 48 (guṇa).
Gati, 24, 31; 59 (alaṅk.).
Gada, 289.
Gadgada, 281.
Garva, 284.
Gāmbhīrya, 23, 29.
Gumphanā, 73.
Gūḍha (kriyāgupti, etc.), 134.
Gūḍhārtha, 3 (dosha); 34 (guṇa).
Gomūtrikā, 124.
Gauḍīyā, 363.
Grāmya, 5, 11; 46 (guṇa).
Glāni, 289.

Ghṛnāvadartha, 6; 37 (guṇa).

Citrokti, 132.
Cintā, 284.

Jāḍya, 291.
Jāti (16 varieties), 57–59; 142.
Jugupsā, 280.

Tulyayogitā, 229.
Trāsa, 288.
Dīpaka, 250.
Deśya, 4 (dosha); 35 (guṇa).
Dainya, 288.
Doshaguṇāḥ, 32.

Nāyakaguṇāḥ, 349.
Nāyikāguṇāḥ, 351.
Nidarśana, 164.
Nidrā, 291.
Niyamokti, 69.
Niralaṅkāra, 16; 51 (guṇa).
Nirveda, 290.
Nishedhokti, 69.
Neyārtha, 3, 11; 34, 46 (guṇa).
Nyūnopama, 9.

Paṭhiti (six-fold), 78, 80.
Patākā, 348.
Parikara, 245, 249.
Parivṛtti, 163.
Parisaṅkhyokti, 69.
Parusha, 15; 50 (guṇa).
Paryāya (alaṅk.), 255.
Pāncālī, 363.
Punaruktimat, 8.
Pratibimba, 188.
Prativastūkti, 209, 213.
Pratyaksha, 181.
Prabodha, 291.
Pralaya, 283.
Praśnottarokti, 131, 135.
Prasāda, 19, 25.
Prahelikā, 132.
Prīti (in opp. to *rati*), 292.
Preyas, 22, 28.
Praudhi, 25, 31.

Bhagnachandas, 9; 44 (guṇa).
Bhagnayati, 10; 44 (guṇa).
Bhaṇiti (of 6 kinds), 72.
Bhaya, 280.
Bhāratī, 64, 378.
Bhāva (alaṅk.), 179.
Bhāvāḥ, 265, 292.
Bhāvika (alaṅk.), 260.
Bhāvikatva, 24, 30.
Bhinnaliṅga, 9; 42 (guṇa).
Bhinnavachana, 9; 43 (guṇa).
Bheda (=vyatireka), 166.
Bhrānti, 171.

Mati, 284.
Mada, 286.
Mahāyamaka, 91.
Māgadhī, 363.
Mādhurya, 20, 26.
Mīlita, 176, 220.
Mudrā (6 varieties), 67; (form of upamāna) 187.
Mūḍhatā, 286.

Yamaka, 82.
Yukti (padayukti, etc.), 70.

Rati, 274, 292.
Rasāḥ, 292, 302, 366, 367.

Rīti, 24, 31; (6 kinds; Vaidarbhī, etc.), 62.
Rūpaka, 200.
Romāñca, 281.

Lāṭānuprasa, 109, 112.
Lāṭīyā, 363.
Leśa (=vyājastuti), 230.

Vakrokti, 130.
Vākyagarbhita, 8; 42 (guṇa).
Vikalpokti, 69.
Viṭa, 348.
Vitarka, 175, 283.
Vidūshaka, 348.
Vidhyukti, 69.
Vibhāvanā (three-fold), 145.
Virasa, 15, 32; 50 (guṇa).
Viruddha, 4, 16–18 (10 varieties); 35 (guṇa); 52–54 (9 varieties of guṇa).
Virodha (alaṅk.), 158.
Vivarṇatā, 282.
Viviktā (sahokti), 232.
Viśeshokti, 242.
Vishāda, 288.
Visandhi, 7; 39 (guṇa).
Vistara, 23, 29.
Vismaya, 281.
Vṛtti (kaiśikī, etc., six-fold), 64; (twelve-fold), 99, 101; (four-fold), 378.
Vaidarbhī, 363.
Vaiyātyokti, 130.
Vaishamya, 10; 45 (guṇa).
Vyatireka, 166.
Vyartha, 13.
Vyākīrṇa, 8; 40 (guṇa).
Vyājastuti, 230.
Vrīḍā, 285.

Śaṅkā, 289.
Śabdaślesha (six-fold), 92.
Śayyā (alaṅk.), 75.
Śaithilya, 10; 45 (guṇa).
Śoka, 279.
Śrama, 290.
Śravya, 138.
Ślesha, 19, 25, 92; 258.

Saṁśaya, 215.
Saṁsṛshṭi, 262.
Sakhī, 349.
Saṅkīrṇa, 8; 40 (guṇa).
Saṅkshepa, 23, 30.
Sandigdha, 4; 35, 48 (guṇa).
Samatā, 20, 26.
Samādhi (guṇa), 22, 29; (alaṅk.) 219.
Samāsokti, 221.
Samāhita (alaṅk.), 169.
Samuccaya, 233.
Sambhava, 159.
Sambhrama, 290.
Sammitatva, 23, 30.
Sasaṁśaya, 14.
Sahokti, 233.
Sātvatī, 64, 378.
Sāmya, 209.
Sāra, 156.
Sukumāratā, 20, 26.
Supta, 291.
Suśabdatā, 22, 28.
Sūkshma, 155.
Saukshmya, 22, 29.

Stambha, 281.
Smaraṇa (alaṅk.), 178.
Smṛti (bhāva), 283.
Sveda, 282.

Harsha, 286.
Hallīsaka (a circular dance), 140.
Hāsa, 279.
Hīnopama, 15; 43, 51 (guṇa)
Hṛdya, 181.
Hetu (alaṅk.; four-fold), 147

In the following list of authors and works quoted, al of them anonymously, the pages are omitted in the cas of those from which numerous citations are made:—

Amaru, 13 times.

Uttararāmacarita, 22 times.
Udāttarāghava (so Dhanika, iv, 26), 380 (mṛgarūpam).

Karpūramañjari, 108 (param), 138 (bhaddam), 348 (damsemi and phullukkaram).
Kādambarī, 61 (Hara iva), 159 (diśām).
Kādambarīkathāsāra, 316 (Candrāpīḍam, viii, 80).
Kirātārjunīya, 38 times.
Kumāradāsa (so Aucityavicāra.), 60 (ayi).
Kumārasambhava, 53 times.

Gāthāsaptaśatī, 113 times.

Caṇḍīśataka, by Bāṇa; 105 (vidrāṇe, verse 66), 106 nīte, verse 40), 353 (prāk, verse 49).
Candaka (so Subhāsh.), 301 cyutām).
Cāṇakyaśataka (verse 55), 110 (śaile).
Caurasuratapañcāśikā (1 Bohlen), 52 (adyāpi).
Chinnama, or Chitrama, 17( (kalpānte).

Daṇḍin, 205 times.
Daśakumāracarita, 114 (Brahmāṇḍa).
Dīpaka (so Subhāsh.), 137 (yadi).
Droṇaparva (8408), 51 (tataḥ).
Dhanika, 16 times.
Dhārākadamba (Subhāsh.), 104 (bāle).
Dhvanikāra, 366 (last kārikā), 367 (three kārikās), 369 (first two kārikās).
Dhvanyāloka, 79 (yena), 92 (tasyāḥ), 153 (anurāgavatī), 219 (kassa), 220 (prāptaśrīḥ), 229 (śeshaḥ), 337 (kuviā), 361 (same as 220).

Namisādhu, 15 (ayam), 199 (candrāyate), 205 (yasyāḥ), 230 (yaś ca).
Nāgānanda, 324.

Nīdrādaridra (so Subhāsh.), 301 (jāne).
Niśānārāyaṇa (so Śārṅga.), 285 (akshudrā), 308 (uttishṭantyā).
Nītiśataka (verse 77), 222 (itaḥ).

Pañcatantra (iii, 103), 30 (śrūyatām).
Pañcastavī (kāvyamālā, 1887), 106 (cañcat), 362 (lakshmī).
Prabhākara (so Aucityavicāra.), 42 (diṇmātanga), 71 and 349 (the same).

Bāṇa (Subhāsh. and Śārṅga.), 106 (sarvā and udyat), 360 (sarvā, as on 106). Bhoja mentions Bāṇa in ii, 20.
Bālarāmāyaṇa, 5 times.
Bṛihadāraṇyaka, 9, 184.
Brahmabindu, 195.
Bhaṭṭa Kapardin (Subhāsh.), 250 (ambā).
Bhaṭṭikāvya, 6 times.
Bharata, 264 (2 last kārikās).
Bhallaṭaśataka, 221 (kiṁ jātaḥ).
Bhāmaha (so Subhāsh.), 226 (kiṁśuka).
Bhāsa (Subhāsh.), 173 (kapāle).
Bhojarāja (Śārṅga.), 45 and 132 (kiyan).

Mañjīra (Subhāsh.), 212 (anyataḥ).
Mahānāṭaka, 7 times.
Mahāvīracarita, 16 times.
Māgha, 44 times.
Mālatīmādhava, 35 times.
Mālavarudra (so Aucitya.), 49 and 368 (abhinava).
Munja, or Vākpati (for their identity, see Hall's Daśarūpa, p. 2), 22 (saujanyā). This is on Aufrecht's authority.
Mudrārākshasa, 165 (upari, etc.; but in Prākṛta there), 292 (pratyagronmesha).
Mṛcchakaṭikā, 347 (viii, 21, "Paliccale," etc., but there, "Jadicchaśe," etc.).
Meghadūta, 14 times.
Meṇṭha (so Subhāsh.), 157 (madhu).

Raghuvaṁśa, 48 times.
Ratnāvalī, 9 times.
Rājaśekhara (so Śārṅga.), 215 (āhāre.).
Rudraṭa's Kāvyālaṁkāra, 19 times.

Lakshmīdhara (Aufrecht), 145 (kampante).

Vāmana, 22 times.
Vikaṭanitambā (Subhāsh.), 65, 359, and 365 (kiṁ dvāri).
Vikramorvaśī, 16 times.
Vijayapāla (Subhāsh.), 110 (amṛtam).
Vijjikā (Subhāsh.), 32 (unnamayya), 297 (ditto, and vilāsa).

Viddhaśālabhañjikā, 67 (i, 8, śriyaḥ), 149 (i, 3, gonāsāya), 367 (i, 19, atrāntare).
Vidyāpati (Śārṅga. and Pref. to Subhāsh.), 78 (subhrūs tvam).
Venisaṁhāra, 11 times.

Śākuntala, 37 times.

Śūdraka (Subhāsh.), 81 (tyāgo hi).
Śrīharsha (Subhāsh.), 227 (yadetat).

Setubandha, 31 times.

Hayagrīvavadha (Suvṛttatilaka), 60 (āsīd daityaḥ).

I have referred above to the uncertainty existing in my own mind, perhaps wrongly, in regard to Ruyyaka's date. The fact that (on pp. 3, 102, and 183) he quotes three verses which appear also in the *Kāvyaprakāśa* as *kārikās*, does not of itself prove his indebtedness to that work; for we know that *some* of Mammaṭa's *kārikās* are not his own, and this may possibly be true of others which we cannot now trace to an earlier source. Judging from the context, I should decidedly infer that the *kārikā* quoted by Ruyyaka on page 3 was taken from one of the "ancient writers on poetics" to whom he had just referred, rather than from an *ādhunika* like Mammaṭa; and, as regards that on page 183, we know that the first line was taken almost verbatim from Udbhaṭa's definition of *Bhāvika*, which stands thus:—

"Pratyakshā iva yatrārthā dṛśyante bhūtabhāvinaḥ
Atyadbhutāḥ syāt tad vācām anākulyena bhāvikam."

Ruyyaka and Mammaṭa substitute 'kriyante' for 'dṛśyante,' and take merely the words 'Tad bhāvikam' for their second line, a uniformity which of course looks suspicious! It ought to be added that Jayaratha declares here, and in some other places, that Ruyyaka quoted the *Kāvyaprakāśa*; but I do not know that we are bound to regard his inferences as infallible! But though, on such slender grounds, it would be rash to include Ruyyaka amongst the older writers to whom Mammaṭa was indebted, it may yet be useful to note, as in their case, the authors whom he quotes; and,

when dealing with the quotations in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, I shall indicate those which these two writers have in common, but which cannot be traced elsewhere.

Abhinavagupta, 127.
Alaṅkāramanjarī (named), 15.
Indurāja's Commentary (quoted), 203.
Īśvarapratyabhijnā (quoted), 47.
Udbhaṭa (named), 3, 7; (quoted), 23, 59, 71 (bis), 82, 86, 92, 126, 152, 183 (bis).
Kuṭṭanīmata (quoted), 69.
Gāthāsaptaśatī (quoted), 60, 171.
Daṇḍin (quoted), 35, 120, 163.
Dharmakīrti (quoted), 67.
Dhvanikāra (named), 9.
Dhvanyāloka (quoted), 40, 85, 96, 106, 119, 127, 173, 182, 187.
Navasāhasāṅkacarita (quoted), 23, 59, 61, 77, 131, 141, 154, 182, 201, 202.
Nītiśataka (quoted), 162.
Nyāyasūtra (5, 2, 14), 22.
Pañcastavī (quoted), 197.
Pāṇini (so Subhāsh.), 87, 92.
Prahasta (named), 105.
Bandhu (so Subhāsh.), 43.
Bālarāmāyaṇa (quoted), 74, 105, 110, 127.
Bilhaṇacarita (quoted), 84.
Bṛhatsaṁhitā (lxxiv, 1), 142.
Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (named), 9.
Bhaṭṭikāvya (quoted), 141.
Bhallaṭa (quoted), 105, 108, 122, 151.
Bhāmaha (named), 3; (quoted), 183.
Mayūra (so Subhāsh.), 176, 177.
Mahānāṭaka (quoted), 82.
Yaśovarman (so Subhāsh.), 144.
Rājatarańgiṇī (quoted), 93.
Rājaśekhara (so Subhāsh.), 113.
Rudraṭa (named), 5; (quoted), 69, 80, 81, 82, 136, 143, 149, 153, 154, 159, 167, 172, 184.
Vakroktijīvitakāra (named), 8.
Vāmana (named), 7; (quoted), 32, 82, 92, 128, 132, 169.
Vikramāṅkadevacarita (quoted), 60, 64, 77, 118, 119.
Viddhaśālabhañjikā (quoted), 68, 138.
Vishamabāṇalīlā (quoted), 23.
Vetālapañcaviṁsati (Indische Spr.), 83.
Vyaktivivekakāra (named), 12.
Śakravṛddhi (so Subhāsh.), 97.
Śankaragaṇa (so Subhāsh.), 66.
Śīlābhaṭṭārikā (quoted), 200.

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (quoted), 21, 87, 90.
Śrīkaṇṭhastava (by Ruyyaka), 19.
Sāhitymīmāṁsā (by Ruyyaka), 61.
Haravijaya (quoted), 199.
Hariścandracarita (named), 102.
Harshacarita (quoted), 47, 117, 118, 139, 157; (named), 182.
Harshacaritavārtika (by Ruyyaka), 61.

The commentator Jayaratha lived subsequently to Mammaṭa, so we have nothing to do with him; but it may just be noted that, on pages 35, 83, 138, and 173, he quotes an *alaṅkārabhāshyakāra*, and on page 71 an *alaṅkāravārtika* (by Ruyyaka), neither of which is known to us. Then, on pages 97, 171, 172, 184, and 200, he refers to an equally unknown *alaṅkārasārakṛt*. On page 36 he mentions Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārānusāriṇī*, and quotes from it on page 58; and refers on page 115 to a work by Ruyyaka's father, Rājānaka Tilaka, named *Udbhaṭavicāra*, and probably to the same again on page 205, where he calls it *Udbhaṭaviveka*. Rājaśekhara's work, the *Bālabhāratanāṭaka*[1] (or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*) is very little known; but Jayaratha (on p. 46) quotes from it, anonymously, the verse "Ayam ahimaruchiḥ," etc. (i, 21); and he is the only writer on *alaṅkāra*, so far as I know, who has condescended to cite that voluminous author Kshemendra (pupil of Abhinavagupta), from whose *Samayamātṛkā* (iv, 81) he has taken the verse "Dhanena jāyate prajñā," etc., which stands at the bottom of page 135 of the *Vimarśinī*.

Vāgbhaṭa (in Prākṛta, Bāhaḍa), son of Soma, the author of *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, who is said to have flourished during the reign of Jayasiṁha (1093 to 1154 A.D.), is in no way connected with Mammaṭa, and should, therefore, have no place here; but as I have lately succeeded in tracing to their source some of the illustrations in the fourth chapter of that work, I will indicate them before closing this section. The Nirṇayasāgara Press has just completed an edition of

[1] Published in part at Nirṇayasāgara Press in 1887.

the *Neminirvāṇa*, a poem in fifteen cantos by an author named Vāgbhaṭa, who may, perhaps, be identical with the son of Soma; at any rate, he has quoted from it as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Amaranagara," etc. (iv, 28) ... | = *Neminirvāṇa*, | vii, | 16. |
| "Nemir viśālanayanaḥ," etc. (iv, 32) | „ | „ | vi, 51. |
| "Kāntābhūmau," etc. (iv, 34) ... | „ | „ | vi, 46. |
| "Jahur vasante," etc. (iv, 39) ... | „ | „ | vi, 47. |
| "Nijajīviteśa," etc. (iv, 63) ... ... | „ | „ | x, 25. |
| "Adharam mukhena," etc. (iv, 69) | „ | „ | x, 35. |

The commentator Siṁhadevagaṇi, who gives no clue to the source of these six verses, expressly assigns Vāgbhaṭa's iv, 12 (Kakākukaṅka, etc.), to the *Neminirvāṇa*; but, if he is right, then the edition of that poem just published is incomplete, for neither the verse nor the setting assigned to it by him is to be found there. Here are his words:—"Kakāku ity esha śloka ekavyañjano Neminirvāṇamahākāvye Rājīmatīparityāgādhikāre samudravarṇanarūpo jñeyaḥ." Perhaps the editor of *Neminirvāṇa* can enlighten us in regard to this.

ART. XII.—*Account of the Hindu Fire-Temple at Baku, in the Trans-Caucasus Province of Russia.* By Colonel C. E. STEWART, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps (ret.), H.M. Consul-General at Odessa.

IN 1866, I first visited Baku on the Caspian Sea on a journey from India to Nijni Novgorod Fair. Travelling with me at the time was a Hindu trader from Scinde, who was going to Russia to sell jewellery. He had previously heard of the Hindu Fire-Temple near Baku, and was most anxious to visit it.

At that time there were only two petroleum refineries at Baku: one of these was at Surukhaneh, some few miles from Baku. At this refinery was situated what was known as "The Temple of the Everlasting Fire," which was one of the sights of Baku. The petroleum refinery had been placed here for the purpose of utilizing the natural petroleum gas which rose from fissures in the soil. For ages a so-called everlasting fire had been kept burning and watched by Hindu priests from India.

The spot where the gas rose from the ground had been enclosed by a wall, and a small temple built in the midst. Around the wall were cells for the priests who attended the fire, and also for Hindu visitors who came here after visiting the Temple of Jawála Mukhi in the Kangra District of the Punjab. The Kangra Temple of the Flame-Faced Goddess is well-known in India, and Dr. Cust will write an account of it to accompany my paper. The enclosure at Baku was similar in many respects to a Punjabi Dharamsálá.

In 1866 one Hindu priest alone watched the fire, although

previously three Hindu priests had always watched it; but not long before my visit the senior priest or Abbot of the Dharamsálá, if I may so call him, had been murdered by Tartars for the sake of the money he had collected from Hindu devotees and other visitors to the temple, for though, of course, not an object of veneration, it was the source of a superstitious sort of curiosity to the neighbouring Mahomedans.

After the murder of the Abbot one of the surviving priests fled, but the third remained to tend the fire, which was merely a pipe in the ground connecting with the naturally rising gas, and this pipe was contained in one of the cells built round the wall.

In the centre of the enclosure a much more modern building stood; this did not contain the fire, but was dedicated to the God Siva, as was shown by Siva's iron trident, which was fastened on the roof. A photo-zincograph of this and a portion of the Dharamsálá is shown.

The Hindu priest who remained was very delighted to find I spoke Punjabi, which was his native language. He had come from some place north of Delhi, and had been a priest for some time at the Jowalla Mukhi Temple, near Kangra. He said he there heard from other priests of this greater Jawála Ji, as he called it, and had come on a pilgrimage to visit it, and remained for many years. He was, however, anxious to leave, and wished to accompany the Hindu trader from Scinde, who was travelling on board the steamer with me. He attempted to leave by our steamer, but was not permitted by the Russian authorities because his passport was not in order.

I returned to Baku in 1881, and again visited this temple. I found the fire out and no priest. The engineer in charge of the neighbouring petroleum refinery accompanied me over the temple, of which he held the key. He relit the fire, and when leaving carefully extinguished it, as he said he wanted all the natural petroleum gas for heating the furnaces of his own works. He also informed me that since my previous visit a new priest had arrived from

India and taken charge for a time of the temple, but after some time had left. On this occasion I found on the floor close to the fire a small copper tablet with a figure of the elephant-headed god Gunpatti deeply engraved on it. I have visited this temple many times since, as I have resided in Baku for some months, and on one occasion I took a photographer with me and had some of the inscriptions photographed. There were stone-cut inscriptions over the doors of most of the cells of the Dharamsálá and one over the entrance to the Siva temple.

Most of the inscriptions were in the Nágari character, and I was able from a very slight knowledge of Nágari to read the invocation "Ai Sri Ganesha" on one of them. There was also an inscription in Persian character. I got copies of all them except the one over the Siva temple, which was too high up.

Two of the best of my photos were lost, including the one I was able partially to read. Of the others I here give photo-zincographs. I am unable personally to read them, and I publish them in the hope that some more capable person may read them. The date on the inscription in Persian character, 1158, is of course legible, and no doubt refers to the building of the much more modern Siva temple. The inscription, from what I have been told by others by whom it has been partially read, seems to be in Hindi of a modern form, but I think the Dharamsálá is of considerably older date than this inscription.

There can be no doubt that this temple is not and never can have been a Zoroastrian temple. I have after seeing it visited a real Zoroastrian temple in Southern Persia; that particular Zoroastrian temple, although no longer in use, had only been abandoned a few years previously, and was in perfect repair. It was situated on a high mound, and was of a totally different form from this temple.

In the country between the Gurgan river and the Attrek river, near the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, and also in the northern part of Khorasan, near the Attrek river, I saw great mounds near each village which tradition

amongst the people states were the sites of fire-temples, and I have seen one near Mahomedabad in Daraguez with some remains of a fire-temple of the same pattern as the one I had seen in Southern Persia, but these Zoroastrian temples are always placed on high mounds, and not on a plain as the Baku temple is.

Baron Thielman in his work speaks of the Baku temple as if it were a Zoroastrian temple, but I feel certain he is mistaken. He saw the same priest apparently there as I met in 1866, but he was only able to speak to him through an interpreter, while I spoke to the man in his native language, and saw a good deal of him.

At Khaff, in Khorasan, near the Afghan border, I met two Hindu Fakirs from India, who announced themselves to me as on a pilgrimage to this Baku Jawála Ji; also, some of the Hindu traders settled at Khaff (where I resided for six months), when I left that place for England in 1882, begged to be allowed to accompany me as far as Baku for the purpose of visiting this temple. Although the Hindus I have met in Persia know about this temple, I never heard any Zoroastrian in Persia, although I met many, express any wish to visit it, or have any knowledge of its existence.

I was informed by a Hindu Fakir, whom I met near the Afghan Frontier of Persia, that he proposed to visit not only the Jawála Ji at Baku, but still another Hindu fire-temple which he had heard of in Bokhara territory.

We know, besides the well-known example of the Fire-Temple at Kangra, that the Hindus certainly in ancient times worshipped fire. At page 27 of Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan," it is mentioned that three of the sons of Icshwaca, of the Solar Race, abandoned worldly affairs and took to religion, and that one of these sons, Canin by name, was said to have been the first who made an agnihotra or pyreum, and worshipped fire.

I am anxious that some one, who is more of an orientalist than myself, should take up the matter of the inscriptions of this temple; and although I think none of the inscriptions

are very ancient, still they appear to be considerably older than the one giving the date 1158, which I suppose to be Hegira. This appears only to refer to the Siva temple, which is probably more modern than the rest.

The general form of this Baku Fire-Temple reminded me very much of the temple amongst the ruins known as Bil Rajah Kafir Kot, on the Indus, which I visited.

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NOTE BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY, R. N. CUST.

It is by my special request, that my friend Colonel Charles Stewart, of the Indian Army, has written this paper to illustrate the Photographs of Inscriptions, which were taken at his expense, at Baku. His visit preceded mine, and he saw the Priest still in possession of the building, and he was a Native of India. When I visited Baku, and drove up to the Petroleum Fields, I found that the Priest had sold his interests to the Petroleum Company, and was gone: I thought of the last oracle of Delphi.

The cost of engraving these Photographs by the Platinotype process has been supplied by Colonel Stewart and myself, in order that the Society should not be put to expense. No attempt has been made to translate the Inscriptions, or to express opinion as to the circumstances, under which this survival of the Ancient Fire-worship of Central Asia has maintained itself. Our object has been [illegible]cord the Inscriptions and notify the facts: it may lead [illegible] to write more fully on the subject. Unless some [illegible]re taken to interest the Russian Government in [illegible]nscriptions, the building will probably be pulled [illegible] materials used for Petroleum stores, and the [illegible] disappear. One incidental advantage of pub-[illegible]aper will be, that the attention of Russian [illegible] called to the subject.

Dr. T. H. Thornton, M.R.A.S., has called my attention to the following fact:

"In the Lahore Museum there is a Sculpture from a Buddhist Monastery in the Yusufzai country. The Sculpture represents a number of young men pouring water from jars upon a Fire-worship Altar, while some ancient devotees are standing round looking very disconsolate. According to General Cunningham, in a printed note on this Sculpture, it is intended to symbolize the destruction of Fire-worship in the Yusufzai country, by the introduction of the comparatively new Religion of Buddha." Dr. Thornton had a Photograph of this Sculpture, but he presented it to the University of Leyden. A copy of General Cunningham's printed Note will no doubt be found in his Archaeological Survey Reports.

In October, 1846, more than fifty years ago, in the course of my winter tour in camp round my District of Hoshyarpúr of the Jhalandhar Doáb in the Panjáb, I crossed over into the District of Kangra for the purpose of visiting the far-famed and unique Fire-Temple of Jwala Múkhi. My Journal of that year supplies me with the following facts:

I crossed the River Beas, and rested during the heat of the day in a village, and arrived at the sacred spot at dusk. It was on the occasion of the Annual Festival, and great crowds were assembled: bells were ringing, and cymbals clanging on all sides. The town is beautifully situated at the foot of a lofty range of hills, and on an eminence was conspicuous the Temple, which had rendered the place famous.

In the middle of the night I visited the Sacred Fire; the whole town seemed to be a succession of steps lea to the gates of the Temple. I took off my shoes a entry, and, passing through the crowds who were with burning lamps before them, I entered through th gates into the *sanctum sanctorum*, and was conduc Priests to the very spot, where the Naphtha bursting from the ground. There was no deception there, as an ordinary Natural F

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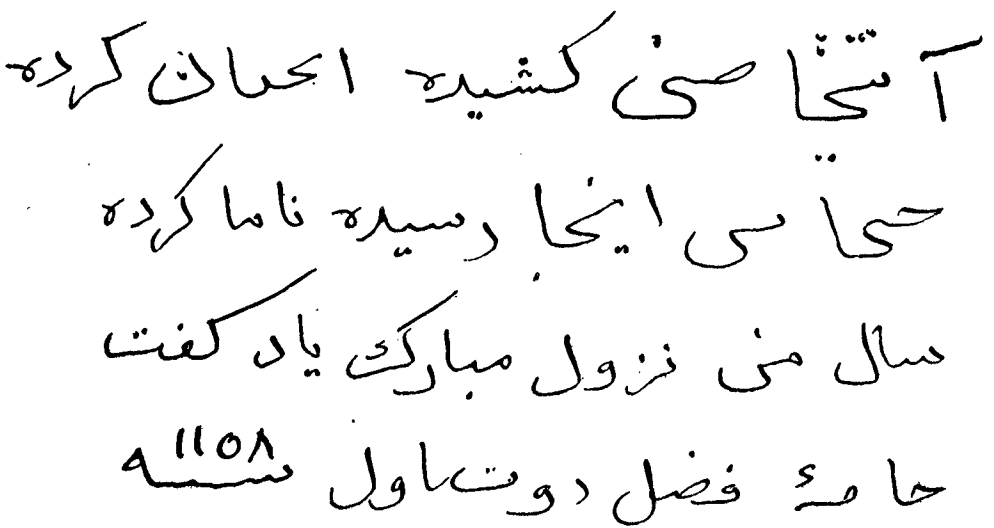
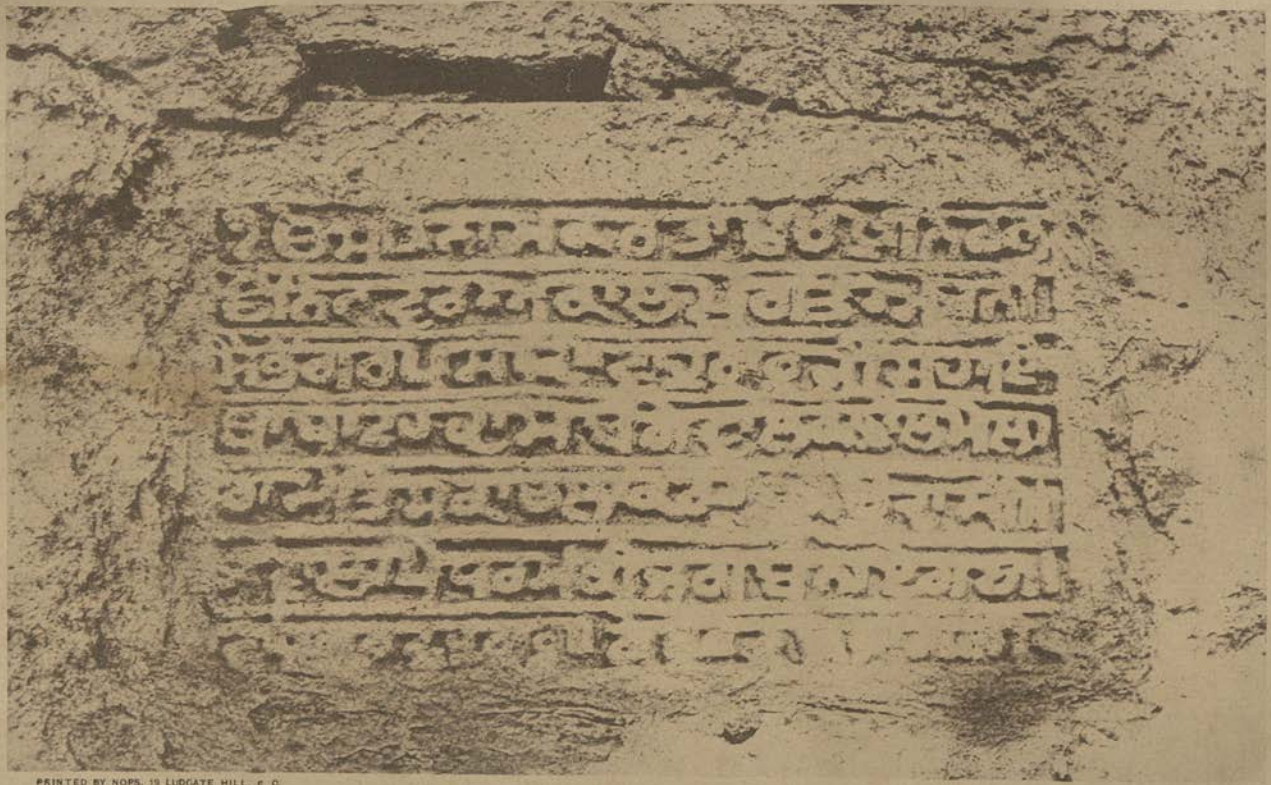
TEMPLE AT BAKU, IN TRANS-CAUCASIA, EMPIRE OF RUSSIA.




INSCRIPTION IN PERSIAN CHARACTER.



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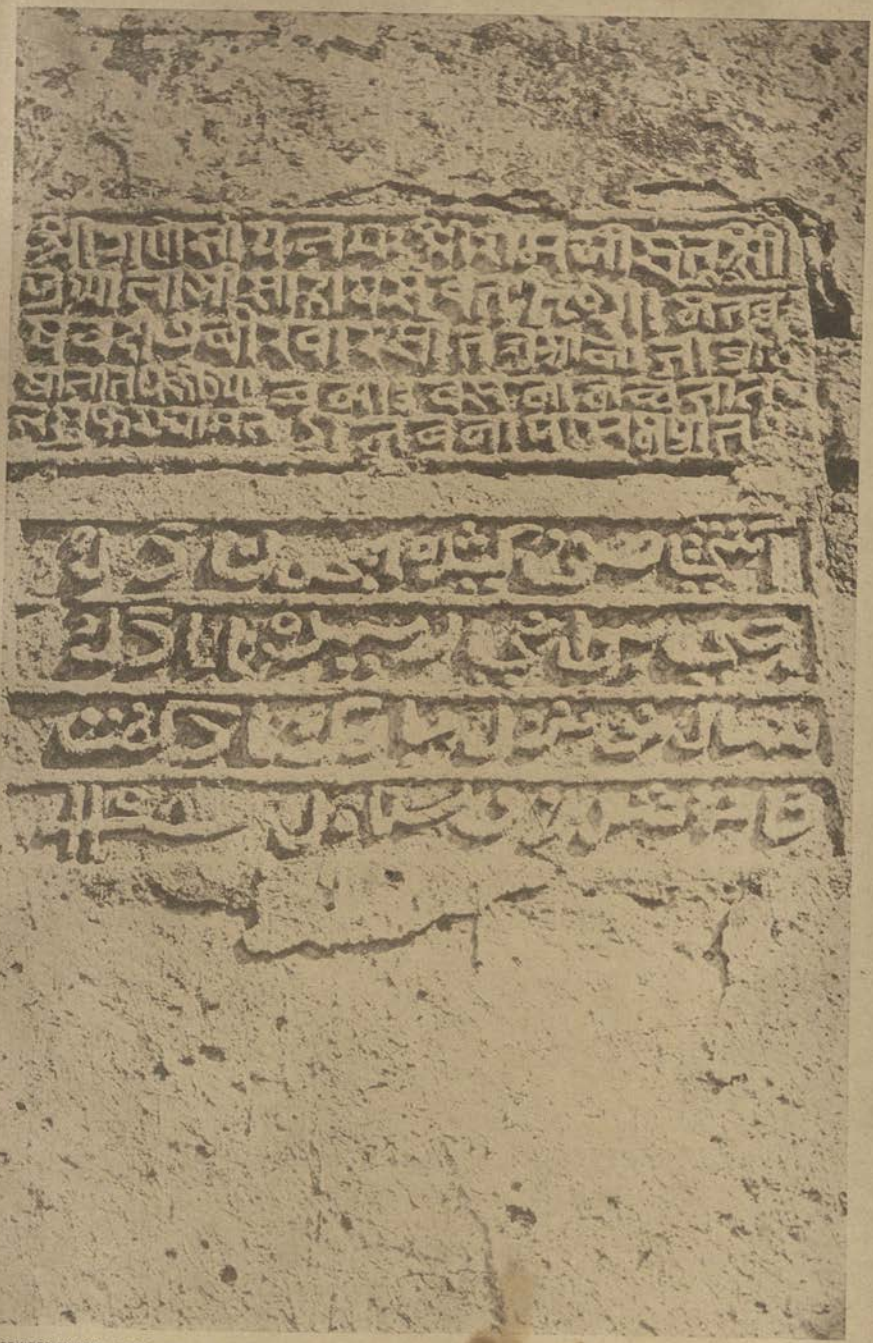
INSCRIPTION IN WALL OF TEMPLE AT BAKU.



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INSCRIPTION IN WALL OF THE COURT OF TEMPLE AT BAKU,
IN NÁGARI AND ARABIC CHARACTERS.

been transformed by the ignorant population into a Deity. The devout worshippers pressed forward to burn ghee, and wax-tapers, in the beautiful flames: flowers were thrown in, and offerings of money laid on the Temple-floor. It must have been hot work for the attendant Priests to stand for hours near those powerful flames, which had no escape by orifices in the roof, for over our heads was a canopy of gold presented by the late Maharája Ranjit Singh; the building of the Temple was solid and substantial. I returned to my tent much gratified. The next day I received numerous visits from all classes, as in those days the presence of the white Ruler was a new phenomenon. I went again to visit the sacred flame: in the morning goats had been sacrificed by devotees: I was vexed, that I had not been informed, as I should have liked to have witnessed this survival of the Ritual of Early Mankind.

I climbed the heights behind, and looked down at the motley group below me: the devotee pilgrims had come a long distance, and were showering cowries upon the golden canopy, on which troops of monkeys were quietly basking. Crowds passed from spot to spot: the whole hive was in motion, and I watched them with interest. A pilgrim from Lower Bengal, a Calcutta Bábu, had travelled many thousand miles to see this Temple, and worship: he was a man of education, and coming forward to salute me with a respectful bow, addressed me in English, and we entered into conversation. He asked me whether I had ever witnessed a more sure and sufficient manifestation of the great Power which created and ruled the world, the 'Paraméshvara,' or, as he described it, 'the God Almighty,' than those living flames, coming up night and day from the centre of the earth? I disappointed him by telling him, that I did not think more of it than of the fountains of water, which sprang up from their secret depths, and the flames, which came into existence from the rubbing of sticks of wood together; in fact, that it was a beautiful and rare phenomenon of Nature, but nothing more, and quite unworthy of worship by educated men, who spoke English.

We had only conquered the Native Government of this beautiful Province, and annexed it, in the Spring of this very year, 1846, and as a reward for my services in the field at the age of twenty-five, I had been placed in charge of this district, newly conquered, under the supervision of my great master, John Lawrence: our art of Government was to live amidst the people, without guards; and so gentle and peaceful was the population of these remote regions, that I was permitted to enter their homes, and their sacred places of worship. Religious toleration is the great Jewel of Empire: in our annexation-proclamations we had told them, that every man was at liberty to serve the Great Creator in the way, which seemed best to him: they believed it, and at the end of half a century we feel that the policy was a wise one.

*January*, 1897.

## Art. XIII.—*Two Notes on Indian Numismatics.* By E. J. Rapson, M.A., M.R.A.S.

### On a Coin-Legend of the Graeco-Indian King Hermaeus.

The regular Greek inscription on the coins of Hermaeus is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ | ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ; but, on some of his bronze coins, and on the whole bronze series issued by him conjointly with Kujula Kadphises,[1] there appears an inscription which differs from this in two respects—(1) the substitution of ΣΤΗΡΟΣ for ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and (2) the addition of the syllable ΣΥ.

The former of these two peculiarities has, by most scholars, been regarded as merely an engraver's mistake; but, in opposition to this view, it has been pointed out by M. Senart,[2] that, whenever this Greek inscription on the obverse is accompanied by an Indian translation in Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse—that is to say, on certain bronze coins struck by Hermaeus alone, as distinguished from those struck by him conjointly with Kujula Kadphises—*mahatasa* is always found in the place of *tratarasa*, the regular equivalent of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. ΣΤΗΡΟΣ can, therefore, scarcely be a mistake for ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ; and M. Senart is inclined to see in this strange form a new title indicative of some diminution in the power of Hermaeus.

With regard to the second point, ΣΥ has always been a well-known numismatic puzzle. It has generally been explained as some title, or as an abbreviation of some title,

[1] Gardner, *B.M. Cat.*, p. 65, Hermaeus, Nos. 45–50; and p. 120, Hermaeus and Kadphises I.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1889 (vol. xiii, 8th series), p. 370.

Scythic or Greek;[1] but here, too, the theory has been advanced[2] that it is due to the mistake of an engraver, who repeated the final letters of the words ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ and ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, which, in consequence of the arrangement of the inscription on the coins, are actually brought into juxtaposition.

Some confusion might, no doubt, have been avoided, in this instance, had the numismatists adopted in their catalogues some method of indicating this arrangement. Several writers, who have dealt with this question, have evidently been under the impression that his ΣΥ occurs on the coins as a prefix to the name ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ; and, it must be confessed, that, apart from illustrations, the descriptions given in the catalogues, where the whole inscription is printed continuously as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ, by no means discourage this delusion. Now, as a matter of fact, the name ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ stands alone beneath the bust of the king, and the remainder of the legend, which is separated from the name, is written over the bust. This distinction between the two portions of the legend might easily be indicated by some method of printing, or by the use of some dividing sign; and if this had been done in the coin-catalogues—if, for instance, the inscription had been printed as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ | ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ—some very natural misconception would have been prevented.[3]

All previous attempts to explain this enigmatical coin-legend are open to one or more of the following criticisms: (1) they are founded upon the dangerous assumption that all the specimens of this particular class of coins bear the same engraver's mistake or mistakes; (2) they depend upon conjectures, which it would be difficult to support by

[1] Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, ii, p. 363, note 1, as = Śaka, or id., p. 389, as = Yueh-chi; Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* 1892, p. 46, as = *Συγγενής*; Senart, *Journ. As.* (l.c.), as = *Σύρου*.

[2] Oldenberg, *Zeit. f. Num.* 1881, p. 298, note 1.

[3] It would scarcely then have been possible to invent the King Sy-Hermaeus, who appears in some of the earlier numismatic works as the successor of Hermaeus.

the evidence of other coins of the time; and (3) they leave out of sight what should be a main guiding principle in dealing with these bilingual coins, viz., that, with very few exceptions, the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions exactly correspond.

In attempting, therefore, to offer a solution of this problem, which shall not be open to these criticisms, it may be assumed, in the first place, that just as EPMAIOY = *Heramayasa* and BAΣIΛEΩΣ = *maharajasa*, so the remaining portion of the Greek legend ΣTHPOΣΣY = the remaining portion of the Kharoṣṭhī legend *mahatasa*.

Now ΣTHPOΣΣY is certainly not a Greek word. It must, therefore, probably be some Indian word transcribed into Greek characters. If so, -ΣY is simply the termination of the genitive case=the Sanskṛit *-sya* or the Prākṛit *-ssa*. Fortunately, it is possible to quote a parallel from the coins themselves. On the small bronze coins which bear the name Kujula Kadaphes,[1] the genitive *Khuṣanasa* of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription is regularly represented by the Greek XOPANCY.[2] There can be little doubt, then, that ΣTHPOΣΣY is a genitive form, and this transliteration of the genitive termination by the Greek -ΣY may, perhaps, not be without some philological importance as showing that, in the transition from the Sanskṛit *-sya* to the Prākṛit *-ssa*, the sound of the semi-vowel *y* had not entirely disappeared.

It is necessary, therefore, to search for some Prākṛit form, which will admit at the same time of being transliterated by ΣTHPOΣΣY and rendered by *mahatasa*. Now there can be little doubt that this word has been *suggested* by the ΣΩTHPOΣ which, in the earlier coins of Hermaeus, occupied the same position; and it is quite possible that a false analogy may have influenced the transliteration;

[1] Gardner, *B.M. Cat.*, p. 123.

[2] In this case, again, it has been proposed, in direct opposition to the unanimous testimony of the coins, to regard XOPANCY as an engraver's mistake for XOPANOY. This tendency to tamper with documents cannot be too strongly deprecated.

but, apart from this possibility, there are no great difficulties in the way of supposing the existence of a Prākṛit form **sterassa*=the Pāli *therassa*, and, like it, derived from the Sanskṛit *sthavirasya*. The only point in this derivation which seems to present any difficulty is the representation of the Sanskṛit *sth* by the Prākṛit *st*. Instances of a similar loss of aspiration in Prākṛit are, however, not hard to find;[1] and, moreover, the observation just made must be borne in mind, viz., that the reading ΣΤ-, instead of ΣΘ-, may, after all, be due to the false analogy with ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

With regard to the correspondence in meaning between this hypothetical **sterassa* and *mahatasa*, some curious and interesting points present themselves. A general meaning of the Sanskṛit *sthavira* (="*angesehen, gravis*," Böhtlingk and Roth) might, indeed, be roughly expressed by *mahatasa*; but there can be little doubt that *sthavira* and *thera* had, at this period and in this part of India, acquired a specially Buddhist meaning. The Buddhistic tendencies of the earlier Graeco-Indian king Menander are well known. Is it possible that the epithet ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ marks Hermaeus also as a follower of the law of Buddha?

## The God Śiva on Kuṣana Coins.

By a strange chance, the inscription OKϸO, which accompanies the figure of Śiva on the coins of Kaniṣka and his successors, has been read in every imaginable way but the right one. Formerly the reading OKPO was universally accepted, and explained, in its application to Śiva, as equivalent to the Sanskṛit *ugra* "the terrible," or *vakra* "the cruel." Since Dr. Stein's discovery,[2] that

[1] Johannson, *Der dialekte der sogen. Shāhbāzgarhi-redaktion des* 14 *edicte Aśoka's* (Actes du 8me Congrès Inter. des Orientalistes: section ii, 1er fasc., p. 129), quotes the form *sr(e)stamati* as representing the Sk. *śreṣṭha-*.

[2] *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i, p. 155, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins."

the modified form of the Greek P, viz. Þ, which is invariably used in this case, regularly represents the sibilant *ṣ*, the word has been read *oḳṣo*, and regarded as a transcription of the Sanskṛit *ukṣā* "the bull."[1] Midway between these two readings comes one suggested by Dr. Hoernlé,[2] viz. OHPO, and supposed by him to represent the Sanskṛit *vīra* "the hero."

This last reading did not attract the attention which it deserved, for, though undoubtedly, as being previous to the date of Dr. Stein's discovery, it is incorrect with regard to the third letter, yet it has the merit of insisting on a fact which has been strangely overlooked by numismatists, viz. that the second letter is H and not K. This fact is patent from an examination of the coins. For its demonstration, one need go no farther than the names of the kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, as they appear on the obverse of the same coins, which bear this OḲÞO on the reverse—KΔNḲÞKI = *Kanēṣki*, and OOḲÞKI = *Ooēṣki*. It is, indeed, scarcely too much to say that the two characters are never confused on coins, except in the case of the late barbarous issues, which must belong to a period when the Greek letters were no longer understood. They are frequently enough confused in the drawings which illustrate the older numismatic works,[3] for the draughtsman has here, as in so many other cases, been unconsciously influenced by his own ideas; but this only affords another instance, if one were needed, of the futility for scientific purposes of eye-copies of inscriptions.

The correct reading of OḲÞO is, therefore, undoubtedly *Oēṣo* or *Hoēṣo*; and this latter form suggests a Prākṛit **haveṣo* or **haveśo*, which would represent the Sanskṛit *Bhaveśa* "the Lord of Being," a well-known title of Śiva.

The representation of the three sibilants of Sanskṛit is never completely carried out in the Prākṛitic dialects, and

[1] Drouin, *Revue Numismatique*, 1888, p. 207; followed by Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* 1892, p. 62.
[2] Quoted by Drouin (l.c.).
[3] E.g. *Ariana Antiqua*, plate xii, 4, etc.

any such nice distinction would be especially difficult in the case of Prākṛit words expressed in the Kuṣano-Greek alphabet. It is, therefore, not so hard to believe that the Þ, which more commonly represents the lingual ष ṣ, may, in this case, be used for the palatal श ś. In another instance, ś is represented by the Greek Z, i.e. *Viśākha*= BIZAΓO; and it is important to notice that on one coin[1] OhZO=*oēzo* is actually written instead of the more familiar OhÞO.

On a unique coin formerly belonging to General Cunningham, and now in the British Museum, Śiva is represented, together with his consort Umā, whose name appears as OMMO. This coin was published by General Cunningham in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1892, plate xiii, 1; but, in his description on p. 119, he wrongly refers to the female deity as "the goddess Nanaia . . . holding her peculiar symbol; . . to left, NANO." These particulars would apply to the next coin represented on the plate; but on the coin in question, not only is the inscription OMMO quite distinct, but the symbol which the female deity holds in her hand—it may perhaps be a flower—is quite different from the well-known symbol of Nanaia; and we may, therefore, unhesitatingly add Umā to the list of Indian deities represented on Kuṣana coins.

[1] This coin is published by Gardner, *B.M. Cat.*, "Bazodeo," No. 3 (p. 159), but without any notice of its remarkable inscription.

## Art. XIV.—*Some Notes on the Dîwâns of the Arabic Tribes.*[1]

By I. Goldziher, Hon. M.R.A.S.

The *Dîwân of the Hudeilites* must be regarded as our single remaining inheritance of a great mass of literature which formed an important part of the results obtained by the Arab philologians in their first endeavours to collect the old poetry of the Arabs.

Indeed, the history of Arabic literature, which—if it be ever once realised—must suffice for the oldest period with recording many lost productions of learning and diligence, has exactly this office to fulfil when it begins to give an account of the labours of philological workers in the field of ancient poetry.

Besides preserving and revising those more remarkable poems which of old won fame and renown throughout all Arabdom as the most exalted products of their classic composers (fuḥûl), quite regardless of the special tribes which produced them, the old scholars did not fail to devote themselves to collecting the dîwâns of particular tribes. Their task was to gather together all the traditions of each tribe relating to earlier times, and to set them down in writing. In so doing, they turned their attention to the compositions of the *tribe-poets* which had been preserved in the memory of the tribe, and which were mostly associated with its historical recollections. To obtain such information, the philologians themselves were not always obliged to wander about in the desert from tent to tent. Frequently, they caused to be brought into town some dweller of the waste who was especially fitted to impart the desired

[1] For the English translation of the following article, written originally in German, the author is obliged to the kindness of his friend, Dr. F. D. Chester, Rogers Fellow of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

knowledge by his large acquaintance and the wealth of his remembrances, and interviewed him at their ease in their own apartments of study. Isḥâḳ al-Mausilî, who was constantly engaged in the search for ancient traditions, neglected to breakfast one day with a certain man of high rank, by whom he had been invited, because at the time he had a Bedawî in his parlour, whose dictations he was eagerly taking down.[1] In that chapter of the *Fihrist* which deals with the Humanists, frequently occurs the name of some A'râbî who made himself useful to scholars in the city (p. 44 ffg.).

Thus the studies pursued by the scholars of the second century A.H. with the pure-blooded representatives of Arabdom, were, apart from specifically linguistic researches, to a large extent directed to collecting the poetic memoirs of the various tribes. From them resulted the *Tribe-Dîwâns*, and to such labours as above described they owed their birth. And it is not at all surprising to learn[2] that these collections, in the hands of able men like *Khalaf al-aḥmar*, were exposed to the risk of forgery and apocryphal interpolation. The impulse and stimulus which the cultivation of such studies already received under the Umayyads[3] among official circles—a fact illustrated by anecdotes preserved in the literature[4]—make it in

[1] *Aġ.*, v, 120, 5 ffg.—In 'Abbaside times the Bedawî-poet, Nâhiḍ ibn Thauma, used to make his appearance in Baṣra, at which time the philologians would take advantage of his presence in the city (*Aġ.*, xii, 33). Likewise, from the contact with the desert-Arabs afforded by the *Ḥajj*, the philologians endeavoured to draw profit for their learning (*Aġ.*, xviii, 190). It is interesting to learn at a later period how *Al-Azharî* (282–370), having fallen captive to the Carmathians, turned to account the intercourse he was then permitted to enjoy with Bedawîn of diverse tribes, during his involuntary sojourn among them, for his *Taḥḍîb al-luġa*. He tells at some length about it in his introduction to that work (*Catalogue of the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, iv, 169). In the year 230, when Boġa swept many Banû Numeir-Bedawîn captive into Bagdad, the philologians hurried to the capital in order to make the most of the wild fellows for purposes of learning (*Al-Ḳâlî*, *Nawâdir*, MS. of the Bibl. Nationale in Paris, Suppl. arabe, 1935, fol. 60a = *Khizânat al-adab*, iv, 239).

[2] *Muzhir*, ii, 203.

[3] Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, 2. Cf. the passages quoted in *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 203.

[4] We refer to anecdotes relating to philologians such as *Aġ.*, v, 166 (= Al-Ḥarîrî, *Durrat al-ġawwâṣ*, ed. Thorbecke, 177), vi, 128, xx, 179. Noteworthy in this connection is the following narrative from the introduction of

a high degree likely to suppose that the preparation of such repertoires, if we may so call them, was even then in progress. At any rate, it is related of Ḥammâd al-Râwiya, in a passage already brought to our notice by

*Abû Aḥmad Ḥasan al-'Askarî* (d. 382) to his شرح ما يقع فيه التصحيف والتحريف (MS. Landberg) :—

وأخبرنى ابو العبّاس بن عمّار سمعتُ سليمان بن ابى شيخ يحكى ان الأصمعى ذكر يوماً بنى اميّة [او قال بنى مروان انا أشكّ] وشغفهم بالعلم فقال كانوا ربّما اختلفوا وهم بالشّام فى بيت من الشعر او خبر او يوم من ايّام العرب فيُبْرِدون فيه بَريدا الى العراق ' واخبرنى ابو بكر محمّد بن الحسن بن دريد اخبرنا ابو عثمان عن التوّزى عن ابى عبيدة قال ما كُنّا نَفْتِقِد فى كلّ يوم راكبا من ناحية بنى اميّة يُنيخ على باب قتادة يسأله عن خبر او نسب او شعر وكان قتادة أجمع الناس ' قال ابو بكر اخبرنى ابن اخى الاصمعىّ عن محمّد بن سلّام الجُمَحىّ قال لقد كان الرجلان من بنى مروان يختلفان فى بيت شعر فيُرسلان راكبا الى قتادة يسأله ' قال ولقد قدِم عليه رجل من عند بعض اولاد الخلفاء من بنى مروان فقال لقتادة من قتل عَمْرًا و عامرًا التّغلبيّيْن يوم قِنّصة فقال قتلهما جَحْدر بن ضُبَيْعَة بن قيس بن ثعلبة ' قال فشخص بها ثمّ عاد اليه فقال أَجَل قتلهما جحدر ولكن كيف قتلهما جميعا فقال اعتوراه فطعن هذا بالسنان وهذا بالزجّ فعادى بينهما ' واخبرنى الحسين بن ابراهيم بن شعيب قاضى أَرّجان اخبرنا ابو العيناء حدّثنا ابو عاصم عن ابيه قال ان كان الرجلان من بنى اميّة يختلفان فى البيت من الشعر فيُبردان فيه بريدا الى العراق '

Cf. *Ag.*, iv, 146, 14 ff.

Wellhausen,[1] that he made ready for an interview with the caliph Al-Walîd ibn Yazîd, in the belief that the caliph would question him concerning the poems of one or another tribe to which he stood in kindred relation, by cramming the "*Book of the Ḳureish*" and the "*Book of the Thaḳîf*" (فنظرتُ في كتابَيْ قريش وثقيف). Very old also must have been the كتاب بني تميم, to which I have called attention on a previous occasion.[2] Yet, if the passage in which such a book is mentioned, can really be referred to a written collection of the *memoirs and poems of the tribe of Tamîm*, the ascription of the verse containing that mention to the poet Bishr ibn Abî Khâzim rests on a very weak basis. It is improbable—nay, impossible—that such a collection existed as early as the time of that poet.

In the following generation these labours move actively forward. The scholars of the 'Abbaside epoch, on the basis of the preliminary attempts of the previous period, make their humanistic studies to share in the general outburst of the sciences and energetically continue the collection of tribe-dîwâns.

Under the name of Khâlid ibn Kulthûm,[3] who apparently belongs back in Umayyad times, a كتاب اشعار القبائل is mentioned, with the observation that it embraced a number of Arab tribes (ويحتوي على عدّة قبائل).[4] From the lips of an Arab of the tribe of Asad, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Faḳ'asî (lived down to the time of Hârûn al-Rashîd), the *memoirs of the tribe of Asad*[5] were compiled, resulting in a كتاب مآثر بني اسد واشعارها. Possibly Abû 'Ubeida (d. circa 207–10 A.H.) followed in the same path with his

[1] Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, 201.
[2] *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxii (1878), 355, *Muḥ. Stud.*, ii, 205. (Cf. also Abû Zeid, *Nawâdir*, ed. Beirût, 32, 12, where the verse is cited anonymously.)
[3] As to the uncertainty which prevails respecting the age when this scholar lived, see my Introduction to the *Dîwân of al-Ḥuṭei'a*, 48 note.
[4] *Fihrist*, 66, 10.
[5] Ibid., 49, 15 f. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 55.

monographs on the *Ġatafân, Aus, and Khazraj*, as also the *Banû Mâzin*.[1] And elsewhere a "*Book of the Tamîmite Tribe of Mâzin*" is anonymously cited.[2] On the authority of Al-Dârakuṭnî (d. 385) we learn of "an old book in which the author had collected notices of the *tribe of Ḍabba and its poets*."[3] Abû-l-Ḳâsim al-Âmidî (d. 370), in his book on homonymous poets (Kitâb al-mu'talif wal-mukhtalif), having occasion to determine whether a certain verse belonged to Abu-l-Ġûl al-Ṭuhawî or to a poet of the tribe of Nahshal bearing the same name, rests his decision on the fact that he had discovered accounts of Al-Ṭuhawî in the "*Book of the Tribe of Ṭuhayya*," while he had never seen a poet of this name mentioned in the "*Book of the Tribe of Nahshal*."[4] The same Al-Âmidî refers also to a "*Book of Banû-l-Ḳein b. al-Jasr*."[5] At what time these collections were first edited we cannot, from the notices to which we are indebted for the knowledge of their actual existence, conclude with any certainty. We are equally left in ignorance as to the names of their authors. A collection of the Ḍabba and Nahshal poets is given by the *Fihrist* (159, 7, 8) as the work of Al-Sukkarî; but it is not probable that a book from this philologian would be alluded to a century later as a *Kitâb 'atîḳ*. Apparently an older, less elaborate work is to be understood, whose further revision and completion were undertaken by Al-Sukkarî, as in the case of the Hudeilite compositions and the individual dîwâns which that careful scholar published. However that may be, we perceive

[1] *Fihrist*, 54, 7. 13. 15.

[2] Yâḳût, *Geogr. Dict.*, iv, 360, 4.

[3] Apud *Usd al-ġâba*, ii, 339, 3: ذكر صاحب الكتاب العتيق الذى جمع فيه اخبار بنى ضبّة واخبار شعرائهم.

[4] *Khizânat al-adab*, iii, 108: وله (لابى الغول الطهوىّ) فى هذا حديث وخبر فى كتاب طُهَيَّة . . . . ولم أرَ له ذكراً فى كتاب نهشل.

[5] Ibid., iii, 426: كذا وجدته فى كتاب بنى القين بن الجسر.

that the philologians of the fourth century A.H., whenever any matter relating to a poet was unclear to them, could turn to the respective Tribe-Monograph. Abû Ḥâtim al-Sijistânî (d. circa 250–2) had done the same, in order to determine the correct reading in a crooked verse[1]: that is to say, he collated the verse with the collection of that *Ḳabîla* to which the author of the verse in question belonged.

To this end stood ready about this time for scholars' reference the complete works of a man who, as it seems, marks the highest point in the redaction of these Ḳabîla-repertoires, to wit, *Abû 'Amr al-Sheibânî* (d. circa 205–10). He is reported to have put together over eighty tribe-dîwâns. All further propagation of this mass of literature was based upon his communication of the same[2] (وأخذ عنه دواوين اشعار القبائل كلّها). He may be said to have incorporated all the acquisitions of his predecessors. Only three hundred years ago single portions of this work lay within reach of the learned *'Abd al-Ḳâdir ibn 'Omar al-Baġdâdî* (eleventh century A.H.), at the disposal of whom stood a whole library of bibliographic curiosa, now partly lost, as material for his Khizânat al-adab, a book throughout rich in all kinds of learning.[3] He is able,

[1] Abû Zeid, *Nawâdir*, 118, 16: نظرتُ فى شعر القبيلة فاذا فيه الخ.

[2] *Fihrist*, 68, 7.

[3] To give only an example or two: 'Abd al-Ḳâdir al-Baġdâdî had before him an autograph copy of the commentary of *Abû 'Ubeida Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā* on the Dîwân of Bishr ibn Abî Khâzim (according to Al-Baġdâdî, in Kufic script: cf. ii, 262).—The citations from the *Dîwân of the Hudeilites* he was able to collate with a well-attested copy dating from the year 200 A.H. (ii, 317, bottom): نسخة قديمة صحيحة تاريخ كتابتها في سنة مائتين بعد الهجرة عليها خطوط العلماء منهم ابن فارس صاحب المجمل في اللغة كتب على ظهرها سند روايته. He makes use of the same codex, iii, 151, where he names as its executor ابو بكر القاري شارح اشعار الهذليين.—The single existing copy of Abû Ḥâtim al-Sijistânî's *Kitâb al-Mu'ammarîn*, now

for instance, to cite a verse of Ufnûn al-Taġlibî from the "*Taġlib Poets*" of Abû 'Amr.[1] In speaking of another poet he states that he has used the same author's collection of the poems of the tribe *Banû Muḥârib b. Khaṣafa ibn Ḳeis ibn 'Ailân*, in a manuscript of that work dated 291 A.H. This manuscript had been prepared on the basis of an earlier one, executed by Abu-l-Ḥasan al-Ṭûsî (also noted[2] as a راوية القبائل) and approved by his teacher Ibn Al-A'râbî (d. 231–3)—

واما الشعر الثانى فهو .... لرقيم اخى بنى الصادرة المحاربى واوردها ابو عمرو الشيبانى فى اشعار قبيلة محارب بن خصفة بن قيس عيلان وهو عندى فى نسخة قديمة تأريخ كتابتها فى صفر سنة احدى وتسعين ومائتين وكاتبها ابو عبد الله الحسين بن احمد الفزارى قال نقلتها من نسخة ابى الحسين (sic) الطوسى وقد عُرِضت على ابن الاعرابى[3]

Even Al-Sukkarî (d. 271) busied himself not only with re-editing the dîwâns of the classical poets, but also with

in the University Library of Cambridge (Q 285), was used by 'Abd al-Ḳâdir al-Baġdâdî. The title-page bears an autograph notice from him. For literary-historical purposes, an orderly list of the books and treatises cited in the Khizâna would form a most desirable supplement to Guidi's index to the same. Many a rare or entirely lost work can now be known only from such citations.

[1] *Khizânat al-adab*, iv, 456, 5: لأفنون التغلبى اوردها له ابو عمرو الشيبانى فى اشعار تغلب. Cf. iii, 614, 24.

[2] *Fihrist*, 71, 10. For *Al-Ṭûsî* see Kremer, *Über die Gedichte des Labyd* (Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie d. Wiss., phil. hist. Cl. 1881), 4.

[3] *Khiz. ad.*, iii, 165.

publishing a whole lot of tribe-dîwâns.[1] Of the latter (in Sukkarî's recension) nothing more than a large part of the *Hudeilite dîwâns* now remains, which owes much to the pains bestowed upon it by that philologian. But about this time, in place of full dîwâns of the tribes, series of selections from this now vast literature begin to give satisfaction. Such a chrestomathy of Ḳabâïl-dîwâns, in addition to his Ḥamâsa, which he arranged according to subject-matter, was put into shape by *Abû Tammâm* (d. 231) in his compilation entitled مختارات اشعار القبائل. But this chrestomathy, often used by the author of the Khizânat al-adab for the purpose of collating verses cited by him, has also not come down to us.

With the disappearance of the immediate interest in the tribal life of the desert, regard for Ḳabâïl-dîwâns more and more vanished in the background. Most of what the tribes preserved from their poets and transmitted to the eager philologians now excited but a limited interest, and this for the most part only in the narrow circle of the members of the respective tribes. Not all that a tribe preserved from its bards stood on a level of poetic vigour and perfection adequate to a wider, less personally interested, universal demand. The redactors of poetical compilations, therefore, came to pick out those classic pieces which won recognition in wider circles, or to select whatever, by reason of its celebrity or because of the historical points of interest attaching to its origin, appeared worthy, over and above the particular fellowship of the tribe, to become the common property of Arab society at large and to be valued in the widest circles as masterpieces of poetry. It is possible that even a large part of the Mufaḍḍaliyyât is only a selection containing the better pieces of various tribe-dîwâns. According to a literary-historical notice, Abu 'Amr al-Sheibânî really became acquainted with the tribe-dîwâns

[1] Twenty-five of these are enumerated in the *Fihrist*, 159, 6–10. Further, 78, 24: وعمل السكّرى اشعار جماعة من الفحول وقطعة من القبائل.

which he afterwards published, from the instruction he received from Al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbî.[1] Such anthologies, in which the best specimens from among the poetical treasures of the tribes were brought together, as well as the ever more firmly crystallizing dîwâns of the *Fuḥûl*, must be placed first among the causes whereby the tribe-dîwâns fell into neglect—later on into actual oblivion. One single collection has been spared this fate through the special care shown it by the transmitters of poetical tradition,[2] it may be because the poetic excellences of its contents entitled it to an exceptionally high place above the general compositions of tribe-poets—I mean the "*Dîwân of the Tribe of Hudeil.*" This work shows us, among other things, that these tribal traditions covered not only the events of the Jâhiliyya period, but extended quite down into the Umayyad epoch, that is to say, well on to the time when activity in making collections of this sort was already under way. With the decay of this literature at once fell into oblivion poets' names which once loudly resounded in the midst of their respective tribes. Compositions likewise disappeared which were once objects of admiration in the camps of Beduin, who haughtily boasted of the deeds of their fellow-kinsmen. Fragments of such poems are still plentifully preserved in the *Nawâdir*-works, now standing without their original context. And many a unique, otherwise unknown, poet's name appearing in the work of Abu Zeid al-Anṣârî, printed in Beirût some two years ago, with the verses thereto attached, was drawn from the Ash'âr al-Ḳabâïl.

Of those tribe-dîwâns whose collection formed the labours of the most important philologians during the second and third centuries A.H., and of which a number, though in only

[1] Abû-l-Barakât al-Anbârî (d. 577), *Nuzhat al-alibbâ' fî ṭabaḳât al-udabâ'* (Cairo, 1294), 121 ult. ويحكى انّه اخذ عن المفضّل الضبّى دواوين العرب وسمعها منه.

[2] *Âġ.*, xxi, 144, 11 ffg.

rare and unique copies, were still to be found as literary rarities three hundred years ago, nothing further is known. For the completion of our acquaintance with the inner life of the various Arab tribes, they would be to us of inestimable value. But like so many other precious portions of the old Arabic literature, they seem to have irretrievably vanished. Only an unexpected turn of fortune, such as favours literary finds in our day, can bring them once more to light from the dark depths of some Oriental library.

## Art. XV.—*A Seljukite Inscription at Damascus.* By Henry Cassels Kay, M.R.A.S.

The Royal Asiatic Society is indebted to the courtesy of the Royal Institute of British Architects for a copy of the article published in its Journal (vol. iv, 3rd ser., Nos. 2 and 3)—a paper read at a meeting of the Society in November last, by Mr. R. Phene Spiers, F.S.A., on the great mosque of Damascus. The paper offers us an historical account of the building, a description of the surviving vestiges of the old temple, and of the Christian Church of St. John the Baptist, including the well-known Greek inscription over the Southern Gateway, particulars on the conversion of the building into a mosque by the Omayyad Khalīfah al-Walīd, of the changes the mosque has undergone during the past period of well-nigh twelve centuries, and last, though not least, it gives us a careful and minute description of the building as it existed previous to the fire of 1893. The numerous plans and drawings with which the paper is illustrated, whilst attracting notice by their beauty, are of no small assistance to the reader in studying the text.

The fire that occurred nearly four years ago is, as is well known, by no means the only one from which the building has suffered. In A.H. 803 (A.D. 1400–1), when Damascus was devasted by Timur-Lang, the mosque was desecrated and set on fire, and nothing, we are told, soon remained of it but bare walls from which roofs, gates, and marble decorations had disappeared.[1] Nearly three centuries and a half before that time, in Sha'bān, A.H. 461 (A.D. 1069), the

[1] These are the words of Ibn Iyās, not, as may be seen, entirely free from exaggeration.

mosque had undergone an equally disastrous fire, of which a record is preserved in Ibn al-Athīr's Chronicles (vol. x, p. 40). It was the result, he says, of a faction fight between the North Africans and Easterns; in other words, between the adherents of the Egyptian Fatimites and the Asiatic Sunnis. The mob, he says, sympathized with the Egyptians, a fact, by the way, not without a certain interest. A house was, in the course of the disturbances, set on fire. The flames rapidly spread to the adjoining mosque, and, in spite of strenuous exertions to save the building, it was reduced to a state of almost complete ruin.

The fire is likewise mentioned in al-Bondārī's abridgment of 'Imād ad-dīn al-Isfahānī's History of the Seljuks, a work to which I shall presently have occasion to make further reference. But beyond bare mention of the fact, the author gives us practically no information. He devotes, it is true, ten printed lines to the subject, and gives us an eloquent description of a raging fire, with the great wealth of words displayed throughout his work, figurative language, paragrams, assonances, and a quotation from the Kur'ān. He does tell us, however, that the evil eye was said to have cast its malignant influences on the beauties of the building, and that suspicion rested on certain officials of the Egyptian Government.

On the occasion of a visit I paid to Damascus in 1875, I copied a Cufic inscription engraved on a slab affixed to one of the piers that supported the dome. The copy was made under certain difficulties. I chose the hour at which the mosque would be most free from the presence of native visitors, but a small group gradually gathered around me. They behaved with perfect good-humour, but they made remarks to one another and kept plying me with questions to which I felt obliged to return an answer. I believe, nevertheless, that in all its essentials the following may be regarded as a faithful copy:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لقد رضى الله عن المؤمنين اذ يبايعونك
تحت الشجرة فعلم ما فى قلوبهم امر بعمل هذه المقصورة و برخام

الاصادر(؟) فى خلافة الدولة العباسية ايام الامام المقتدى بامر الله ابى القاسم عبد الله امير المؤمنين و فى دولة السلطان المعظم شاه نشاه الاعظم سيد ملوك الامم مولى العرب و العجم ابى الفتح ملك شاه بن محمد بن داود يمين (؟) امير المؤمنين و ايام اخيه الملك الاجلّ تاج الدولة و سراج الملّة و سرّ الامّة ابى سعيد تتش بن ملك الاسلام ناصر امير المؤمنين الوزير (؟) الاجلّ السيد العميد فخر المعالى ناصح الدولة عميد الحضرتين ابو نصر احمد بن الفضل من خالص ماله ابتغاً ثواب الله عزّ و جلّ فى شهور سنة خمس و سبعين و اربعمائة

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious. *Verily God was well satisfied with the Faithful when they swore fidelity to thee under the tree. And he knew what was in their hearts.*[1]

The construction of this *Makṣūrah*,[2] and the decoration of the wall-faces with marble, were ordered under the Khalifate of the 'Abbaside dynasty, in the days of the Imām al-Muḳtadi bi amr Illah Abu'l-Ḳāsim 'Abd Allah Prince of the Faithful, and under the rulership of the Great Sultan, the Most Great Shāhinshāh, Lord of the Kings of Nations, Sovereign of Arabs and of non-Arabs, Abu'l-Fatḥ Malikshāh son of Muḥammad son of Da'ūd, the right hand of the Prince of the Faithful, and in the days of his brother the most Illustrious King, the Crown of the State and Lamp of the Faith, the Dispenser of joyfulness unto his people, Abu Sa'īd Tutush son of the King of Islām, Defender of the Prince of the Faithful,—by the most noble Wazīr, Lord and Object of recourse, Glory of exalted Stations, Counsellor of the State, Supporting-pillar of the two great Princes,[3] Abu Naṣr Aḥmad son of al-Faḍl, and paid for out of his righteously acquired property, seeking the reward of God Most High. In the months of the year 475.

[1] Kur., xlviii, 18.
[2] The enclosed space which comprises the *miḥrāb*, or prayer-niche of a mosque.
[3] The designation of *al-Ḥaḍratayn* refers, I take it, either to Malikshāh and Tutush, or to the Khalifah and Malikshāh.

Whether the tablet has survived the fire of 1893 I do not know, but I have reason to hope that information will soon be received on the subject. It occupied a most conspicuous position, and it is difficult to believe that other copies have not been made. M. Waddington copied many Arabic inscriptions in Syria, and in particular at Damascus. A large number, amounting, it would appear, to several hundreds, were in the possession of the late Henri Sauvaire. See his *Description de Damas*, vol. i, p. 37, note 1; p. 57, n. 95; p. 169, n. 248; etc.

Professor Max van Berchem has printed in the *Journal de la Société Asiatique* (vol. xvii, i, p. 421, and xix, i, p. 395) part of an inscription in the Damascus mosque. He speaks of several as existing on the four piers, that which he publishes being one of the number. But he tells us he could reach it only with the help of a ladder. I have no recollection of having seen these. The one I copied immediately faced a spectator standing on the floor of the mosque, the lower edge of the slab, to the best of my recollection, being not more than four, or at the outside five, feet from the ground.

The resemblance between the two inscriptions is very striking. Not only the date, A.H. 475 (A.D. 1082–3), but most also of the phraseology is identical. My reading, I may add, is in almost complete accord with M. van Berchem's. I have, however, سرّ الامّة, where he has read شرف الامم. We have both, it appears, felt doubtful of the word *ibn* in تتش بن ملك الاسلام.

My original transcript in pencil shows that I could perceive only two small vertical strokes. But they clearly represented a short word, and it can hardly be other than بن, as M. van Berchem has read.

His inscription after the words ناصر امير المؤمنين proceeds with . . . . وفى ايام وزارة, which, as he justly remarks, suggest that the name of the celebrated Wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk followed upon that of Tutush. But here, unfortunately, the copy comes to an end. The name Abu

Naṣr Aḥmad, son of al-Faḍl, which may be said to impart its chief interest to the inscription given above, cannot therefore appear.

Ibn al-Athīr (vol. x, p. 445) mentions al-Mukhtaṣṣ Abu Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl, wazīr of Sultan Sinjar, who, he says, attacked, in A.H. 520, the *Bāṭinis* or Ismailites. His troops had orders to slaughter their enemies wherever they could be reached, to plunder their goods, and to capture their women, commands which were fulfilled to the letter. At p. 456, we are told that in the same year the Wazīr was assassinated by the Ismailites. In the wars he made upon them, says the historian, he bore the distinctive marks of goodness as well as of his virtuous purpose, and God bestowed upon him the grant of martyrdom.

The identity we here find, not only in the name Abu Naṣr Aḥmad, but also in that of his father, al-Faḍl, allows little room for doubt that the personage who died in A.H. 520 or 521 is the same as he who restored the Damascus mosque in 475. But it is difficult nevertheless to adopt that conclusion without hesitation. The titles applied to him in the inscription show that at that early date he already occupied a very high official position, one which he can hardly be expected to have attained in early life. The death of Sinjar's wazīr was brought about by violence, and nothing is said to indicate that he was a man of advanced age.

Whilst engaged in a somewhat laborious search for information to supplement the meagre statements of Ibn al-Athīr, Mr. A. G. Ellis reminded me of the texts published by Professor Houtsma on the history of the Seljukites, and in particular of his admirable edition of al-Bondāri. The index of the latter, as Mr. Ellis was good enough to write me, repeatedly mentions al-Mukhtaṣṣ. His full name and titles, as contained in the pages of al-Bondāri are *Mu'īn ad-dīn Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk Abu Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al Faḍl ibn Maḥmūd al-Kāshi.* This last word is written at f° ١٤ القاشى, whilst elsewhere (p. ١٨) we find الكاشى. In the case of

Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk's son, it will be observed that the word is written الكاشانى, whence it may be presumed that the family came originally from Kāshān. But De Guignes, as will be seen, gives the reading *Kaschi*.

The earliest mention of Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk occurs under the reign of Sultan Muhammad and vizirate of Sa'd al-Mulk, who, according to Ibn al-Athīr (vol. x, p. 304), held his office for two years and nine months, until the month of Shawwāl, A.H. 500, when he was put to death by order of the Sultan. Sa'd al-Mulk was one of the many victims of 'Abd Allah al-Khatībi, Ḳāḍi of Isfahān, who by dint of hypocrisy and calumny, of the favour he contrived to acquire with the Sultan, and by accusations of Ismailism, created an intense and ever-widening reign of terror.[1] From al-Bondāri's account it would appear that Sa'd al-Mulk was somewhat unfortunate in his subordinates, almost every-one of whom is described as wanting either in ability or honesty, or both. Several high officials perished along with the wazīr, and Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk was sent for (p. ١٥) and appointed to the important office of *Ṭoghrāy*, or as it may be rendered, State Secretary.[2] This must have been about the year 499 (A.D. 1105–6).

It became a common saying that no one but al-Mukhtaṣṣ was able to escape the malice of al-Khatībi. But that, continues the author (pp. ١٨-١٠), did not long endure. Al-Khatībi contrived to create suspicion of the Secretary's orthodoxy, and consequently of his loyalty, and impressed upon the Sultan—thus suggesting means by which the latter's enemies might be detected—that an Ismailite is known only to his fellows. He found one of the sect living in concealment at Isfahān, and gave him the names of one hundred of the leading officials of the Government, desiring him, with promises of protection and personal safety, to denounce them on being questioned, as

[1] Al-Bondāri, pp. ١١-١٢. See also Houtsma, Preface, pp. xv, xvi. It will be remembered that the Bāṭinites or Ismailites are the men who were known to the Crusaders under the name of *Assassins*.

[2] See Houtsma, Preface, pp. viii, ix.

Ismailites. The man, at al-Khatībi's instigation, was sent for by the Sultan, and gave up the hundred names, among which was that of Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk. The accused were arrested, but, fortunately for them, al-Khatībi's career now came to an end. He was stabbed to death, by whom or under what circumstances is not stated, but the news, we are told, was received with universal rejoicing among high and low. The Sultan's eyes were speedily opened to the deception that had been practised upon him, and thenceforward he ceased, it is added, to listen to charges relating to religious belief, or to credit accusations against Muslims of being allied with the impious professors of *Bāṭinism*.

Certain doubts as to Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk continued, however, to prevail in the Sultan's mind, and led to the former's dismissal from his office of Ṭoghrāy, the highest, remarks the writer, next to the Wazirate, with the exception only of that of *Mustaufi*. He was at the same time deprived of the appointment he likewise held as Wazīr to Kūhir Khatūn, wife of the Sultan.

Ere long he was reinstated in the service, under the Wazīr Khatīr al-Mulk, and he was raised to the office of Mustaufi. Between him and the Wazīr (of whose capacity we have a very unfavourable account) there existed mutual jealousy and enmity, which each did his best to conceal, but neither able to prevail against the other, until the Wazīr turned for aid to Kamāl al-Mulk as-Sumayrami.

The period here spoken of cannot have been long before the Sultan's death, when signs of the decline of his Empire and dynasty were becoming more and more perceptible. Its ablest men had perished; and of its old and capable servants there remained only Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk the Mustaufi and the Kātib Abu Isma'īl al-Iṣfahāni (p. 111). The officials of the court combined against the Mustaufi. The precise means whereby they accomplished their ends are not mentioned, and we are only told the bare facts that he was dismissed from his office and imprisoned, and that a fine was inflicted upon him of 50,000 dināars. He was next made to sign an engagement by which he pledged himself

never so long as he lived to seek office. He was then released, but not without being plundered of all he possessed and reduced to a state of absolute destitution, fortunate, remarks the historian, in escaping with his life. The part taken by Khatīr al-Mulk and Sumayrami in these events is not stated. The former was or had been dismissed by the Sultan, but subsequently reappointed as Ṭoghrāy. As-Sumayrami succeeded Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk as Mustaufi. As to Abu Isma'īl al-Iṣfahāni he was accused of practising magic, and of being the probable cause of the Sultan's illness, and was deprived of his office. The same charge was brought against the Sultan's wife, who was treated with barbarous cruelty, blinded and finally strangled in the prison in which she was confined. Her death and that of the Sultan occurred, we are told, on the same day, the latter end of A.H. 511.

For the next ten years the abridgment of 'Imād ad-dīn's History is silent as to the career and fortunes of Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk, but it tells us that in A.H. 520 he held the office of Wazīr in Khorasān to Sultan Sinjar, and, it is added, that he had joined the sect of the Murji'ites. The Wazīr of Sultan Maḥmud, son and successor of Muḥammad, was at that time Nāṣir ibn 'Aly ad-Dergezīny, who, a Persian peasant by birth, had raised himself to high office, and who made himself notorious, even among the men of his day, for his rapacity, treachery, and cruelty. He knew, says our author, that al-Mukhtaṣṣ watched his conduct with displeasure and apprehension, and, actuated by fear as well as by hatred, he had recourse to the usual means of assassination.[1] He sought and obtained the aid of the Bāṭinites, whose favour he had gained by rendering them a service, which was at the same time an act of treachery to his master. An assassin was found who contrived to be received in Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk's service as *sā'is* or groom. It happened one day that the Wazīr ordered his horses to be brought from the stables for his inspection. The Bāṭinite released

[1] P. ١٥٠-١٥١.

his hold of the horse he was leading, and snatching a dagger he had concealed in the horse's mane, he stabbed his master to the heart. This, we are told, occurred in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, A.H. 521 (A.D. 1127).

The story, as related above, is not in complete agreement with the version given by Ibn al-Athīr (vol. x, p. 456). The latter tells us that al-Mukhtaṣṣ was assassinated by the Ismailites in revenge for the savage warfare he had waged against them. And it is true that at page ٢١٧, al-Bondāri confines himself to saying that the Wazīr was killed by the Ismailites, making no mention of ad-Dergezīny. The event, he there moreover states, occurred on the 29th of the month of Ṣafar. On the preceding page he gives us a list of Sinjar's Wazīrs, from which it appears that Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk received his appointment in A.H. 518.

Al-Bondāri tells us that the Wazīr was eulogized by the Ḳāḍi Abu Bakr al-Arrajāni, and he quotes the commencement of the poem, ending with the following line:—

"And (he, al-Mukhtaṣṣ, hath) fingers to show thee that to the (small and) slender pen belongeth superiority over the quivering lance."

Mukhtaṣṣ al-Mulk appears to have left a son—*Fakhr ad-dīn Abu Ṭāhir*, son of Mu'īn ad-dīn Abu Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl ibn Maḥmūd *al-Ḳāshāny* (p. ٢٢٢). He is mentioned as Wazīr to Sultan Suleymān, brother of Sultan Maḥmūd, who was raised to the throne on the death of Muḥammad; son of Maḥmūd, at the latter end of Dhu'l-Ḳa'dah, A.H. 554.

Suleymān, we are told, was a notorious drunkard—"a (wine-)jar"—a drinker who, when overcome with liquor, would fall prostrate and spend a week in a state of drunken insensibility[1]; and the Wazīr's habits were the same as his master's. The Sultan showed no sign of amendment, and the patience of the high officials was at length exhausted. He was seized and imprisoned in his palace in Shawwāl, A.H. 555 (p. ٢٢٦), and soon after was sent a prisoner to

[1] Ibn al-Athīr (vol. xi, p. 176) says that Suleymān used to commit the double sin of drinking wine, and of doing so by day, in the fast month of Ramaḍān.

the castle of Hamadhān, where poison put an end to his life in Rabī' al-Awwāl, A.H. 556.

Fakhr ad-dīn, it is to be surmised, adopted at least more moderate habits, since we read that Arslān Shah, the successor of Suleymān, appointed him Wazīr (p. ٣٠٠-٣٠١) and that he held the office for several years, until he died. Arslān himself is stated to have died in A.H. 571.

I find no mention in Ṣadr ad-dīn al-Ḥusayni's History (Brit. Mus. Stowe, Or. 7) of al-Mukhtaṣṣ, or of his son Fakhr ad-dīn, nor any allusion to Suleymān's habits of intemperance, a thing that seems all the more strange considering that 'Imād ad-dīn's History was well known to the writer (see Houtsma's Preface to al-Bondāri, p. xxxvi).

De Guignes mentions "Phakhr ad-dīn *Kaschi*," Wazīr of Suleymān Shah (vol. ii, p. 258), but says nothing of his being, like his master, addicted to drink. He tells us that Suleymān, on his accession to the throne, sought to deprive his Wazīr and several other high functionaries of their offices, and he speaks of Fakhr ad-dīn as one of the chief leaders in the conspiracy that led to Suleymān's deposition and death. The sources from which De Guignes has drawn his information are not quite clearly shown.

Further research may fairly be expected to cast light upon what seems for the present a somewhat puzzling historical problem. So far as I am aware, the Damascus inscription is as yet the only record we possess of a man who, in A.H. 475, held high official station under the Seljukite Sultans, and whose name is identical with that of a historical personage of considerably later date. If we arrive at the conclusion that the two were one and the same, we are by no means free from difficulty. Besides others already alluded to, we have to deal with the fact that the son is stated to have died not much less than a hundred years after the time when his father must necessarily have attained the age of mature manhood, a thing which, if not absolutely impossible of acceptance, is, it must be said, in a very high degree improbable.

Professor Houtsma has been good enough to read the proofs of the preceding paper, and has favoured me with his views on the question that arises in connection with the name *Abu Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl.* Professor Houtsma considers the identity of the two personages very improbable. As he most justly remarks, it is almost impossible that a person, Wazīr or not, having the magnificent titles mentioned in the inscription of the year 475, should have been created Ṭoghrāy twenty-five years afterwards, as a first step to the next higher offices of Mustaufi and Wazīr. The identity of name, Professor Houtsma thinks, although very remarkable in this case, cannot outweigh that argument.

The person mentioned in the inscription, he adds, was probably Wazīr of Tutush and *honoris causa* also of Malik Shah, as his designation امير الحضرتين seems to imply. He cannot have been Wazīr to Malikshah, nor to the Khalīfah, Malikshah never having had any other Wazīr than Nizām al-Mulk, and the Wazīrs of the Khalīfah being well known. Only the Wazīrs of Tutush are unknown, but mention of them must occur in the Chronicles of Damascus.

Professor Houtsma adds that he thinks there must be something amiss in the latter part of the inscription. The name *Tutush* with the word بن, he points out, would necessarily be followed by the name of the Prince's father, which may no doubt have been accompanied by the words ملك الاسلام and ناصر امير المؤمنين, although, as he further remarks, it is difficult to explain why the name ملكشاه should be followed by the bare name of his father, "Muḥammad." I felt, indeed, some difficulty with the words *Malik al-Islām*, any doubts being, however, silenced on finding that Professor van Berchem found precisely the same. In reading Professor Houtsma's remarks, it has occurred to me that we may possibly here be dealing with an error committed by the engraver, or by the writer of the MS. copy of the inscription for the engraver's use, whereby the words ملك الاسلام may have been substituted for الب ارسلان.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY. By B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1896.)

This is the first serious attempt at a comprehensive survey of the various forms of the village community throughout the whole of India. The work is well arranged, and the author's industry and impartiality are manifest on every page. The Introduction contains a review of all those physical peculiarities or habits of co-operative cultivation which have influenced permanent location on the land, and also gives an excellent ethnological summary. The account of the village communities among aboriginal tribes is the best I have seen, and the description of the tribal settlements on the Afghan frontier is curious and striking.

One single form of tenure, the *raiyatwāri*, prevails throughout three-fourths of India. Under this system the village is held together by social necessities and the headman's rule, but individuals hold the land in severalty. This village constitution is a primitive one; it is found among the aboriginal Kols and Khonds, as well as among the Hindooized Dravidians and the dwellers of Rajputāna. Traces of it may be found in Oudh and the districts across the Ghogra, and the few exceptions to be found within the *raiyatwāri* region—the Vellālar colonists in Madras, the Nair estates, and the *bhāgdāri* villages of Gujarāt—are capable of historical explanation.

But from Behar to the Afghan frontier, throughout the region longest subject to Mahomedan influences, we find a totally different set of tenures, two of which alone concern

us here. The first represents the territorial settlement of a tribe, or occasionally of a few families which have grown into a clan. The territory is divided into certain great blocks, a block being assigned to each division of the clan; and within the block the arable is divided equally among all the clansmen. The land is theoretically subject to redistribution, and this is occasionally done, although I know of only one recent instance in the North-West Provinces. This method of *bhaiāchārā* tenure is peculiar to certain tribes, Biluchis, Pathans, and others, who (with the doubtful exception of the Rajputs) are not of Indian or Aryan origin at all. It prevails chiefly in the Punjab, and in the North-West Provinces is confined to Rajputs, Goojurs, and Jats. In all these cases the territory, not the village, is the unit, and the land is held for the time at least in complete severalty.

But in the third class of tenures, the *pattidāri*, with its numerous varieties, the village area, the cultivating unit, is ordinarily (not always) coterminous with the estate. The proprietors are peasants; part of the land they have divided and cultivate themselves, or by their tenants; the rest of the arable (if any) with the waste are the joint property of the community. To whatever extent the division of the arable may have been carried, two features are invariable. The shares are held according to ancestral descent, and the common land, whether of the whole village or of the sub-division, is the joint property of the respective co-sharers. Occasionally the process of division has been carried so far that nothing of importance is left to divide, and the village loses its characteristic feature. A large number, perhaps the majority, of these *pattidāri* villages do not go back for more than two centuries; and so far as their history can be traced, they are always the descendants of one or two original proprietors, over-lords, grantees, or colonists.

The *pattidāri* village is the only true type of a village community with collective ownership of the land to be found in Northern India; and it has attracted the special attention of administrators and students. During the early years of

the century it was a constant battleground between the local administrators and the supreme Government: its earliest discoverers sacrificed their appointments to their convictions, and Sir H. Maine says that "the discovery and recognition of its existence have long ranked among the greatest achievements of Anglo-Indian administration." But its value for the history of institutions was not recognized until a much later period. Some thirty or forty years ago a series of brilliant writers for the first time applied the comparative method to historical investigations. It was the age of Darwin, and great generalizations were in the air. Among the most striking of these were the communal family of MacLellan, and the "collective ownership of land which," according to Sir H. Maine, "was a universal phenomenon in primitive societies." And then came the reaction; the method was retained, the results denied. MacLellan is followed by Westermarck, and for Maine and Maurer and Nasse we have Seebohm and F. de Coulanges.

But a long time elapsed before the reaction reached India. Most of the Anglo-Indian writers on the origins of the Indian village community were lawyers in the Presidency towns, like Mayne and Sir J. Phear, and the author of the Tagore lectures for 1874–5; who had an imperfect acquaintance with the facts, and were full of theories derived from Sir H. Maine and H. Spencer. Mr. Baden-Powell, on the other hand, belongs, I might say necessarily, to the reaction. He has firmly grasped two essential facts: first, that the *raiyatwāri* and *bhaiāchārā* tenures are at least as primitive as the *pattidāri*; and secondly, that although the *raiyatwāri* is probably, the *bhaiāchārā* certainly, connected with tribal conceptions of property in land, neither of them has any connection with collective village ownership. But when he discusses the place and origin of the *pattidāri* village, he becomes tentative and vague. Like Sir H. Maine he deduces collective village ownership from the joint family—I will not say Aryan family, because we have the Semitic joint family as well, and the author's

language is often indefinite. Nor is it quite clear whether he regards it as a necessary evolution or a primitive form. He says he cannot find any trace of it in Manu, and he admits that the *raiyatwāri* system probably prevailed under the Hindoo kingdoms of the North-West Provinces prior to the Mahomedan conquest. Now there is no question that the *pattidāri* village was developed from the joint family: the division by ancestral shares puts that beyond dispute. But the real question is, was this a natural development, or was it a development brought about under external pressure? My own belief is, that it was evolved under the pressure of the Mahomedan revenue system. I may point out that it is only found in the region permanently dominated by the Mahomedans; and that it does not exist under purely Hindoo Governments like those of Rajputāna. Its existence cannot be proved prior to the Mahomedan conquest, analogies and survivals being against any such belief. I can show, on the other hand, that it rapidly developed with the introduction of the Mahomedan revenue system; and I trace its origin to Roman ideas of joint fiscal responsibility adopted by the Mahomedan conquerors. The Mahomedan system of land revenue was essentially the same from the Nile to the Ganges; it was based on the Roman census of Syria and Egypt, and it created no less a revolution in the treatment of the land than our English ideas have done. Here, then, I part company with the author altogether.

Mr. Baden-Powell apologizes for mistakes of detail, but these are singularly few, so far at least as the North-West Provinces are concerned. The *arāzidārs* (p. 340) are never to my knowledge ousted proprietors; they are grantees, nominally of the village community, usually of certain members of it, who hold a block out of the village waste for the purpose of paying the revenue. The author favours a suggestion that the Thārus are of Aryan stock (p. 123), but this I think is quite untenable. The Haburas, a criminal tribe of the Upper Doab, claim to be a branch of the Thārus, who bound themselves by a curse never to cultivate when

they were ousted from their seats; and they have many peculiar words in common.

The author remarks with great truth that the joint family is the cardinal distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan; and a sketch of the various forms of the family throughout India might well be included in his ethnological summary, and would increase the interest of any future edition of the work.

J. KENNEDY.

TEXTS AND STUDIES. Vol. IV, No. 2. Coptic Apocryphal Gospels. By FORBES ROBINSON, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1896.)

The Apocrypha published by Mr. Robinson embrace, first, The life of the Virgin; second, The falling asleep of Mary; third, The death of Joseph; fourth, Three fragments which deal with our Lord's public ministry, the most curious being the story of the fishing of the Devil. Revillout and Lagarde have already published several of the texts; but Mr. Robinson has recollated the MSS., added much fresh material, and accompanied the whole with an excellent English translation. The notes display nice grammatical scholarship, and contain a wealth of illustration from Apocryphal and Gnostic sources.

The fragments which relate to the Gospel history are peculiar to the Copts, and occupy a very small part of the book. Two-thirds of it is taken up with the legends of the Virgin, and more than half the remainder with the death of Joseph. These stories must have been very popular with the Copts, to judge by the number of versions; they throw much light on the popular religion, and it is instructive to note their variations from the parallel literature in Latin, Greek, Syriac, or Arabic. The death of Joseph is undoubtedly a story of Egyptian origin; on this point Tischendorf and Mr. Robinson are agreed. The question is whether the story of the Virgin also arose on Egyptian soil, and if not, at what date and from what

quarter was it introduced. On these points Mr. Robinson has not expressed any decided opinion; but I think the question can be solved, and I venture to give my own solution.

It must be admitted at the outset that the Egyptian variations and embellishments embroidered on the current legend are considerable, and our first business is to clear them from the framework of the story. The variations may be attributed to three causes.

I. Egyptian asceticism. The Virgin lives after the most approved ascetic type. The raiment she wore on entering the Temple at three years old grows with her growth, and remains unchanged to the day of her death; she does not plait her hair, or bathe, or use water for her ablutions. She is represented as a mother-abbess surrounded by a troop of holy virgins, living in one house with the Apostles, much after the fashion of those vast Egyptian monasteries where monks and nuns lived under one head in close proximity. Hence the chief variation from the non-Egyptian versions. In them the Apostles are scattered throughout the world, and assemble miraculously the day before the Virgin's death. But the Egyptian imagination had no need of such an incident, since it pictured the primitive church at Jerusalem after the model of a vast monastic establishment.

II. Egyptian ideas of death and Amenti pervade the work and give it most of its peculiar character and local colour. These ideas are of very different kinds, according to the source from which they are derived. From the old Egyptian theology we have the dragon (*ápepi*), the river of fire, the merciless avengers with divers (animal) faces, the powers of darkness, who grind their teeth, and send forth flames from their mouths and slay sinners. All the terrors of the under-world remain, but the old protecting deities are gone. Osiris and Anubis and the children of Horus have vanished before Hellenic philosophy and Christian doctrine. A few ideas of a different order have survived. Death is represented in these Apocrypha as

a necessity, but not a necessary evil; it is in reality the introduction to everlasting life (*'ānch ťetta,' 'anch er ḥeḥ'*). The crux *ansata*—the hieroglyph of life—is engraved on the Christian stelae, and the Christians buried their dead to face the East. In these Apocrypha Christ ascends from the Mount of Olives with His face to the East, and Mary turns to the East to die. Here, then, two ideas have survived which remind us of the earliest times.

Other ideas are derived from folklore or from Christianity. The difficulty which Death experiences in persuading the soul to quit the body, appears to me more especially a pure bit of folklore. It is a popular belief (in India at least) that the purity, and consequently the fate, of the soul depends greatly on the mode of its exit from the body; hence the objection to hanging. But the idea is exemplified in the legend of the Virgin (and still more in the death of Joseph, and the quotations given in the notes) in unparalleled variety and detail.

Lastly, Christianity has introduced the angelology, the personifications of death, Amenti, and the devil, the palms, the tree of life, and many other things. Sometimes the old and the new are intermixed; for instance, Death has his treasure-house in the south, the region of Set or Typhon.

III. The story has been materially altered to suit a special theological dogma. An anathema is pronounced more than once on all who say that the Virgin was taken up in her body into heaven without tasting of death. Death is not an evil: it is a necessity for all men: Christ died: Enoch and Elias have still to die: and without separation of soul and body there is no entrance into the spirit world. Equal stress is laid on the concealment and preservation of the body in a place unknown to all. These ideas are peculiarly Egyptian, and the Copts therefore, differing from their neighbours, have agreed to interpose a considerable time between the death of Mary and the assumption of her body, although north and south differed among themselves as to what that interval of time should be.

If we omit the variations due to these three classes of ideas, we shall find the main facts of the legend unchanged; and there is nothing in them to imply that the legend first arose in Egypt. Indeed, there are one or two *a priori* reasons for an opposite opinion. But before I discuss the date of the rise of the legend in Egypt, and its origin, I must say a few words of the relative chronology of the various versions.

We have four accounts of the death of the Virgin. The three last also deal with the assumption.

A. A fragmentary Sahidic account, pp. 24–41, which Mr. Robinson has treated as part of the Virgin's life. If it be so, the fact argues a late date, since in Greek and Latin the childhood of the Virgin and her death form distinct works. It is not certain (but probable) that the writer knew of the assumption.

B. A Bohairic account ascribed to Evodius, pp. 44–67.

C. A Sahidic account—a fragment, pp. 67–89.

D. A second Bohairic account ascribed to Theodosius, pp. 99–127. This is diffuse and rhetorical, and a spoken homily as it professes to be.

B and C are closely allied, and agree in the earlier parts verbatim; B appearing to be a mere amplification of C. In the latter part they differ, B following the Bohairic and C in the main the Sahidic tradition. C and D appear also to have adopted some non-Egyptian ideas. For instance, the body of Mary is buried, according to C, under the tree of life in the midst of Paradise. The nearest parallel appears to be the grave which the angels dig in Paradise for Adam and Abel (vide Apocalyp. Mosis, v. 40: cf. Liber. Joh. de dorm. Mariae, v. 48).

We have, then, three free and independent workings up of the same material, A, C (B), and D. And we may classify them by two criteria: first, the comparative naturalness and simplicity of the incidents; second, their ecclesiastical character. These criteria will give a provisional chronology. The Copts, like the Pharaohs, had no historical conscience; they sacrificed everything, says

Amélineau, to edification, and edification meant the exaggerated and miraculous. We may assume, then, that with them the latest tale is ordinarily the most wonderful. The ecclesiastical tone is also an important note of time. Judged by these texts, A must be the earliest and B the latest of the group. D appears to be intermediate, for although it combines incidents found in A (e.g. Mary's premonitory vision) with others found in D (our Lord's appearance on the day before her death), yet it is much more miraculous and ecclesiastical than A, much less so than B. The chronological sequence would then appear to be A, D, C, and B. This agrees with the few chronological indications I discover in them.

And now to fix the earliest and the latest date. I take B to be the last of the versions, and the only note of time in it I can find is contained in the elaborate simile with which it opens. The details are Byzantine throughout down to the feast given to the prisoners; there is no trace of anything Mahomedan. Mr. Robinson remarks that the number of Greek words is unusually large, and there are a number of official titles—tribunus, comes, eparch, dux, signifer, buccinator. But we know that Arabic became the common language of Lower Egypt (where this text was written) within a century of Amru's conquest, and official terms would be the first to drop out of popular use and recollection. We cannot be far wrong in fixing 700 A.D. as the latest date for this text, and it may have been a century earlier. With this the superscription of text D agrees. That is said to be the text of a sermon delivered by Abba Theodosius in the year he died; and it is believed that he died in 567 or 568 A.D. (p. 215).

On the other hand, we can fix an anterior limit for the rise of the legend. Schnoudi—the greatest of Egyptian monks according to Amélineau—was a seer of visions beyond all men; and had the legend of the Virgin been known to him, Schnoudi would certainly have used it. But Schnoudi only once mentions her, and his vision is unconnected with the legend. It is given by Amélineau,

"Vie de Schnoudi," pp. 346–7. Amélineau continues—"C'est la seule fois que, dans la vie de Schnoudi, il soit fait mention de la vierge Marie. Cependant il était allé à Ephèse en 431 avec le patriarche," etc. Here, then, we can trace an anterior limit.

But it is possible to date the Sahidic life of Mary (of which A forms a part) much more closely. We have two clear indications of the date. First, when it was written, the Coptic Church had already adopted the 21st Tobi for the festival of the Virgin's death, but there was no agreement regarding the date of her birth. The writer puts it on the 15th Hathor (November 11), and enters into an obscure argument on the subject. The Coptic Church adopted successively the 7th September and the Kalends of May for the *festa* (p. 190). This Sahidic version must have therefore been composed when the legend was new. Second, there is a remarkable expression on pp. 16–17, Frag. ii, B verse 6. It is there said that Christ the king was born to defeat the barbarians. The barbarians are here considered as the equivalent for pagans. Now the usual ethnological term for pagans was Hellenes, both in Greek and Coptic. Thus we read that the parents of S. Pakhomius were Hellenes (Amélineau, "Vie de S. Pakhôme," p. 2), and another example may be found in the quotation on p. 225, note 13. In Greek, examples may be found from S. Athanasius to Justinian. When this monk of the Thebaid employs the term barbarians instead of Hellenes, he must have lost all memory of Egyptian paganism, and the only heathen he can have known were the Nubians and the allied tribes of the desert. But the Nubians were converted to Christianity *en masse* under Justinian, and at least three generations from Theodosius must be postulated for such a complete disappearance of idolatry from its last stronghold in Upper Egypt. We cannot, therefore, date this version much before 500 A.D., or later than, say, 530 A.D. If we further allow sufficient time for the story to become popular in Alexandria and to travel to the Thebaid, we

shall probably be near the mark in ascribing the introduction of the story to the last two decades of the fifth century.

If this conjecture be correct, the story must have had a foreign origin, and the indications point to Rome. First, the only non-scriptural names are Latin, Macrinus, and Birrus. Birrus is probably equivalent to Verus, since the Egyptians often change the Latin *v* into a Coptic *b*. Second, the 21st Tobi is equated with 20th January. Third, the recollection of a Latin origin may have led the author of B to make Evodius the successor of Peter in the see of Rome.

The legends of the Virgin's childhood and death were popular in Rome and the Orient at the end of the fourth century—100 years before they took root in Egypt—and if rejected by the Church, they had influenced Christian art. Their popularity and perhaps some part of their invention (the Protevangelium Jacobi excepted) may have been due to the visitation of the holy sites of Palestine made fashionable by S. Helena. The "speluncam subter caverna" of Ps. Mat. xiii, is an exact description of the double cave under the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. In the Liber. Joh. de dorm. Mariae, the Virgin prays, according to her custom, at the Holy Sepulchre. In another version she visits all the holy places (Tischendorf, "Apocol. Apocryph.," Proleg., xliii). When the author of "Transitus Mariae B." makes the "dextram partis civitatis" (Jerusalem) the East (chap. viii), he is using an orientation which was not Roman in the fourth century. The Protevangelium Jacobi, on the other hand, according to Tischendorf, dates back to the second century, and its main purpose clearly was to refute the Jews, Ebionites, and other Syrian heretics, who denied the Incarnation. But its stories appear to have had little circulation until the Palestinian dragomen seized upon them for the benefit of pious tourists. However that may be, I think it is evident that the story did not arise in Egypt, and the favourite heroine of the Egyptians down to the fifth century was certainly not the Virgin, but Mary Magdalene.

J. KENNEDY.

A Record of the Buddhist Religion, as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695). By I-Tsing. Translated by J. Takakusu, B.A., Ph.D. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1896.)

Students of Buddhism have long wished for a translation of the great work by I-Ching (I-Tsing) on Buddhism as he found it in practice in India and the islands of the "Southern Sea." In the treatise before us, Dr. Takakusu has provided such a translation, and enriched it with much pertinent and useful information. He has evidently taken great pains with his work, and devoted to it serious and continued study. The book will be hailed with gratitude by all who are interested in the practical working of Buddhism among its professed adherents in the seventh century.

Dr. Takakusu's work is prefaced by a letter to him from the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller. This is followed by a General Introduction from the translator. The Introduction gives us a short account of I-Ching's School, the Mūlasarvāstivada, and of I-Ching's description of the Buddhist schools as they existed at his time. It gives next a very interesting account of the life and travels of the author, notes on some of the important geographical names in the treatise, its date, and tables of several literary men and Buddhist teachers of India mentioned in the Record. This last is in forty chapters, of which the fortieth should be regarded as a sort of appendix. The work is furnished with a map, and there are Additional Notes and an Index.

The title of I-Ching's book is "Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei-nei-fa-Chuan," which is here translated "A Record of the Inner Law sent home from the Southern Sea" (Introduction, p. xviii). The book is written in the terse, suggestive style so much affected by Chinese authors. It has also difficulties of its own, resulting from a peculiar use of certain terms and phrases. He would be a rare scholar, native or foreign, who could correctly interpret

all its hard passages. Our translator has endeavoured to give a faithful and intelligible version, and he has succeeded fairly well. It was not possible, however, for the work to be perfect, and there seem to be numerous passages in it in which the meaning of the author has been missed or imperfectly rendered. The translator has also impaired the usefulness of his book by a distribution into paragraphs which seems to be often haphazard, and by the neglect to give the actual sounds or characters for foreign words and technical terms used by his author.

I-Ching's own Introduction begins with a passage which is an abstract of the account of the origin of man as related in a Chinese translation of a Buddhist book. The account is there given with the view of teaching the priority and superiority of the Kshatriyas to the other castes. This fact seems to have been unknown to our translator, and consequently he has failed to catch the meaning of the passage. The author begins by referring to the time when our system of worlds had been renewed, when "all creatures had been made, but as yet there was no gradation of men," that is, caste did not exist. For the words within inverted commas the translation has, "When all things were created, there was as yet no distinction between animate and inanimate things."[1] But *jên-wu* (人物) cannot be made to mean "animate and inanimate things." It means *mankind*, or it may denote "men and [other] creatures." The author proceeds to describe the void expanse of the world as transparent without sun and moon, the inhabitants retaining their celestial light, as he states; the earth had a calm exemption from human vicissitudes, as *there was no distinction of sexes*. The words in italics are for the original *yin-yang-mo-pien*, which our translator renders "there was no difference between positive and negative principles." This also is an utterly impossible rendering. The primeval forefathers of man, some time after their descent from the Brahmaloka

[1] The original is 百億已成尚無人物之序.

to this earth, learned to subsist on an unctuous dewy substance which the surface of the earth produced naturally. This substance is called by the author *ti-fei, earth's fat,* but in the translation we have "the fatness of the earth," a very different thing.

Turning over to p. 2, we find this sentence: "Thereupon the mountains stood firm, the stars were scattered above, and the inanimate beings spread and multiplied." This sentence, as the Chinese text shows, ought to begin a new paragraph. It means something like this: "Thereupon men of eminence appeared occasionally, and man spread rapidly."[1] The author has come down in his review of man's history to the time when great men appeared here and there and from time to time, and when men had grown and spread so much as to have ninety-six different creeds of philosophy and religion. That Dr. Takakusu translates *han-ling, intelligent creatures,* that is, man, by "inanimate beings," must be by a slip of the pen.

Passing over many very interesting passages which are generally rendered fairly well, we come to chap. xiii. The title of this chapter is given by the translator as "Consecrated Grounds," a phrase which at once arrests our attention. The Chinese is Chie-Ching-ti-fa (結淨地法), or "The methods of determining clean sites (or grounds)." By "clean sites" is meant *grounds which the Buddhist brethren might lawfully use,* and *Chie* is the technical term used to render the Sanskrit word for *appoint, determine, establish.* Here, however, the term *Ching-ti* is used to translate the Sanskrit Kalpya (in Pali, Kappiya)-bhūmi, which also means *lawful site.* It has also the derived and technical sense of a *monastic kitchen* or *store-room.* In other places I-Ching, instead of *clean sites,* uses the phrases *clean kitchen* and *clean kitchen-grounds.* According to the Mahāvagga of the Pali Vinaya, the Kappiya-bhūmi was a vihāra outside the Arāma in which food

[1] The text is 於是岳峙星分含靈蔓蒞. I quote from the new Japanese edition of the Chinese Buddhist Books.

could be kept and cooked, and drugs stored for use without violating the precepts. The kitchen (or store) on the site chosen could be a vihāra, or a large or small house, or a cave. According to I-Ching, there were five (according to the Pali Vinaya, four) kinds of "clean sites." The first is called Ch'i-hsin-tso (起心作), which our translator renders "the ground consecrated by an individual's vow of building a monastery on the spot." But the words mean simply "made from an expression of mind (or intention)," and the phrase is explained. At the erection of a monastery, if the Brother superintending, as soon as the stone foundations are laid, should utter his mind thus—"This vihāra or house is to be the clean kitchen for the brethren," that place becomes a *clean site.* The second kind is that determined by the action of not less than three Bhikshus. The third kind of "clean site" is called *Ju-niu-wo,* "Like an ox lying asleep." There is no fixed position for the doors in the buildings on such sites, and the buildings are "like an ox lying down"; *no formal ceremony is used for such sites, the place making the site lawful.* The sentence in italics is in Dr. Takakusu's version—"Such a building, though it has never been consecrated by a rite, is considered pure (sacred)."[1] But the author's meaning is that no rite is required, and the site, not the *building,* is considered clean of itself. This phrase "ox lying-down site" apparently represents the Pali gonisādika which Mr. Rhys Davids translates *ox-stall.* But I-Ching was evidently taught to use the word in its literal sense of "ox lying-down." And a site with this name is well known in China as a very lucky one, especially for a parent's grave. It is a quiet sheltered nook generally on the lower slope of a hill, and a well-sheltered spot is perhaps all that is meant by gonisādika and "like an ox lying down." The fourth site is that of an abandoned vihāra, and the fifth is one set apart by a formal act.

[1] The Chinese is 縱使無 (read 元) 不作法此處即成其淨.

When there is a "clean ground" set apart in any of these five ways the brethren have the twofold enjoyment of "cooking within and storing without, and storing within and cooking without." Here the words *within* and *without* refer to the limits of the brethren's establishment. In the rest of this chapter the important word for *boundary* or *limit* occurs several times, and Mr. Takakusu either leaves it untranslated or renders it wrongly by "spot" or "place." Thus he translates *wei-chie-i-chie* (未結衣界), *if the boundaries as to garments have not been determined*, by "without consecrating the place to protect the purity of one's garments." Then the phrase *hu-su* (護宿) is rendered by "protecting the sleeping-place (against any evils)," but it means "to observe the rules as to spending a night." Again, the words *hu-i-chi-fa-chie* are translated "in the lawful spots for protecting the purity of garments," instead of "as to the boundaries for the observance of formal acts as to garments." The author adds that there are trees and other objects to mark the boundaries, and he does not say as in Mr. Takakusu's translation "there are differences between the places under trees (or in a village), etc."

Space is limited, and I must be content to refer to only one more matter in this very interesting book. At pages 158, 181, and 186, we have mention of a great Buddhist poet and philosopher. Mr. Takakusu writes the name of this man *Jina*, and the Chinese characters are *Ch'ên-na* (陳那). The origin of this identification is to be found in M. Julien's "Mémoires," etc., vol. ii, p. 106 and note. M. Julien afterwards discovered that he had here made a mistake, and wished to have the note on the word expunged. But the wrong identification of the word has remained. The P. W. took it up and gives Jina as a Buddhist philosopher; Beal, Eitel, Bunyio, Chavannes, with childlike simplicity, all accepted it, and Kern and others followed their example.

Now the word Jina occurs both in the Records of Yuan-chuang and in his Life, and neither there nor in any

other place is it transcribed by the above characters. What was the value of the first of these characters should have been well known to Julien from its frequent occurrence in Indian proper names. Thus, in the name of the great disciple Ajnātā-Kaundinya (in Pali, Kondiñña) the syllable *din* is commonly transcribed by this character 陳 now read Ch'ên, but formerly pronounced *din*. Thus we get Dinna as the name of the great author in question. That this was the sound given by Yuan-chang, is plain from the Life and the Records. In the former the name is translated by *Shou* (授), which like *dinna* means *given*. In the Records the name is translated by *Tung-shou, given by the youth*, that is, inspired by Manjuśri Kumāra-bhūta. But this interpretation of the name is fanciful and must be abandoned.

Now we learn that Ch'ên-na is short for Ch'ên-na-ka, that is Dinnaka, the Sanskrit Diṅnāga. Then Yuan-chuang and I-Ching represent Dinna as a great writer on the science of causes, *Yin-ming*, but no book on this subject is to be found among those under Dinna's name in the Catalogue of Buddhist Books. If, however, we turn to this Catalogue (see Bunyio, Nos. 1223, 1224) we find a book entitled "Yin-ming-chêng-li-mên-lun" ascribed to an author called "Ta-yü-lung-P'usa," that is, Great District Dragon P'usa. Now "District Dragon" is in Sanskrit Diṅnāga, "Elephant of the quarters," the Din-na-ka of the Chinese transcription. Mr. Takakusu, not having noticed Nanyio's correction, wrongly gives Nāgārjuna as the author of the above treatise. Now we find this treatise ascribed to Dinna, and it is evidently the sixth of the eight books by him on philosophy according to I-Ching's enumeration. Thus the Dinna of our author and other Chinese writers is evidently the Dignāga of Wassiljew's *Der Buddhismus* and Schiefner's Tāranātha and the *Diṅnāga of Hindu philosophy*. He was a Brahman by birth, but was converted to Buddhism by Nāgadatta; he was a hymn-writer, scholar, and dialectician, a disciple of Vasubandhu and an opponent of Kapila's system, a Yogist, and a Mahāyānist in

Buddhism. He was evidently a man of great distinction and celebrity, and he is generally cited as *Dinna P'usa*.

T. W.

AVESTA: THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE PARSIS. Edited by KARL F. GELDNER. Published under the patronage of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1885–1896.)

The completion of this revised edition of the Avesta texts is an event of considerable importance to the Parsis, and to Avesta students in general, as they will see when they begin to study the Prolegomena. In the first place, the editor, himself probably the most competent Avesta scholar that has yet arisen, bears testimony to the admirable accuracy and completeness of the work of his predecessor Westergaard, who, so far as the manuscripts accessible to him were concerned, had left little or nothing for his successor to amend. And, secondly, the Parsi priesthood and others, with wise and confiding liberality, intrusted the German Foreign Office with many of their most valuable manuscripts for the use of the editor. We have, therefore, his assurance not only that the first edition was practically the best that could have been prepared from the materials available in 1854, but also that the best further materials, that were then inaccessible, have now been utilized for the revised edition. Altogether 134 MSS., which have been used in preparing this edition, are described, and about half of them had never been previously examined by any European scholar.

The general arrangement of the various texts and their division into chapters and paragraphs remain practically as Westergaard settled them, though occasionally a paragraph, composed entirely of Avesta phrases quoted by the Pahlavi translators, has been omitted in the Vendidad, because it forms no part of the Avesta text. All metrical passages are also now arranged in metrical lines; whereas, in the former edition, this arrangement was practically confined

to the Gāthas, the only part of the texts that seems to have been recognized as poetical by the Parsis themselves. It is, however, in the great increase of variants and their systematic arrangement, that the Avesta scholar will find his wants most fully considered; so much so, that a personal inspection of the original MSS. will usually be as superfluous as it might be impracticable and perplexing. The extent of the critical apparatus in the new edition, as compared with the old one, may be roughly estimated at seven times as much in the Yasna, thrice as much in the Yashts, and twice as much in the Vendidad. And the average number of words amended by the present editor seems to be about one in eleven, varying from one in six to one in thirty-three in different chapters; but by far the greater number of such alterations are merely slight amendments in orthography.

The Prolegomena give an exhaustive account of the MSS. that have been used, their mutual relationship, and the means by which this has been ascertained. There are four classes of MSS. which contain the Avesta text of the Yasna; these are the Yasna with Pahlavi, the Yasna with Sanskrit, the Yasna Sāda, which is purely the Yasna Avesta, and the Vendidad Sāda, which consists of the intermingled Avesta texts of the three books, Yasna, Visperad, and Vendidad, arranged as a liturgy for use in the Vendidad ceremonial. The three classes of MSS. which contain the Avesta text of the Visperad are the Visperad with Pahlavi, the Visperad Sāda, which is purely the Visperad Avesta, and the Vendidad Sāda as before. The Visperad itself is only a collection of supplementary paragraphs to be added to, or inserted between, certain chapters of the Yasna when used in the Visperad or Vendidad rituals. Finally, the two classes of MSS. which contain the Avesta text of the Vendidad are the Vendidad with Pahlavi and the Vendidad Sāda.

Some particulars about the MSS. of chief authority are interesting In 1854 Westergaard knew of only one Yasna with Pahlavi, brought from Bombay to Copenhagen by Rask in 1820, and completed at Cambay by Mitrō-āpān

(= Mihrbān), an Iranian priest, on November 17, 1323. In 1863 Haug saw a similar Yasna with Pahlavi in the library of a Dastur, who presented it to the Bodleian in 1889; it was written at the same place as the Copenhagen MS., and by the same priest, who completed it on January 26, 1323.

While collating a copy of the same text, reported to have been written about 1780, the editor noticed many words which not only differed from those in the two old MSS. before mentioned, but often seemed preferable; this modern copy, however, contained no colophon, or date, to give a clue to its origin. After a time, a second copy, with all the same characteristics, was sent to the editor from another library; one of these characteristics was a Pahlavi introduction, five pages long, which seemed to consist of laudatory epithets and religious exhortations; but, on closer inspection, a few lines in the middle of the introduction were found to contain some names which practically gave the history of the text back to about A.D. 1020.

This introduction was composed for an Iranian Yasna with Pahlavi, copied by a priest Hōshāng (known to have been living at Sharafābād in 1478) from a copy, written about 1290 by a grandfather of the aforesaid Mitrō-āpān, which descended—through an intermediate MS. copied by a priest Māh-panāh about A.D. 1200—from a copy made (about 1110) by a priest Farnbag, who combined the Avesta and Pahlavi from two independent MSS., one of which was written by a copyist who transcribed another MS. in 1020. Thus, the MS. of 1478 has descended from those about 1020 through three intermediate copies, and the MSS. of Mitrō-āpān have probably descended from Māh-panāh's MS. (about 1200) through one intermediate copy.

The Hōshāng MS. has not been found, but a third copy of it exists in Bombay, besides a fourth copy of its Avesta text completed in Persia on May 23, 1721.[1] From these

[1] Its colophon reckons the date from the *death* of Yazdakard, which would make it equivalent to May 18, 1741; but there are reasons for believing that this era was already obsolete when this colophon was written.

four copies, three of which are certainly independent of each other, the exact text of Hōshāng's MS. can be very accurately ascertained; unfortunately, their importance, as representing an independent line of transmission of the Yasna text, was not fully recognized until after that text was in type; the editor has therefore given many additional variants, which they supply, in his Prolegomena, pp. xxv–xxix. As a contrast to this numerous family of copies, it may be mentioned that the editor has met with only one copy of the Copenhagen Yasna with Pahlavi, and none of the Bodleian one.

Of the Yasna with Neryosangh's Sanskrit version, the editor has used two old MSS., hitherto unknown to Europeans, and has met with five descendants of one of them. The two old MSS. are independent and undated, but both may have been written about A.D. 1500. The time when Neryosangh flourished has not been reported, but there are records of the number of priestly generations that have passed away since his time, and in one family the average duration of nineteen successive generations has been clearly ascertained to have been rather more than 24 years.[1] From these data it has been calculated that Neryosangh may have been born about A.D. 1160; so that A.D. 1200 would be an approximate date for his Sanskrit version. It appears, moreover, that his translation ends with Yas. xlvii, though a later hand has continued it to Yas. liv, and some further additions have been afterwards made; but the Sanskrit version of the Yasna is still incomplete.

There is no doubt that Neryosangh translated from a Yasna with Pahlavi, and most probably from another copy of Farnbag's MS. (about 1110), an elder sister of Māh-panāh's MS. (about 1200). It is therefore evident that the modern copies of Hōshāng's Yasna with Pahlavi,

[1] It should, perhaps, be noticed that the natural effect of early marriage, in reducing the interval between successive generations, is very much counteracted by the practice of aged fathers, who have lost their sons, adopting youthful relatives to replace them.

when compared with the two old Yasnas with Sanskrit, ought to supply a very close approximation to the Avesta text of the first three-fourths of the Yasna current in A.D. 1100.

Of the Vendidad with Pahlavi, there are two very old MSS.—one at the India Office in London, the other at Copenhagen; both have lost many folios, and others are seriously damaged, so that little more than half the original text of the former, and one-third of the latter, are legible. Both these MSS. were written by Mitrō-āpān, the same priest that wrote the two old Yasnas with Pahlavi. The Copenhagen MS. was completed at Cambay on May 17, 1324, and was copied from the MS. of Mitrō-āpān's great-great-uncle, whose undated colophon is transcribed, as well as that of a still earlier copy which was completed on May 10, 1205, in the province of Sagastān, from the MS. of the priest Hōmāst, for the purpose of being sent to the Parsis at Aūcak (Uch), near the Indus, in the care of a priest returning thither, after staying six years in Sagastān for religious instruction. The London MS. has long lost its colophon, but a copy of it has been found in a Bombay transcript made in 1787–8; from this it appears that the London MS. was completed at Naosāri on August 28, 1323, and that it contained copies of the same two colophons of earlier copyists as still exist in the Copenhagen MS.

Thus we find that existing MSS. record the descent of the Vendidad with Pahlavi, step by step, from the twelfth century, as fully as they record that of the Yasna with Pahlavi from the tenth century. It appears, further, from Mitrō-āpān's Pahlavi and Sanskrit colophons, that the two old Yasnas and two old Vendidads, with Pahlavi, were written at the expense of a Parsi layman of Cambay, Cāhil, son of Sangan, recently deceased, as a meritorious work on his account.

The Sāda or purely Avesta MSS., arranged for the Yasna, Visperad, or Vendidad ritual, are seldom more than two centuries old. But three Yasna Sādas, written in 1660, 1551, and about three centuries ago, respectively,

were examined; as well as three Vendidad Sādas, written in 1681, 1638, and 1618, respectively; and one Visperad Sāda, with a colophon written at Ankalēsar by the great-great-uncle of Mitrō-āpān, which has a date corresponding to December 28, 1278, but whether this colophon be original, or copied, cannot now be ascertained with absolute certainty.

Regarding the Khorda Avesta, or minor prayer formulas, and the Yashts, it will be sufficient to mention that very nearly all the Yasht MSS. have descended from a single existing MS., written at Naosāri and completed on January 21, 1591, N.S.; and the remainder can be traced back to a predecessor of this, not much older. Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian versions of many of the prayer formulas, and of four of the Yashts, are in existence; but there are no such versions of the other Yashts in the MSS. examined. It may also be noticed that the very corrupt Vishtāsp Yasht and Fragments have been reserved for future publication.

In his remarks (pp. xlvi–lii) upon the method which he has followed in reconstructing the text, the editor has adopted the very sensible view that his sole duty was to restore it, if possible, to the state in which it was left by its final Sasanian redaction. To go beyond this, and attempt to distinguish between what is Sasanian and what is older, would be a hopeless undertaking, as he justly observes. Any such attempt would be completely controlled by the personal views and prejudices of the inquirer; for the Avesta texts have few, if any, real points of contact with external events later than their own legends, which practically end with the sons and contemporaries of Vishtāsp. A few additional names seem to have been added to the list of human Fravashis to be commemorated, and some corruptions have crept into the texts themselves. To remove these corruptions, so far as he could discover them, has been the task which the editor has not only admirably performed, but he has also accumulated abundant materials, with which others may

try to improve his work, when they consider it necessary to do so. With his remarks about the excellence of the work done by his publisher and compositor, all Avesta scholars will fully agree.

As Professor Geldner, while editing these Avesta texts, has been compelled to read and carefully consider every word they contain, over and over again, he must be better acquainted with their statements and peculiarities than any other scholar; and it is, therefore, to him we should apply with the greatest confidence for an opinion as to the probability of Darmesteter's hypothesis that the Gāthas were composed in the first century A.D. under Gnostic influence.

In Geldner's essay on Avesta Literature in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. ii, p. 39, he has stated his opinion, without going into an exhaustive criticism of the hypothesis, that the contents of the Gāthas differ totally from Gnosticism; though it must be admitted that there is a certain resemblance between their Vohu-manō and the λόγος θεῖος of Philo. But it is evident that the Vohu-manō could not have been borrowed from Philo, because Strabo certifies the worship of the Persian sacred being Omanos (=Vohu-manō), and had himself seen the solemn procession of the images of Omanos. So that the original abstract idea of Vohu-manō, 'good-thought,' had already become personified in the time of Strabo. But Strabo travelled in Asia Minor before B.C. 29, whereas Philo was born in B.C. 20. So, if there be any connection between the Persian Vohu-manō and the λόγος of Philo, it must have been Philo who was the borrower.

E. W. West.

The Original Hebrew of a portion of Ecclesiasticus (xxxix, 15, to xlix, 11). Edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.)

If the interest felt by the public in Old Hebrew literature were as keen as that which they take in Greek

antiquities, this publication should, like Mr. Kenyon's "Constitution of Athens," have been heralded by a leader in the *Times* and followed by reviews in both Quarterlies. What notice the Quarterlies will take of it, remains to be seen; it is clear that the Dailies do not think such a discovery as Dr. Neubauer's worth communicating to their readers with any great dispatch. Nevertheless, that discovery is one of the most remarkable and interesting that could be made in the whole field of lost literature. Since the time of Jerome the Christian Church has had to depend on translations for its text of Ecclesiasticus, a book which the greater part of Christendom has always regarded as canonical, while even Protestant communities allow it to be read in public worship. Only in recent times, however, with the commencement of the critical study of the Biblical documents and the Hebrew language, has the loss of the original been keenly felt. The scholar, or scholars, who have had the good fortune and the skill to recover a portion of it are deserving of the heartiest congratulations.

Great commendation must also be bestowed on the way in which Messrs. Neubauer and Cowley have performed their delightful task. They have steered a middle course between doing too little and too much. They have reproduced the text without emendation, but have published with it an accurate translation, and all the materials required for a critical study of it. A glossary to the newly discovered text has been added by the experienced hand of Professor Driver. Dr. Neubauer's name has before this been connected with finds of great consequence for the study of the Semitic languages; if, as I fancy, this is the first work which bears Mr. Cowley's name on the title-page, he commences his career as an author very auspiciously.

The Greek translation of the book is, if the translator speaks truly, the work of the author's grandson; as he is likely to have possessed either his grandfather's autograph, or at any rate an accurate copy of the book, in many ways this translation remains the primary authority for it.

notwithstanding the discovery of part of the original; and the recovered text shows that the translation, though occasionally unintelligent, was literally faithful. On the other hand, the Hebrew shows unmistakable signs of having undergone systematic recension; the margins of the first five leaves are crowded with variants, some of which, as the editors observe, agree better with the Greek than the text. These variants are sometimes concerned with trivial matters such as orthography; but more frequently they record important differences of reading, or of language. In such cases the antiquity of the Greek version should ordinarily make us regard the reading which agrees with it as the more trustworthy.

It is to be regretted that the marginal notes stop where they do, as there are some interesting questions which they might have helped towards solution. In xlviii, 17, the Greek states that "Hezekiah fortified his city, and brought the Gog into the midst"; the recovered text with the Syriac has for *Gog* simply *water*. If there be any truth in the canon *difficilior lectio potior*, the reading *Gog* must here be the more original. In xlii, 22*b*, the Greek has a hemistich, "and they are as of a spark to behold." The Hebrew is deficient; but the difficulty of the phrase shows it to be genuine. Another place in which the recovered text is tantalizing is xlviii, 12, where the Greek has (of Elijah)—"Happy are they that have seen thee and are adorned in love; for we, too, shall assuredly live." The new text stops at the words "that have seen thee," leaving the rest of the passage as problematic as it was before.

While the reviser's task consisted partly in substituting easy phrases for hard ones, he would seem to have substituted in places Hebrew words for Aramaisms which Ben-Sira employed to an extent which is extraordinary, and (if I may differ from the editors) unparalleled in the Old Testament. A comparison of the recovered text with the ancient versions will probably reveal other Aramaisms which at present lie concealed. One such case may be

noticed. In xlii, 9, a daughter is said to be (according to the Greek) a "hidden sleeplessness" to her father; *θυγάτηρ πατρὶ ἀπόκρυφος ἀγρυπνία*; this in a Rabbinical quotation appears as a "vain treasure," for which the newly discovered Hebrew substitutes "a deceptive treasure" (מטמונת שוא Rabb., מטמונת שקר MS.). The following clause, "the care of her putteth away his sleep," would seem to be in favour of the Greek rendering; nor, indeed, does the expression "a vain treasure" or "a deceptive treasure" convey a clear sense. An Aramaic word for sleeplessness is שהר, and it seems probable that this is what stood in the original text; the letters ק and ה in many forms of writing are difficult to distinguish. The phrase, however, should have been rendered "a treasure requiring vigilance," not "a hidden sleeplessness." The history of the corruptions is then easy to trace, and becomes interesting. שהר is misread שקר, the latter being an easier word; next, for שקר is substituted its synonym שוא, and, indeed, "a vain treasure" is somewhat more intelligible than "a deceptive one." שוא is next misread שנא, and this corruption is represented by the rendering of the Peshitto. The historical order of texts is in this case Greek, Hebrew, Rabbinical, Peshitto.

Although, then, the authority of the new text, where it differs decidedly from the Greek, is not to be considered equal to the latter, it is a most valuable aid for the interpretation and emendation of the latter.

It is only in recent years that scholars have become unanimous about the independence of the Peshitto Syriac in this book; even in the commentary of Fritzsche it was assumed to be dependent on the Greek; and in the article on Syriac literature in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Dr. Wright seemed to regard the matter as uncertain. In the Speaker's Commentary forcible evidence of its independence was adduced, and in every difficult passage the witness of this version was heard side by side with that

of the Greek. The recovered Hebrew leaves no further room for doubt; every page offers examples of cases where the differences between the Greek and Syriac renderings can be explained only by recurrence to the Hebrew. At the same time the Syriac version is shown to be untrustworthy, being paraphrastic and greatly given to modifying the sense of the passages it professes to translate. The recovered Hebrew, while somewhat raising our opinion of the value of the Greek, must lower our estimate of the Syriac.

The list of quotations of Ben-Sira in Rabbinical literature which the editors prefix to this book is considerably richer than previous lists, though containing references which are rather parallels than quotations. The scribe who copied the manuscript notes that one of these quotations was wanting in his copy, but the Persian in which he expresses himself is not perfectly clear. An eminent scholar has observed that some of the characteristic Neo-Hebraisms in these quotations are not confirmed by the recovered text. A passage containing several such as the Rabbis quote it, but far more classical as it appears in the MS., is xlii, 9–11. The nature of that passage renders it somewhat unpleasant to discuss fully; but the sense would seem to show that in both the Greek and the quotation the drift is more truly preserved than it is in the MS. It would seem, therefore, possible that the more classical dress in which the MS. presents both this and other passages which the Rabbis quote is due to systematic revision, with a view to drive out modernisms, rather than to the MS. representing faithfully what Ben-Sira wrote.

Now that a copy of the Hebrew of Ben-Sira of so late a period as the twelfth century (for that is the age to which the expert opinion assigns this MS.) has been partly recovered, the learned world will look with some confidence to the discovery of either the remainder of this copy, or of some other fragments of the work. While the portion that has been recovered is sufficient to settle various questions that have been raised with regard to

the nature of Ben-Sira's language and mode of composition, the enlargement of the "Pomoeria" of the Hebrew language (to use an old Dutch scholar's phrase) which such a discovery would produce would be welcome to all whom that language interests. De Lagarde insisted on the fact that the Apocrypha, as being nearer to us in time, were more easily intelligible than, and formed the natural introduction to, the canonical books; and to understand them thoroughly it is necessary to possess them in their original tongues.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE JĀTAKA. Vol. II. Translated by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A. pp. vi + 316. (Cambridge, 1895.)

In quick succession has the second volume of the "Jātakas" followed the first. The author of the translation of this second volume is W. H. D. Rouse, who, under the editorship of Professor Cowell, has accomplished in an excellent manner the task entrusted to him. It would be presumptuous on my part, should I venture to speak of the accuracy of the translation compared with the Pāli original; but it bears the signs of finished workmanship, and however little acquainted one may be with the original, the translation impresses one very favourably.

The interest which centres in these "Stories of Buddha's former births" is not limited, however, to the philologist. The student who takes an interest in the history of religious thought and comparative literature must needs welcome this publication. It places at his disposal some of the oldest representatives of Buddhist literature, and furnishes the folklorist with those materials of which he stands mostly in need. This second volume contains, like the first, 150 Jātakas. Among these we find old acquaintances, now for the first time in their most ancient form. Not a few of these had been incorporated

into those collections which had found their way to the West. I will only mention a few, as I would be going far beyond the space allotted to a review, to enter into the comparative study of these tales, and to trace their parallels through the whole of Western literature. The author has added already to a good number some references, especially to the collection of Grimm's fairy tales. Those that attract our attention in the first place are the tales which we know from the Pancatantra and partly from the Çukasaptati, as these have found the widest circulation. Our expectations to find old parallels are now realized, as will be seen in the following notes. There are also some to which I have found unexpected parallels; these enhance still more the importance of the Jātakas for the comparative study of literature. I follow the numbers of the Jātakasin book—

No. 151. The very first Jātaka reminds me of the joke in which the two drivers fight out their contest, in exactly similar circumstances, by each whipping the other's master. This joke occurs in Pauli's "Schimpf u. Ernst," ed. Oesterley, but I could not find it there.

No. 156. The grateful elephant who had a thorn run into its foot, and serves the carpenters who had tended him. Cf. the famous history of Androclus and the lion into whose foot a thorn had run, and who, out of gratitude, because Androclus had tended him, would not harm him in the circus ("Gesta Romanorum," No. 104, ed. Oesterley). It is remarkable that this Jātataka is thus far the only, though remote, parallel in Eastern literature.

No. 163. The idea of traversing long distances in a very short space of time is often found in Rabbinical legends, such as the journey of the sages from Tiberias to Rome in one day, in the time of Diokletian, etc. Similarly, the teaching of No. 167, where a saint withstood the temptation of a nymph, since no man knows the time of death, is that of the dying sage, who exhorts his pupils to avoid sin *one* day before death, and to consider each day as the *one* preceding death.

No. 189. "The Ass in the Lion's Skin": v. Pancatantra (Benfey), book iv, chap. 7 (ii, p. 308).

No. 193. How a woman requites love, has not only its parallel in Pancatantra, iv, 5, but, what is more remarkable, corresponds to a certain degree with No. ii of the so-called Parables of Solomon, a Hebrew collection of the eighth or ninth century, if it be not older still (v. Gaster, "Legends of the Rabbis," p. 12, § 23).

No. 194 resembles, though remotely, the famous tale of Fridolin, "Gesta Romanorum," ed. Oesterley, No. 283, and Notes, p. 749.

No. 198. Cf. Syntipa, "The Parrot."

No. 208. "The Heart of the Monkey." This tale is identical with the frame-tale in the Pancatantra, book iv, Benfey (ii, p. 285). The Syriac version in Bickell's "Kalilag u. Damnag" resembles still closer the version of the Jātaka. Here it is a tale by itself. Mr. Nestor's version comes from the Hebrew parallel in the Alphabetum Pseudo-Siracidicum studied by me in my "Beitraege," etc. (Bukarest, 1883), pp. 57–62.

No. 211. In this Jātaka the father cannot be taught by his son to say before the king the proper thing, and is trained by him in a cemetery, where he tries to represent the king and his court by tufts of sweet grass. Numerous parallels to it are to be found in the notes of Köhler to the Sicilian tale No. 8, "Peasant Truthful" of Gonzenbach's Collection (ii, p. 208). Among others, "Forty Veziers," ed. Gibb, No. 77, shows the way by which the tale may have reached the Occident.

No. 212. Cf. "The Double Infidelity" in Syntipa. As to the figure of Bodhisatta as a tumbler who tells the husband of the wife's infidelity, cf. Pepelea in Shaineanu, "Basme române," 1895, pp. 934–944; Little Fairly, in Clouston, "Pop. Tales and Fict.," ii, p. 229 ff., and Lidzbarski, p. 204 ff.

No. 218. Cf. Pancatantra, i, chap. 21. The well-known story of "The ploughshares eaten by mice." Also in the modern Syriac texts, noticed by Lidzbarski.

No. 220. Extremely interesting parallel to the "Hero's Tasks," resembling, as far as the garden is concerned, the tales in the "Arabian Nights."

No. 240. The fear that the cruel king might return after death only allayed by reference to the great fire in which he was burned, reminds one of the fear the Babylonians had after the death of Nebukadnezzar, which was allayed by his son dragging the corpse through the town (Second Targum to Esther, English ed. by P. Cassel, Commentary on Esther, pp. 264–5 and Note 1).

No. 253. This Jātaka, as the translator assures us, may be one of those represented on the stupa of Bharhut, and thus of great antiquity. It is the tale of the friendship between a hermit and the Serpent-king, but the hermit being frightened he grew every day weaker. He tries to get rid of the Serpent-king, but grows weaker, and now, when he has succeeded, he cannot live because he does not see him any longer. I have found now a peculiar tale in Aelian's "De natura animalium," iv, 17, which may be the Western counterpart or transformation of the Jātaka, and which must have taken place in the first century A.D. I will reproduce it here, translating the Greek text somewhat freely—

"The inhabitants of the country of the so-called Jews or Idumaeans tell that, in the time of Herod, a very mighty serpent fell in love with a beautiful maiden. He came often at night-time and shared the couch of his beloved. The girl, however, was not over-confident (frightened) with her lover, who, however, behaved very kindly and gently to her. She hid herself for a month, hoping that the serpent would meanwhile forget and leave her. But he came every morning and evening to their meeting-place, being much more inflamed of love through her absence. And as he did not find her, like unto an unfortunate lover, he gave himself up to the excess of his passion. When the girl returned, he ran furiously to meet her, and coiling himself round her waist and body, stroked her legs gently with his tail."

The parallelism between these two tales is striking, though the persons are changed in the Greek, a girl having been substituted for the hermit. Has the famous tale of (Apulejus) Amor and Psyche had an influence upon that Greek version?

No. 257. From the point of view of comparative literature probably the most important Jātaka. It contains the long sought-for Indian parallel to that series of tales which had been brought first into connection with the Russian "Shemyaka" cycle, and then ultimately with Shakespeare's "pound of flesh" in the "Merchant of Venice": v. Gaster ("Beitraege," pp. 16–22), and for the whole literature, E. Kuhn ("Byzant. Zeitschrift," iv, pp. 248–9), where he has also enumerated the literature to the second part of the Jātaka, containing the journey to the other world, and the riddles for which he is asked to obtain an answer.

No. 258. Parallel with this Jātaka run the tales about ever-increasing wishes which end in bringing shame to the dissatisfied wisher. Cf. Pancatantra, v, ch. 8 (Benfey, ii, p. 341; i, p. 495); "Syntipa"; Shaineanu, p. 847 ff.

No. 276. Parallel to "The Rain-maker": v. my "Beitraege," p. 33 ff, where I have given also Tibetan versions.

No. 281. The first part belongs to the cycle of the quest of a golden apple (or other fruit) recurring so often in fairy tales, forming part of the "Hero's Tasks," who in most cases is a brother, where, as here, it is the means by which a child is obtained. Cf. Hahn, "Griech. u. Alban. Märchen," Nos. 4, 6, 22, 68, and the *notes* to these tales.

No. 284. To the same realm of fairy tales belongs also this Jātaka, viz., to the cycle of "Who eats my head": v. Benfey, Panc., i, p. 215 ff., and ii, 531; Clouston, "Pop. Tales and Fictions," i, 93 ff.; cf. Shaineanu, p. 650 ff.

No. 288. Resembles to a certain extent the Hebrew tale of the man who found a treasure in the fish's belly: v. Clouston, l.c., i, p. 398, and my "Legends of the Rabbis," Hebrew text, No. 118.

No. 291. Last, not least, a remarkable parallel to the

famous German ballad of Uhland, Englished by Longfellow, "The Cup of Edenhall."

I have limited myself to noticing some of the more important Jātakas. I have no doubt that a careful comparison of these with the legends contained in the "Vitae Patrum," the "Historia Lausiaca," and others, dealing with the lives of the ancient hermits in Egypt and elsewhere, would furnish striking parallels, and would reveal connections hitherto unsuspected between the religious literature of Buddha and that of the early Christian age.

M. Gaster.

Pistis Sophia. By G. R. S. Mead. (London, 1896.)

Mr. Mead has given us here the first English translation of the famous Gnostic book published by Schwartze in Coptic and Latin, and recently translated into French by Amélineau. As is evident from almost every sentence, the Coptic is merely a translation made from the Greek by a man who has often been at a loss to find corresponding Coptic expressions for the Greek words of the text, and therefore hit upon the original idea of retaining the Greek words and merely transliterating them. The translation of Mr. Mead is not made from the Coptic, but from the Latin of Schwartze, and has been checked by the French above mentioned, so that it may claim to be as faithful a rendering of the original as its state of preservation permits. Whatever the date of the unique MS. may be, and I am inclined to agree with Mr. Mead and his predecessors, who assign it to the fourth century, there is no doubt as to the great antiquity of the original composition, and that it is either the direct work of Valentinus or of one of his disciples. In a lucid Introduction these questions are carefully treated by Mr. Mead, who also examines the various parts which now form the book. He points out the insertion of fragments from the "Books of the Saviour," and draws attention to the connection which exists between the contents of "Pistis Sophia" and another compilation of early Gnostic

treatises, known as "Codex Brucianus." Mr. Mead promises to publish in time also a commentary to the book, which he has thus made generally available by a careful and exact translation. The importance of the Gnostic literature is so great that everyone interested in the history of religious thought, in the development of Manicheism and the heretical sects of the Middle Ages, in the literature of Magic and Superstition, as well as in survivals of the old mythologies and the syncretism of various beliefs, will welcome the appearance of such a book. It contains the genuine exposition of a Gnostic system, and allows us an insight into the peculiar mystical and mythical speculations which filled men's minds in the first centuries of the common era.

A great find has since been made in Egypt, and I mention it here as the most fitting opportunity. A Dr. Reinhardt acquired in Cairo, from a dealer in antiquities in Akhmin, a voluminous papyrus manuscript. It is now in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, and turns out to be a collection of no less than three ancient Gnostic texts, whose names had hitherto not even been known, viz., the "Gospel of Mary, or the Apocryphon (Apocalypse) of John," the "Sophia of Jesus Christ," and the "Praxis Petri." Professor Schmidt, the editor of the "Codex Brucianus," has made a report on this Codex to the Berlin Academy, and points out the fact that in the first text we have now recovered one of the sources from which Irenaeus drew his information about the "Barbelo" sect of the Gnostics. These treatises resemble very much the "Pistis Sophia," and the second of them may turn out to be the "Book of the Saviour" imbedded in the former. They belong to the second century, and are thus older than the "Pistis Sophia." It is an important find, and will no doubt contribute to a still better understanding of those remarkable times.

M. G.

A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. Compiled by M. Jastrow, Ph.D. Parts i–ix: vol. i, pp. 683; vol. ii, pp. 685–876. (London: Luzac and Co. New York: Putnam's Sons. Qu. 1886–1896.)

Just ten years have elapsed since Dr. Jastrow has undertaken the compilation of the first Talmudic and Midrashic Dictionary in English, and it has already reached the letter N, thus promising an early termination of a work which will prove an unqualified success, and a great boon to all students of the vast Rabbinical literature. Hitherto all the more important works of this character were written either in Latin, as the old Rabbinical Dictionary of Buxtorff, in folio, or in German, as the last and the best, that of J. Levy, in four huge quarto volumes. The basis of Talmudic lexicology will remain the famous Arukh, compiled by Jehiel, of Rome, about the year 1000. The new edition of the late Dr. Kohut was more an amplification of the old simple compilation. Dr. Kohut had added a large number of personal explanations and other matter, which increased the bulk of that work enormously, without increasing, in the same degree, its intrinsic value. I understand that shortly before his death, Dr. Kohut had contemplated the publication of a simple edition of the old text, and no one was more competent to undertake such a task than the man who had devoted thirty years to the study of the prints and MSS. of the Arukh. His death has deprived Semitic philology of a classical edition of the oldest Talmudic dictionary. But then it would also have been in pure Hebrew, as the large edition in eight volumes is written only in Hebrew. To Dr. Jastrow we owe now the first New-Hebrew and Talmudic Dictionary in English. He has added also in his Dictionary the whole of the Chaldaic element contained in the Targumim, for which Levy had written a separate dictionary in two large volumes. Jastrow had thus to compress in a comparatively small space the material which could fill many times the

volume he has devoted to his compilation. That he had put the older works of a similar nature under obligation, is only natural. What we expected him to have done, and, as far as I have been able to ascertain by a careful comparison between his compilation and those of his predecessors, is, that he should give all the words contained in those dictionaries, that he should have selected the best and more important citations from the Talmudic and Midrashic texts, and above all, that he should be reliable in his citations, these being given from first-hand reading or having been verified, and not having taken them blindly over from others. In these, to my mind, vital requirements, the Dictionary of Dr. Jastrow has come out well from the searching trial to which I had subjected it. It can therefore be very warmly recommended as being both trustworthy and, as far as possible, complete. The translations are the results arrived at by a man who has gone deeply into the study of the language, and where they differ from those hitherto given by others, they will, in most cases, commend themselves as the better.

There are two points more upon which one must dwell when speaking of Talmudic literature. In the first instance, the corrupt state in which the text of most of these has reached us. Attention had been paid by the old scribes only to the exact transcription of those passages which were of importance for the Law, all the rest, and especially those written in Aramaic, in many cases a dead language to the scribe, being carelessly handled. The result of it is, that we are often in doubt as to the true reading of those passages. Much has been done in modern times in the attempt to correct those texts, and it is a pleasing feature of this Dictionary to see that the author has availed himself of the whole modern literature, and has on his part not a little contributed to the correction of the text by judicious comparison of those passages with their parallels in other places. In consequence of that state of the text one and the same word often appears under two or three different forms, written either *plene* or *defective*, correctly or in a

corrupted form. If all these are to be noticed separately they are an encumbrance on the Dictionary, from which neither Levy nor Jastrow have kept free. Added to this is the uncertainty of the pronunciation of many an old Aramaic word. Both the last-mentioned authors have supplied a pronunciation which they, following certain grammatical rules, have given to the words. These grammatical rules are based only and solely on the vocalization of the texts of the Biblical Targumim; but these represent a comparatively modern corrupted European form and not the ancient true pronunciation, and thus the whole basis is vitiated. The differences will, however, not be found so great as to detract from the value of the Dictionary. It is only necessary to guard against following rashly this system and adopting it as the standard for the pronunciation of the old Aramaic. Through that peculiar state of the texts and the uncertainty of orthography, the words are not now classed under common roots, but are arranged in strictly alphabetical order, and when a word occurs in a different form it is referred back to the place where the other had been treated. This system commends itself to the beginners and those whose grammatical knowledge is not perfect. It is practical and easy. It is, however, not sufficiently scientific. Maybe the time has not yet arrived for the compilation of a Talmudic dictionary on strictly scientific lines, although Buxtorff had attempted it some centuries ago. The future will probably bring us a dictionary in which the words will be arranged under their roots, and cross references only used for the purpose of pointing to the roots under which those forms are to be found. Until then let us accept with thanks the very welcome gift of Dr. Jastrow, and wish him a speedy completion of a work which must have been the work of a lifetime. The whole book is calculated to number 1100 pages. This Dictionary is besides very handy in size, and is admirably printed by Drugulin both as to type and to correctness.

M. G.

DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES AELTESTEN SCHRIFTSYSTEMS, ODER DER URSPRUNG DER KEILSCHRIFTZEICHEN, dargelegt von F. DELITZSCH. 8vo, 240 pp. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897.)

The well-known scholar Professor Delitzsch, author of the Assyrian Dictionary, has turned from the deciphering of the texts to the elucidation of the origin of the cuneiform signs. The problem, as he shows in the Introduction, is not new, and has tempted more than one scholar, but with the exception of a few remarks of Professor Oppert, it has remained unsolved. Professor Delitzsch approaches it now, being assisted by the newly discovered ancient forms of script of Nippur, in which many archaic forms have been preserved, and which are, therefore, of the utmost importance as representing the most primitive forms. The view which is expounded here with much ingenuity, and with stretching the imagination to the breaking point, is that most of the signs, be they ideograms or syllables, are in most cases not simple, as the 400 have hitherto been considered, but are derived from a much smaller number of primitive signs by means of "gunu" (that is, a sign to indicate intensification of primitive meaning), reduplication, even triplication of one and the same sign, combination of two and more signs, and differentiation of primitive signs. He summarizes his views in the following manner (pp. 198–9) :—(1) The cuneiform signs have their origin in primitive images drawn in straight lines. (2) Side by side with these primitive images there were also "primitive motives," some of which were of a mathematical nature, of which the most important was the sign of intensification expressed by the four "gunu" lines or strokes. (3) The number of both signs and motives does not exceed forty-five. (4) All the other signs, about 400, are the result of the ingenious combination of these two elements. (5) A small number of signs has been formed by differentiation of one and the same sign. Whatever may be said of the original signs,

which he traces to the images of the objects which they are said to depict, and which one might be inclined to accept, that cannot so easily be said of the other "motives" and their mathematical substratum, and still less of the reasons assigned by the author for their combinations. Fancy is running loose in these extremely ingenious attempts of the author to account for the reason why the combination of two such signs should have such unexpected results. These explanations tax our credulity to a great extent. According to Professor Delitzsch, we should have to consider the originators of these signs as the most profound philosophers of antiquity, endowed with such subtlety of intellect and such abstract reasoning powers as we do not meet even now in the halls of great Universities. The picture drawn by him of the intellectual status and the civilization of the reputed inventors of that form of script is in accordance with this view (pp. 214–220). If we rest satisfied, however, with the facts adduced with great ingenuity and great acumen by Professor Delitzsch, without following him into the sphere of metaphysical speculations, we can safely assume that his attempt is extremely likely to command universal acknowledgment. The last chapter is devoted to the comparison between the Cuneiform and the Phoenician Alphabet. If Professor Delitzsch's views of a close connection between the latter and the primitive images be correct, then either the Phoenician Alphabet must be the oldest script in existence, as it resembles very much the most archaic forms of Cuneiform script, or the latter is much younger than has hitherto been assumed. This would have been modelled after the Phoenician, which is too absurd an idea to be entertained. The relation between these two systems will have to be reconsidered, but the general question is not affected by it. The book is brimful with new ideas, and is stimulating to further research. It is a bold and not unsuccessful attempt to solve one of the most interesting problems of ancient civilization.

M. G.

CENTENAIRE DE MARCO POLO. Conférence faite à la *Société d'Études Italiennes* le Mercredi, 18 Decembre, 1895, à la Sorbonne. Par HENRI CORDIER. (Paris, 1896.)

This "Centenaire de Marco Polo" forms vol. iii of the "Bibliothèque de voyages anciens," in course of publication. It appears as a lecture delivered by M. Cordier to the Society named in the title, and the lecture occupies thirty-eight pages.

We have here presented to us in a brief and precise, but pleasant manner, some of the most important events in the life of the great Venetian traveller. As a sort of introduction, we have a short and useful summary of the state of the Mongol Empire at the time of Marco Polo. The little book is enriched with several quaint illustrations from the "Livre des Merveilles" in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and it has two pictures from the Temple of the 500 Lohan at Canton. To the lecture is appended a Marco Polo Bibliography, compiled in the careful, thorough manner in which M. Cordier does such work.

M. Cordier refers to the image in a Buddhist temple at Canton, which is said by some to be a representation of Marco Polo, and he is right in contradicting the statement. The temple in question, the Hua-lin-ssŭ, contains 500 images of Buddhist arhats, not *genii*, and these arhats were all Indians. They are supposed to represent the members of the Buddhist Council which settled the canon, but the names show that this is a mistake. The one which is now called Marco Polo by the designing monk who acts as guide, is No. 100, and it is to the left of the image of Buddha. Over the image is its number, and with it the name Shan-chu. This is a translation of a Sanskrit term which cannot be determined with certainty, as the second word is written in different ways.

Another interesting matter to which M. Cordier recalls our attention is the connection of Marco Polo's book with the discovery of America. It was the reading of this book

which incited Columbus to go on his voyage of discovery, which, instead of leading to Cathay, resulted in the discovery of America.

M. Cordier's little book is well printed on good paper, and all who are interested in Marco Polo and his great work will feel grateful for the light and guiding which it contains.

T. W.

Les Origines de Deux Etablissements Français dans l'Extrême-Orient—Changhai-Ning-po. Par Henri Cordier. (Paris, 1896.)

In this pamphlet of thirty-nine pages of Introduction and seventy pages of Correspondence, M. Cordier has given his fellow-citizens a summary of the events which led to the opening of the Five Treaty Ports in China by the Treaty of Nanking in 1843. This is followed by an account of the formation of the French Concession at Shanghai, describing the troubles which the French consular authorities had at that port. The official documents bearing on these subjects are now published for the first time. These all refer to the beginning, formation, and regulation of the French Concessions at Shanghai and Ningpo, and to the relations of the French Consul-General with the Chinese authorities. The official correspondence here made public will be of interest to those who wish to learn how Chinese Mandarins act towards Western officials, and what troubles the latter have in such places as Shanghai and Ningpo.

T. W.

Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien, traduits par E. Chavannes. Tome second. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1897.)

We are glad to welcome M. Chavannes's second volume of the "Historical Records of China." The "principal annals"

are now concluded, and we are brought to a date contemporaneous with the epoch of the historian. The first chapter contains the annals of the Ts'ins, which it is considered must have been preserved when the great destruction of literature took place B.C. 213. They date back to the first ancestor of the dynasty, whose mother, the daughter of the Emperor Chuan-hsü (B.C. 2513–2436), bore him after having swallowed an egg dropped by a dark-coloured bird. In the next chapter we have the reigns of Ts'in Shih-huang (B.C. 247–210) and his short-lived son; then follow the annals of the interloper Hiang-yu, who was never on the Chinese throne; and then those of the first few sovereigns of the Han dynasty, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien having written his history about B.C. 98.

We confess to a feeling of disappointment, not to say bewilderment, on approaching the end of these annals. In the first place, as M. Chavannes has ably pointed out (p. 428), we have to make three corrections in the text with regard to the chronology in the last year of the Empress Lu's reign (B.C. 180). Then we read under the date B.C. 178 (p. 461): "In the twelfth month, in the fifteenth day of the month, there was another eclipse of the sun"; but, as M. Chavannes observes in a note, there could not have been an eclipse of the sun on the fifteenth of the lunar month. Again, the following chapter (xi) teems with fragmentary references to eclipses, earthquakes, thunderings, and such like so-called portents, and, in fact, we are informed (p. 496) that the annals of this reign (B.C. 156–141) are very incomplete and unfinished; that, for instance, the fifty-second day of the cycle comes before the forty-second of the same month (p. 497); that winter is sometimes placed at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the year; and that certain dates may have been corrected to make them agree with the calendar after it had been reformed B.C. 104, while other dates seem to have been allowed to follow the old system (p. 500). Finally, in the last chapter, devoted to the reign of the Emperor Wu (B.C. 140–74), we should certainly expect to find the history most complete:

but, on the contrary, there is only the preamble of a few lines, the rest of the chapter being untranslated, because, as M. Chavannes explains in a note, the original annals were in all probability somehow or other lost, the present record being a reproduction of the second half of the treatise on the *fêng* and *shan* sacrifices, which constitutes the twenty-eighth chapter of the Records. The volume terminates with three useful appendices, viz.: an enumeration of the many titles of functionaries and other personages of the Han dynasty, an alphabetical list of commanderies and small states existent at the close of the Emperor Wu's reign, of which latter there were no less than 108, and a note on the inscriptions of the Ts'in dynasty from B.C. 337–219. Finally, there is an index of names of persons and places throughout the volume, in French and Chinese, which is most valuable for reference.

H. J. A.

VETERIS TESTAMENTI CONCORDANTIAE HEBRAICAE ATQUE CHALDAICAE, quibus continentur cuncta quae in prioribus concordantiis reperiuntur vocabula lacunis omnibus expletis . . . . summa cura collegit et concinnavit *Salomon Mandelkern*, Phil. et Jur. Doctor. Fol., pp. 1532. (Lipsiae: Veit & Co.)

This is truly a gigantic work in every respect, and one not likely to be superseded for centuries to come, if at all. Those who have hitherto used standard concordances to the Old Testament, such as Buxtorf's (1632) or Fuerst's (1840), must often have felt the deficiency of these, owing to the circumstance that, apart from the proper nouns and particles, many words were omitted, and others misplaced, faulty, or not in harmony with the masoretic tradition. The neglect of the proper nouns was not entirely remedied by Brecher's list (1876). As regards the particles, in Professor König's *Lehrgebäude* we find a most carefully compiled *Partikelconcordanz* (see second half, pt. I, p. iii), which forms an extremely instructive and almost

exhaustive repertory. There are, however, occasional omissions in his collections, in consequence of his having had to rely chiefly on Nolde's *Concordantiae particularum* (1734).[1]

Dr. Mandelkern fully appreciates the merit of Fuerst's work, undertaken with the support of Franz Delitzsch, but we must bear in mind that, almost immediately after its appearance, so many additions and corrections became necessary that the editor himself published lists of them in a series of articles in his periodical, *Der Orient* (1845), and prepared a second edition. This, however, was never forthcoming, and the deficiencies of the first were only partly amended in the reprint of the same work published by Baer (1861). The necessity for another concordance answering the requirements of the present state of biblical studies was, therefore, still keenly felt. By accomplishing so laborious a task, Dr. Mandelkern has earned the gratitude of all friends of biblical science.

The author has prefaced his work by an introduction written both in Latin and Hebrew, the latter being more detailed than the former. Under eleven headings he collects numerous instances of omissions and mistakes of previous concordances, of which, in this systematic arrangement, one can only now form the right conception. Although many of these imperfections must have been patent to all who had used these books, yet the immensity of the labour and expense which a new edition would have entailed, sufficed to deter most scholars from undertaking a work which, if not executed with the greatest completeness and accuracy, would have had little or no value.

On these two points Dr. Mandelkern has left scarcely anything to be desired, and may, therefore, feel confident that his work will speedily supplant all its precursors.

[1] As an instance, I may quote the paragraph on מִן before the article (II, i, p. 293 sq.), where the following places are to be added: Jos. x, 22; Jud. (for xiii, 4, read xiii, 5) xx, 40; 1 Sam. ii, 20; 2 Sam. xviii, 13; xx, 13; 1 R. vii, 34 (for xii, 5, read xii, 9); xiii, 5; xviii, 5 Q.; xxii, 34; 2 R. ii, 23; ix, 15 (bis); (for xxv, 9, read xxv, 19); Is., for xiv, 4, read xiv, 3; Sach., for xii, 2, read xiii, 2 (bis); Ps. cxlviii, 1; Eccl. iii, 20; 1 Chr. xvii, 7; 2 Chr. ii, 15; v, 11; vii, 14 (for xxxiv, 4 read xxxiv, 3).

Its arrangement in four sections is also an excellent feature. Section I (pp. 1 – 1254) contains the ordinary Hebrew vocabulary of the Old Testament. The headings of each paragraph are not only thoroughly vocalized and accentuated, but also show finer masoretic variations, e.g., כדכֹד, Is. liv, 12, and וכדכֹד, Ez. xxvii, 16; תקפו, Esth. x, 2, al. פֿ (see König, l.c., p. 26), etc. To each word are added its real and metaphorical meanings in Latin, together with a brief summary of its etymology written in Hebrew, and frequently brought in connection with rabbinical and later Jewish versions, as well as with comparative Semitic philology. Naturally the student will not adopt every explanation suggested by the author, any more than he would forego his own research, yet this is greatly facilitated by these comprehensive summaries, as the reader finds a statistical survey of the forms concerned annexed to the same. Dr. Mandelkern has also in so far improved the quotations, as he has taken pains to frame them in such a way as to give as complete a sense as possible, instead of being satisfied with abrupt scraps, as in older concordances. Words of doubtful etymology are placed according to the first consonant, irrespective of root, but not always quite consistently. To select a few examples: מַבּוּל, for which the author leaves to choose between the roots נבל and יבל, is to be found under neither, but under מ. Yet the derivation of the word from נבל is hardly to be doubted (see also König, l.c., p. 153). On the other hand, אֶשְׁכּוֹל is justly placed under א (see Barth, "Nominalbildung[2]," p. 226), since the א seems to be radical. Cross reference, however, guides the reader in this case as well as in others, where the א is really prosthetic, and altogether in words of doubtful etymology. דּוּר (Is. xx, 18; xxix, 3) is again fully recorded under כַּדּוּר (see König, l.c., p. 52), to do justice also to rabbinical conception. The particles את of both classes are supplied with alphabetical lists of the verba standing in their sequels, whilst all the instances of doubtful

nature are printed in full. Thus the reader can trace on every page how earnest has been the author's endeavour to make the book as complete and reliable as possible.

Section II (pp. 1255–1311) comprehends the pronouns in the following order: *personalia, demonstrativa, interrogativa,* and the *nota relationis* אשר. It also includes the *praepositiones praefixae,* כמו and מן, with their pronominal suffixa, although these are treated in the preceding section, but cross references help to find the single paragraphs. Section III (pp. 1312–1348) is devoted to the Aramaic portion of the Old Testament, including the apparent Hebraisms in Jer. x, 11, and Dan. iv, 14. In Section IV (pp. 1349–1532) we find for the first time a thoroughly reliable list of proper nouns, both Hebrew and Aramaic, with short explanations of the identity of persons and places in Latin and Hebrew. More than sixteen pages are devoted to the Tetragram, placing the combinations of the same with אדוני and אלהים respectively in separate groups.

Bible concordances, of which a great number exists, originally grew out of the desire to have books of reference in theological disputes. The demand for them, however, has completely altered in character, and what modern science requires is a statistical classification of grammatical and lexicographical forms and their ramifications, as well as a list of the vagaries and peculiarities of languages in which obscurities are plentiful. Of the large series of concordances, Dr. Mandelkern's is the first which really fulfils these requirements in all respects, and will ere long be indispensable to every student of Semitics. The magnitude of the labour can best be gauged by the fact that, in spite of all the care and trouble bestowed, a few misprints and omissions are still to be noted. I attach a small list, chiefly belonging to the troublesome chapter on מן: p. 659, col. 4, read Ps. lxiii, 6; p. 691, col. 3, read 2 Sam. xxii, 14; p. 1263, col. 4, read Deut. i, 11; ibid., add Jos. ii, 1; 2 R. x, 24; p. 692, add Job, xxxviii, 1; Neh. viii, 18.

H. Hirschfeld.

THE RUINED CITIES OF CEYLON. By H. W. CAVE, Queen's College, Oxford. 4to. (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1897. Price 38*s.*)

In this splendid volume we have an account, by a cultured Englishman long interested in the beautiful island, of what are not only the most important of the many ruins to be found there, but also include in their number the oldest extant monuments of India; for Ceylon, ethnographically and historically, is part of India. The account is enriched and elucidated by forty-seven full-page photogravure illustrations and sixteen woodcuts; and these, especially the larger plates, far surpass in artistic beauty anything hitherto attempted in that direction, and go far to enable those, who have not themselves seen these magnificent relics of a bygone age, to realize the impressiveness of their majestic beauty. The author is strictly accurate when he calls them "wonders with which only the remains of the ancient civilization of the Valley of the Nile can be, in any way, compared." The views are reproductions of photographs, it it true, but they are taken by a past master in the art, and reproduced with a skill that often gives them the impression of the best engravings. The views of the dāgaba or tope of Milinda, of Pollonnaruwa at eventide, of the Jetamana at Anurādhapura, and of the Nālandā Rest House, are especially striking in the effects of light and shade.

The letterpress (of 125 pages) explanatory of the plates gives a very readable and vivid account of the ruins, and is in accord, as to their history, with the latest results of scholarship. No attempt is made at original research, or even at the expression of individual opinion. But in the case of the ruins of buildings, the original construction of which is, in almost every case, recorded with dates and names in the Mahāvamsa, there is not much room left for doubt or discussion. Where the Mahāvamsa fails us, as in the case of the so-called Isurumaniya Temple, or of the curious stones called meditation stones (see the plate in our issue for 1894, p. 564), the study of the older Sinhalese

literature might possibly elucidate doubtful points. But that literature lies still buried in MSS., and the author has chosen wisely in not delaying his work for the possible advantage of being able to add to existing knowledge on these doubtful points.

It is, however, a pity that in the few paragraphs he devotes to a summary of Buddhism, the author should have given a version of the famous Four Truths which differs considerably, and in important particulars, from the original text, a translation of which is now accessible in vol. xi of the "Sacred Books of the East." The real words would have taken up only a few more lines of the necessarily limited space; and their tenour would have led to some change in the few words of comment that follow. But the work only claims to be an artistic presentation of the present state of the ruined cities, and as such it is not only a great success, but without any doubt the most valuable and beautiful that has yet appeared.

THE KĀDAMBARĪ OF BĀṆA. Translated by Miss C. M. RIDDING. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. II.)

An English translation of a Sanskrit romance can only be successful within certain limitations. In the first place, the most characteristic feature in the form of the original —its unbounded use of long compound words—must be sacrificed. Each of these compounds must, as a rule, be rendered by a separate sentence in English; and the translation, therefore, cannot but have an air of deliberateness, which offers a curious contrast to the rapidity with which, in the original, similes and all the other devices of rhetoric are poured forth in Oriental profusion. Again, while no attempt can be made to portray the form, success in any attempt to preserve in a translation the spirit of the Indian romance can only be partial; for the object of the author was not so much to tell a story, as to embellish

the details of his story with all the imagery, and to illustrate them by all the parallels, that his mind could conceive; and his conscious aim, in doing this, was to exhibit to the full the beauty and wealth of a language which, in the richness of its vocabulary and in the perfection of its inflexional structure, is, surely, unsurpassed among the languages of the earth.

But, in spite of the difficulties thus indicated, it is possible, as Miss Ridding has shown in her rendering into English of the most typical of Sanskrit romances, to make a translation which shall be of practical utility to students, and, at the same time, possess sufficient literary merit to attract and hold the attention of English readers. Her translation is couched in graceful English, and the comparison of a number of passages with the original shows that she has executed her task in a conscientious and scholarly manner.

There is only one point in connection with the plan of this translation which is at all likely to excite any unfavourable criticism — its omissions. Miss Ridding gives a rather long list of passages which she has left untranslated or has greatly abridged, principally on account of their tediousness and reiteration. Now the object in publishing any translation such as the present is presumably twofold— to mirror the original as accurately as possible for the benefit of English readers, and to serve as a guide to students of Sanskrit; and it will be held by many that these omissions detract from the value of the book in both aspects. The English reader will not see in its fullest dimensions what is really the great distinguishing feature of this species of literature—its absolute lack of any sense of proportion; and the student will be deserted in precisely those tedious passages for which the aid of a translation would have been most welcome.

Moreover, there is probably not one of these omitted passages, however wearisome, that does not contain some allusion of interest or importance. To take as an example the first untranslated passage, (*Nirṇaya-Sāgara* edition,

pp. 11–15: this passage contains the information that King Śūdraka's capital was Vidiśā, a city encompassed by the river Vetravatī. Now, surely, this is a statement of the first importance; but, in consequence of the omission of the passage in which it occurs, this piece of information is nowhere to be found in Miss Ridding's book. A further examination of the same untranslated passage will show that it contains other points of interest also—two instances of a distinction actually made between the terms *ākhyāna* and *ākhyāyikā*, the mention of a number of musical instruments which might conceivably be of interest to some investigator of this particular subject, and the description of some curious games of literary skill in which the prince and his companions were wont to indulge.

As has been already said, these omissions form the one feature in Miss Ridding's Kādambarī with which any fault is likely to be found, and even on this point opinions will, no doubt, remain much divided. For the rest, scholars will unite in congratulating Miss Ridding on the successful completion of a work which must have required no small amount of patience and perseverance, as well as a familiar acquaintance with the niceties of classical Sanskrit.

E. J. Rapson.

Die Abhandlung des Abū Ḥāmid Al-Gazzālī. Antworten auf Fragen, die an ihn gerichtet wurden. Nach mehreren MSS. edoit, mit Einleitung, Uebersetzung, nebst Anmerkungen, von Dr. Heinrich Malter. Two parts. (Francfort-on-the-Main: J. Kauffmann, 1896.)[1]

The above-mentioned publication is devoted to the Hebrew version of a treatise by Al-Ghazālī,[2] and consists

[1] Also with Hebrew title—מאמר אבוחאמד אלגזאלי בתשובת שאלות נשאל מהם.

[2] For the orthography of this name see An Nawawi, *Kitāb attibyān* (Cairo, 1890), p. 297.

of replies to questions addressed to him. The original, which was written in Arabic, has not yet been discovered. Isak b. Nathan, of Cordoba (middle of the fourteenth century), is known to have translated other philosophical writings also from Arabic into Hebrew. The contents of our treatise are of sufficient interest to justify a monograph, and Dr. Malter has treated the text with laudable care, although many portions of it are made somewhat unintelligible by the pedantic translation and tedious style.

The question as to the authorship of the treatise must, however, remain open, and we prefer to share the editor's scepticism rather than to adopt his subsequent views of the authenticity of the work. If, on one hand, the silence observed by the Arabic bibliographers is to be regarded as irrelevant, on the other hand the *bona fides* of the translator, as well as of Moses Narboni—the Hebrew commentator of Al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid*, who both lived more than two hundred years after the alleged author—scarcely carries conviction. Dr. Malter has in a scholarly manner succeeded in restoring nearly the whole original of the treatise by placing (in Part I) the Hebrew text side by side with excerpts from Alferghānī's "Elements of Astronomy" and Al-Ghazālī's "Tendencies." Yet all this contributes little to remove our doubts as to whether Al-Ghazālī wrote the treatise in question later than the *Tahāfut*. The three different titles under which the Hebrew version was handed down, and of which Dr. Malter only records two (see Cod. Paris, 910[2]), only increase the uncertainty of the matter.

Dr. Malter endeavours to support the authorship of Al-Ghazālī by repeating the mistaken notion that the latter had plagiarized Al-Batalyūsi; but a glance at Steinschneider's "Uebersetzungen," p. 287, would have shown him that the reverse is the case, and could not be otherwise, since Al-Ghazālī died 505 and Al-Batalyūsi 521 of the Moslim era.

The question as to the genuineness of another writing attributed to Al-Ghazālī, has also still to be settled. Cod. Or. 3126 of the British Museum bears the title of the

*Maqāṣid* of Al-Ghazālī (also fol. 2r is superscribed كتاب مقاصد الفلاسفة للغزالى), and at the end a reference to the same author's *Tahāfut* is to be found. Yet the work is not the same as the one mentioned above (see Professor Rieu's Catalogue, p. 494). If this one were authentic we should have two works of Al-Ghazālī composed later than the *Tahāfut*, in order, as Dr. Malter points out (p. x), "to give a decided expression to his final philosophical views." The investigations on this point are, as we see, anything but exhausted, and Dr. Malter will have an opportunity of entering into the same when preparing his promised edition of the *Maqāṣid*, of which a specimen has already been published by Dr. Beer.

As to the work itself, it consists of queries and replies, a form much affected by Arabic scholastics, though not original. A survey of the contents is given by Steinschneider, l.c., p. 339. Dr. Malter has added to the first part of his edition a German translation and copious notes, which bear testimony not only to the enthusiasm with which he undertook his work, but also to his close acquaintance with the literature concerned. His treatment of the text of the version, as well as the Arabic excerpts of the *Maqāṣid*, prove how well he is qualified to undertake the publication of the portions of that work not yet printed. The glossary appended to Part II does not contain much that is new. For "mugtihadûn," p. xiv, rem. 5 (twice), read *muǧtahidûn*.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

BRITISH INDIA. By R. W. FRAZER, LL.B., I.C.S. (retired). "Story of the Nations." 8vo. (London: Unwin, 1896.)

Considering the space at his command and the other necessary limitations imposed upon him in a book of this sort, Mr. Frazer's "British India" must be pronounced a most satisfactory piece of work, a credit to the series in which it appears. To bring within less than four hundred not too closely printed pages, the connection of the West

with the East, from the time of Alexander the Great to the present day, is in itself no light or easy task; while every page shows that the author is no mere haphazard compiler, but one who had already studied for his own pleasure much of the overwhelming mass of material pertaining to his subject. The distribution of the matter seems to be in due proportion to the relative importance of the subjects treated; and the result is a compact and fairly complete narrative, bright and lively enough not to repel even the most superficial of general readers, and sufficiently full and accurate to supply the student with a handy compendium for ordinary reference.

The only criticism that suggests itself in regard to the apportionment of space has reference to the necessity or otherwise of the introductory chapters (pp. 1–77). It cannot be said that they are absolutely out of place. Nay, they give us a rapid, well-written, and interesting summary of the intercourse between Europe and India from the earliest ages up to the eighteenth century; and there can be no doubt that this portico gives to the whole edifice a balance and proportion which it would otherwise lack. But *British* India being the theme, these introductory chapters might have disappeared, for the sake of a fuller development here and there of the especial subject. In reading the book one feels vaguely a sense of over-compression in some of the earlier chapters which treat of the commencements of our empire; and in the last chapter the effect would have been increased rather than diminished by somewhat fuller details and statistics of our existing system of administration.

For the reason just assigned, or perhaps because Mr. Frazer feels himself more at home in the modern period, the second half of the book has considerably more dash and vigour than what precedes. The story of the two Sikh campaigns of 1845–6 and 1848–9 is told in excellent style, carrying the reader on without pause or hesitation. Again, the events of the Mutiny are narrated with great spirit and conciseness; in fact, it would be

impossible to find anywhere, in the same number of pages, an equally comprehensive and lucid history of the dangers encountered and the spirit-stirring deeds then done by our countrymen. The bird's-eye view on p. 261, which Mr. Frazer has unearthed from an old number of the *Illustrated London News*, is most useful: it enables us to realize graphically, what we all more or less forget, that the Mutiny, however extensive and serious, was strictly limited to Northern India, and in it did not pass beyond the central portion. To the east, in Bengal, and to the west, in the Panjab, the disturbances were few and of comparatively little importance.

Much as there is to engage our earnest and absorbed attention in present-day India, that "weary Titan . . . staggering on to her goal," to a future fate which we can only dimly surmise, it is the earlier half of British Indian history which exercises the greatest fascination upon most readers. It is only natural that this should be so. Besides the romantic aspect of the events themselves, our interest is further excited by the tremendous political and parliamentary struggles to which those events gave rise; and the glittering rhetoric of a great writer of this century has surrounded them with an added glamour.

Accordingly we find that Mr. Frazer, with sure judgment, has allotted nearly one-fifth of his space to the forty years (1718–1785) covered by the public careers of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings. In dealing with those years, he has still further shown a true appreciation of the facts by throwing what he has to say into the form of biographies of these two exceptional men. England then, as ever, relied on the vigour and genius of her sons to build up the fabric of her great empire; then, as now, the men she wanted rarely failed her.

Disguise it to ourselves as we may, our rule in India began in military superiority, and on that base it will rest so long as we are able to retain hold of the country. Military weakness, the causes of which were many and various, brought the Moghul empire to its doom; and

Europeans were not very long in discovering the tremendous engine that they possessed in a disciplined infantry (p. 73). The rest was easy. From the time that Dupleix first showed the way, Europeans have never met with any decisive or long-continued check from any native force that ever took the field against them. Mr. Frazer is far too wise to give in his adhesion to Seeley's heresy that general causes suffice to account for our conquest of India. According to Professor Seeley, it was no quality of the Englishman that gave the country to him instead of to the Frenchman; and the heroism attaching to the conquest, if any, was displayed by the Indians themselves, who formed the bulk of our armies and conquered their own country for us. But anyone reading the contemporary records cannot fail to see that our success was not due merely to persistent but undeserved good fortune. If the Frenchman was as good as the Englishman at this particular work, why did he fail when we succeeded? If the Indians were the real conquerors, why did they succumb whenever pitted against us and prevail whenever we led them? Assuredly the difference lay in the quality of the men and in nothing else.

In dealing with the career of Warren Hastings, the man who did more than any other to acquire India for us, Mr. Frazer adopts the more favourable judgment which has lately prevailed, and is, indeed, the only one that can be come to after an unbiassed examination of the original authorities. In reading them one is struck with the remarkable fulness and accuracy of Hastings' information on the origin and recent history of all the Indian States. His agents had served him well, and if Macaulay would only have accepted Hastings' facts, he would have been saved from many of his extraordinary misapprehensions. Burke may be more easily excused; he stood in the thick of the fight, and lived too near the events to easily distinguish the true from the false. Macaulay, on the contrary, had ample leisure to sift the abundant evidence upon the record. A convincing proof of his misleading

methods may be derived from a passage quoted by Sir John Strachey in his "Hastings and the Rohilla War." Read the paragraph with all the adjectives as they stand, and every statement is false: strike out all the adjectives, and every statement will become literally true.

No doubt, Warren Hastings adopted, consciously or unconsciously, the rules of Oriental statecraft; and judged by that standard, his conduct was that of an extremely upright and honourable man. That defence would cover absolutely everything in his acts to which objection has been made. Even if the European code of morals be substituted, it must be remembered that many things were condemned from ignorance of local conditions and precedents. For instance, the demand for aid in men and money from a subordinate ruler like Chait Singh of Benares, and that Rajah's subsequent deposition for default, were entirely consonant with Indian public-law of that period. The attempt to elevate Chait Singh into a sovereign ruler—an attempt renewed not many years ago—was rightly brushed aside by Hastings as pure absurdity. The Rajah of Benares was the subordinate of a subordinate, and would have been swept away long before by his overlord, the Nawab of Audh, had not Hastings interposed to preserve him.

In their natural revolt against past injustice some recent inquirers have failed to allow any shadows to appear in their portraits of Hastings' character. This is just as much a mistake in the opposite direction. For it is impossible to deny that in public life Hastings was very unforgiving. Whenever he had been slighted or thwarted, he concealed under the mildest and quietest of manners an implacable resolve to be revenged. The case of Chait Singh just referred to would show the truth of this assertion, were there space to state the facts or sum up the evidence.

Nor can all his plans be held as irreproachably wise. No one has yet touched, so far as I know, on what seems a cardinal error in the external policy adopted by Hastings, an error much more deep-seated, and more likely

to bring disaster, than Rohilla Wars, Benares insurrections, or Begam despoilings. Justly enough, as we must acknowledge now, he held the Mahrattas to be our most dangerous foe. In his mode of trying to avert the chance of being overwhelmed by them lay his only error. He bent all his energies to the task of forming a "buffer" state out of the Nawab Wazīr's dominions: an excellent device, if only his instrument could have been depended upon. But Shujā-ud-daulah was not merely untrustworthy; he was, we are convinced, absolutely hostile. In native estimation he was greater and more powerful at his death than he had been before the battle of Baksar. They did not look on him, nor did he in the least consider himself, as a crushed and helpless cipher in the hands of Hastings and the newly-risen British power. He had gained largely in territory in the Dūāb and Rohilkhand; and neither he nor other Indians shared our belief that we had been the donors of these accessions. Shujā-ud-daulah, from 1765 to 1774, was busy, with the aid of French officers, in raising a force of infantry disciplined in the European fashion. He evidently meant to try conclusions with us once more. Then, by a tremendous stroke of luck, we were saved from a fierce struggle for our supremacy by his unexpected death in January, 1775,[1] when he was only forty-eight years of age, and had before him, to all appearance, many years in which to make ready before he struck the blow. Instead of supporting the Nawab to the best of his power, Hastings ought to have weakened, so far as he could, a man who hardly concealed his intention of making another trial of his strength.

A few remarks in passing may be made as to such errors as we have noticed, due either to the author's oversight or the printer's carelessness. For example, on p. 125, line 12, "north-*east*" should be "north-*west*." Dupleix's rank (p. 76) was 7000 not 700, see Tibulle Hamont, "Dupleix," 143; and there is some discrepancy as to Hastings' first

[1] The exact date is the 26th January, 1775: see "Forrest," i, p. 208. The 6th February on p. 131 is wrong.

stay in India (p. 121), which was of fourteen, not ten years, see Lawson, 35, and Gleig, i, 33, 132; he landed October 8, 1750, and sailed November, 1764. "Mahandwāra" (p. 178) should be "Mukand-darah." On p. 206, R. M. Bird is given an honour he could not claim; if any one person did so, it was a still greater man, the late Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie, author of *Aīn haftam*, who "inaugurated" the modern system of revenue. But collection from "village communities" was a legacy from native times, and no invention of ours. Nor could Lord Macaulay (p. 214) consider whether official correspondence should be carried on in English or in the Indian tongues; that matter had settled itself long before he was born, and from the first days Englishmen had written to each other in English, and to Indian subordinates in an Indian language, as they do to this day. On p. 262 the year 1803 must be wrong: should it not be 1834? On p. 295, line 3 from foot, ought not *China* to read *Persia*? and on p. 311, line 4 from foot, is not *length* a slip of the pen for *height*?

Some further revision on such points as the above should be kept in view, in case the book is reprinted. For my own part, I should like a few more dates, without which history is as shapeless as a human body would be without any bones. For instance, the date of the very important battle of Pānīpat (p. 121) might be inserted. As usual, the old difficulty of the transliteration of Indian names crops up, and Mr. Frazer, rightly enough for his purpose, accepts the so-called Hunterian method. But, having got so far, it is a pity to propagate actual error in such forms as *Nasīr* for ناصر *Nāsir*, *Daulā* for دولة *Daulah*, and *Kārim* for كريم *Karīm*. If I mistake not, the *Kunwār* of p. 288 is identical with the *Koer* of p. 310; and there ought to be no accent on the last vowel. The name is कुँवर *Kunwar*, not कुँवार *Kunwār*.

A word or two, to the address of the publisher, may also be added on the subject of the illustrations. In a cheap book it is perhaps unfair to ask for very much, so nothing

need be said about the feeble, blurred look of most of them. But two or three are positively execrable. Akbar (p. 59) appears to have suffered from a cancerous sore, which has eaten away the whole face between the nose and the lower lip. Clive (p. 79) and Hastings (p. 137) seem to have recently recovered from a bad attack of small-pox, the effects of which are only too visible. Hastings' portrait I have compared with an impression in the original work (1786), and the reproduction quite distorts the original engraving. Hastings, at his best, was slightly-built and sloping-shouldered; but in the picture his right side looks positively deformed. This defect is caused by the blurring over of the detail in the original. In addition, the expression of the mouth and of the whole face is entirely altered. Again, the portrait of Clive chosen for insertion seems to me too sweet-looking about the mouth, and not half gross-featured enough to represent faithfully the essentially earthy nature of the man.

A word of praise at parting must be accorded to Mr. Frazer's last chapter on the material and moral progress of British India during the last forty years. Let us hope that the information therein conveyed may help to dispel some of the vast ignorance of things Indian, which is so prevalent among the "great British Public," who generally know as little of the marvellous work we are doing in India, as they do of how we have won our way to the foremost place in that wonderful land, the cradle of many a reputation, the grave of many an unfulfilled renown.

*March* 18, 1897. W. Irvine.

With the Dutch in the East. By Captain W. Cool, Dutch Engineers. Translated from the Dutch by G. J. Taylor. 8vo, pp. 365. (London: Luzac, 1897.)

This work is a sketch of the Dutch military operations in Lombok, in the year 1894. And it gives incidentally in a long and interesting chapter (pp. 46–165) a fairly full

account of the country and its dense population of about 600,000 aboriginal Sassaks, 50,000 of the ruling race from the neighbouring island of Bali, and a few thousand Malay, Arab, and Chinese settlers.

The best account in English of the very interesting island of Bali is that of R. Friedrich in our own Journal, 1876–1878. The present volume, in the portion devoted to the Balinese, is neither so full nor so scholarly as that remarkable series of articles. But in the portion devoted to the Sassaks, we have information hitherto not available in English. The curious regulations of the ancient guilds by which the elaborate irrigation arrangements necessary for the cultivation of the terraced rice-fields are fully set out, and the organization of the *dessa*, or family manor (also fully described), is interesting from its analogy to that of the Hindu family of the Hindu village community.

The volume is profusely illustrated, and the translation, while retaining the tone of the original, is written in an easy and readable style.

NIRVĀNA: EINE STUDIE ZUR VORGESCHICHTE DES BUDDHISMUS. By JOSEPH DAHLMANN, of the Society of Jesus. 8vo, pp. 214. (Berlin: Dames, 1896.)

The author starts with the proposition that the intellectual life of India is nowhere so clearly and originally shown as in the idea of Nirvāna; but that on the meaning of the Buddhist Nirvāna there reigns the greatest uncertainty. Is it annihilation, or is it everlasting bliss? He has not heard of the real answer (put forth as long ago as 1878) that it is neither, but an epithet of a state of mind to be reached and enjoyed only in the present life; and he seeks in vain to solve the riddle to his own satisfaction. Herein he is precisely in the position of a writer who should take for granted that "regeneration," in the Christian usage of the term, must mean either a physical rebirth, or a rebirth in heaven; and who should then seek (in vain) to

reconcile, either with the one or with the other of these hypotheses, the expressions used concerning it. The problem in either case is insoluble, because it is wrongly stated.

After finding it so the author states (p. 26) a further alternative. "Buddhism is derived either from the Dualism of the Sānkhya, or from the Monism of the Vedānta." This is very similar to the alternative that the opinions of St. Augustine rest either on those of Spinoza or on those of Leibnitz, both of them recorded centuries later. Views analogous to those of Spinoza and Leibnitz can, no doubt, be traced long before their time, and even before the age of St. Augustine. But even had he been influenced by such precursors of the two later thinkers, it only darkens counsel to put the alternative in such a form. Neither of the alternatives thus put forward as the basis of the author's treatise will, therefore, hold water. In each case the right answer is to reject both horns of the dilemma. But fortunately Father Dahlmann—having first put forward these alternatives so emphatically at the opening of his book—proceeds straightway to drop them. We have no attempt at a statement of what early Indian Buddhism really was, much less any sort of detailed comparison between it and either of the two later systems, from one or other of which it is supposed necessary that it must have been derived.

Instead of this we have a long and interesting discussion of the thesis that the Mahābhārata contains, not a wilderness of inconsistent and irreconcileable views, drawn from various sources, but one consistent and reasoned philosophy;—that this system existed, exactly as we now have it, already at least as early as the fifth century B.C.;—that the keynote of this system is the harmonious co-ordination of the three ideas of Ātmā, Prakṛti, Nirvāṇa;—that these three ideas were subsequently made the keynotes of the three systems Vedānta, Sānkhya, Buddhism;—that each of these arose therefore out of the tendency to lay special stress on one side (to the practical exclusion of the other two sides) of an older threefold hypothesis:—and, finally, that it is in the

Mahābhārata that we have, if not quite the only, yet the only complete, statement of the philosophy which thus occupies so important a place in the history of the development of Indian thought.

In support of this thesis he first goes in order through most of the passages in the epic, about thirty in number, in which the word Nirvāṇa occurs, showing that it means a state of happiness and peace, and as it is often unmistakeably stated to have been reached during this life, and is best explicable in the same way in the other passages, there is no reason to suppose that it ever means anything else. This is the ideal aim, and it is connected throughout with a knowledge of Brahma. The second chapter accordingly sets out the view of the epic about Brahma, with the object of showing that the same epithets are used both of it and of Nirvāṇa, and that in all probability they were used first of Brahma. Then in chapters iii and iv follows an exposition of the views found in the epic with respect to the ideas (*a*) of matter, (*b*) of the souls, (*c*) of the organs, (*d*) of Brahma. All these views together the author calls "the Sānkhya of the epic"; and some confusion would be saved if he had invented some other name for what he regards as a single system of philosophy.

The second part of the volume, also divided into four chapters, is devoted to a comparison of this "Sānkhya system of the epic" with the Sānkhya as found in the later textbooks, with the Upanishads, with the Vedānta, and with Buddhism.

More than half of the work is thus devoted to an exposition of what is called the Sānkhya system as found in the epic, and to a comparison between it and the quite different system of the same name, as found in the later and acknowledged textbooks of the Sānkhya—the system that has been so admirably summarized and expounded by Professor Garbe. This collection of passages of a philosophical tendency from the Mahābhārata—whether they form a system or not—is much more thorough and complete than has hitherto been made, and is most useful and

suggestive. But the author does not claim that he has included all, and it is a pity that he does not give the facts by themselves, apart from the wide-reaching and suggestive (but by no means convincing) theory that he wishes to establish. As it is, he has managed to leave the impression that, on each detail he discusses, there may be other passages, not so favourable to his theory, which are omitted; and to make it difficult for the reader to disentangle the facts from the lengthy theorizing in which they are almost hidden. But as a scholarly attempt at reconstruction in the history of Indian thought the book is very welcome, and it were much to be wished that the author would give us a clear statement of all that can be found in the Mahābhārata of a philosophical or psychological nature. We could then better see whether the author is justified in using the term Sānkhya for the whole of the philosophizing in the epic, instead of for those parts of it only which agree with what is always spoken of as the Sānkhya.

Schopenhauer und die indische Philosophie. Von Max F. Hecker, Dr. Phil. (Köln: Hübscher and Teufel, 1897.)

It has been predicted of Schopenhauer that the only element in his doctrine likely to prove fruitful is the fact that, in emphasizing the nature and function of that will by which man struggles for better existence, he, though he knew it not, stands as a pioneer of evolutionism. If, however, we leave theorizing and look around, we may see fields where he deliberately sowed, whitening already with another kind of harvest. Prompted in large measure by him, Western philosophy in Germany is ceasing to repeat, like one belated voice from Oxford, that "the Orientals had no philosophy" of their own to lend Europe (Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1892, p. 17), and is beginning "to sit down beside" the thinkers of ancient India. Not the least

significant phenomenon in this movement is the appearance (in the train of German Indianists) of writers like Dr. Hecker; I mean of students who, having themselves no first-hand knowledge of any but Western philosophy, are eager, in the light of recent Oriental research, to compare the teachings of Schopenhauer with those Indian *Weltanschauungen* which so strongly impressed him.

The comparison in this essay is a three-lined parallel drawn between Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Schopenhauerism considered under certain metaphysical and ethical aspects. The arrangement of salient points in these aspects, grouped, as I venture to think, in a somewhat unfortunate manner, is based on the affinity between quietism, asceticism, and mysticism, and on the predominant position which, it is claimed, these three conceptions occupy in the three paralleled systems of thought. The style is lucid and interesting; and the work, as a handy and suggestive manual, bids fair to attract readers. It is a welcome arrival and should do good work; nevertheless, an examination of it arouses mixed feelings.

The author is very strongly convinced of the resemblance, amounting sometimes to identity, between the metaphysic and ethic of Schopenhauer on the one hand, and of the two Eastern systems taken together on the other. He assures the Western reader that it is sufficient to read the former to get a "synthesis" of Vedāntist metaphysic and Buddhist ethic. Now, critics of Schopenhauer have, on other grounds, found him fairly self-contradictory; but his doctrine has never, I believe, been made out so hopeless an antinomy as to reconcile in itself the opposite poles—Substantialist and non-Substantialist—of Indian philosophy. It is one thing to try to find reconciled in Platonic Idealism the few shipwrecked fragments by which Heracleitus and Parmenides are indirectly known to us; it is a very different thing to find in Schopenhauerism Vedāntism and Buddhism "in a higher unity." I venture to think that anyone reading Schopenhauer *after* studying the latter systems in the original, will find in the former far more of Plato

and Kant than of Çankara or Gotama. Schopenhauer, like Dr. Hecker, knew his Orientals only through the prism of Western thought, and this was enough to leave him thoroughly Occidental in the traditions of standpoint and of form, although with a vision and a sympathy wider than the spirit of his age, he was able to discern, to welcome, and in some measure to assimilate, treasures of thought unappreciable by others.

There is, perhaps, no greater danger for all such work at second-hand on Eastern thought than just that prismatic medium through which the writer must study his materials. He forgets this. Without studying at least the translated texts for himself, or even comparing the various views of all good scholars, he selects one or two manuals, and then applies that ill-fitting Western terminology (which he there finds more or less cautiously used) with an easy confidence. To take only one example—the word 'will': it can only create misrepresentation to import Schopenhauer's crude psychology and ethic of will into Buddhism, and then to say Buddhism preached "Willensertötung," the "condemnation and stifling of all impulses of will." Here Dr. Hecker's chief, almost sole, authority, Professor Oldenberg, gives him no clear guidance. Nor had he consulted Dr. Neumann's luminous translations, would he have found on this point more light. There is no word in Pāli that can compass the connotation of the Teutonic 'will.' Nor are the various conscious states so designated ever condemned by Buddhism *as such*. *Chando, viriyaṃ, ceto, sankappo, vāyāmo*, etc., are all, in themselves, as unmoral as, in itself, will is. Each may be used for good or bad ends. But the good ends are not to be attained without constant desire, energy, imagination, aspiration, endeavour, etc. Nothing conational is condemned except perverted will—lust, thirst, craving on the one hand; langour and indifference on the other. On its active side Buddhist philosophy might fitly be described as both the development and regulation of the faculty of will. It is a contradiction in terms to speak of its "negating will" when it is ever

spurring on its followers to the highest quality of voluntary activity that came within its ken.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

GRAMMAIRE RONGA, with a Manual of Conversation and a Vocabulary in Ronga, Portuguese, French, and English. By HENRI JUNOD, Swiss Missionary. (Georges Bridell: Lausanne, Switzerland, 1896.)

The Ronga language is spoken by the Natives of the Districts adjacent to Lorenzo Marquez in the Portuguese Colony of the East Coast of South Africa. The author is one of the enterprising Missionaries sent out by a Swiss Mission Society. M. Junod has published a noble work: 200 pages of Grammar; 25 pages of Folklore in the Ronga language, with a French translation; 90 pages of Vocabulary in the languages above stated. This is a valuable contribution to our knowledge, and it is pleasant to record that it is published at the charges of the Portuguese Government.

*Feb.* 22, 1897.

DOCUMENTS ASSYRIENS RELATIFS AUX PRÉSAGES. Par ALFRED BOISSIER. Part II. (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1896.)

The first part of this work was issued in 1894, and contained fourteen texts; part ii, however, contains fifty-two, and speed of publication will need to be well maintained to publish within reasonable time the hundreds of omen-tablets which are in the British Museum and elsewhere. The texts which Dr. Boissier gives belong to the very numerous class of omens, and among the more interesting may be noted those derived from rivers in flood, etc., during the various months of the year (pp. 51–70); a very curious text giving omens for the months Nisan, Sebat, and Adar, and a list of the lucky days in those months (pp. 100–102); omens from the actions of dogs and bitches (pp. 103–108), etc., etc. Thus we find such phrases as, "If a dog has [illegible] a dog, that city will see

extension (?)."[1] A large number of the tablets published refer to omens from births of children, and from young animals (*isbu*), and was a very extensive series. Two small tablets containing extracts from this series are worth noting, as one has a reference to the Babylonian queen Azaga-Bau or Bau-êllit, known only otherwise from being mentioned in the list of kings "not written out in proper order"; and the other refers to omens from an animal having "8 feet and 2 tails"—a favourable forecast for the prince of the land—so favourable that a certain Nergal-êṭir writes (probably to the king or one of the princes) that a certain butcher (?), named Uddanu, had spoken concerning a sow, that she had brought forth, and the young had the number of feet and tails mentioned in the omen. "Thee then," he cries joyfully, "in prosperity I behold, and I place in the house," probably meaning the royal palace, where he sees him already, seemingly, in imagination.

The publication of these texts is a very useful work, and will be very valuable for the translation of texts written, as these are, mostly in ideographs, the variants being at times very useful. An example of this occurs in the case of 83–1–18, 209[2] (part i, p. 41), where we have the following:—

"Referring to the work of which the king my lord has spoken, this night of the 22nd day we shall do it before the star Delebat (Venus), (and) before the star Mešrû, (as) the priests have done."

"Rimmon is setting his mouth in the midst of the constellation *islē* (apparently meaning that the wind blows from that quarter) *šarru* [cuneiform] *la šu-a-tu*$^{m}$ *ḳât-su* [cuneiform]."

Now instead of *šarru* [cuneiform]*-la*, the text published on p. 90, l. 9, gives [cuneiform] [cuneiform]*-la*, and instead of [cuneiform], [cuneiform], *ikašš-ad*. This phrase, therefore, as amended, apparently means: "The hands of the king will capture everything, as much as that (is)."

[1] One of a series of omens from a tablet belonging to the city of Uri.

[2] Given by me also in my "Select[illegible]exts," issued for the use of the students who attended my lectures on Assyri[illegible]n 1894.

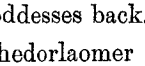
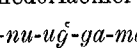
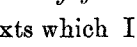
Most interesting, too, are the catalogues of omen-tablets giving the beginnings, and the number of the lines on each (part i, pp. 42–44), as well as those omen-texts giving diagrams, of one of which a photo-lithograph is appended.

T. G. P.

The most interesting of the articles published is probably that of Father Scheil, in Maspero's *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xix, p. 4 ff., under the title *Correspondance de Hammurabi, roi de Babylone, avec Sinidinnam, roi de Larsa, où il est question de Codorlahomor.* The texts given in this paper are three in number, and are letters from Ḫammurabi (whom Professor Schrader identified many years ago with Amraphel) to Sin-idinnam, whom Scheil is undoubtedly right in identifying with the king of Larsa of that name. Of these letters the first is the most interesting :—

"Ḫammurabi sends thus to Sin-idinnam: 'I shall hand over to thee the goddesses of Emutbalu (on account of) thy heroism on the day of Kadur-laġgamar (Chedorlaomer). When they demand them back from thee, with the people that thou hast, overthrow thou their people, and let them restore the goddesses to their seats.'"

Apparently Sin-idinnam was to retain the statues of the goddesses of the land of Emutbalu only if the people of the land did not protest against this course, in which case, after punishing the people, he was to give way, and let them have their goddesses back.

The name of Chedorlaomer is written  , *Ku-dur-nu-uġ-ga-mar* or (better) *Ku-dur-la-aġ-ga-mar*. In the texts which I found to refer to that king, the name is given as follows:  or  , *Ku-dur-laġ-mal* or *Ku-dur-laġ-ga-mal*, and the latter form agrees perfectly with that given, in a better and more phonetic style, by the tablet published by Scheil. It is to be hoped that some documents referring to this important period may be found.

Father Scheil also contributes to the same journal some *Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes.* The first text described is an Assyrian document, written by a royal scribe named Marduk-nadin-âḫê, who mentions the then ruling king Aššur-uballiṭ (about 1400 B.C.), the king who is referred to in the tablet of the Babylonian chronicle, published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1894 (see p. 824). He quotes also some very good inscriptions from cylinder-seals (a plate with twenty designs accompanies the paper), and some dates from early contracts and legal documents, etc. The paper also contains some extracts from bilingual-lists, showing how days and years were numbered and spoken of. There are also several references to kings and viceroys as yet but little known.

Professor Delitzsch writes, *Über den Ursprung der babylonischen Keilschriftzeichen,*[1] and succeeds in solving a large number of riddles in that difficult branch of Assyriology. He shows that the number of original signs was comparatively small, and that additions to the Babylonian syllabary were made by doubling a character, adding another character, or more than one, adding additional strokes ("gunuing"), etc. All these methods were already known to have existed, but Delitzsch's demonstration that they were not accidents, but part of a well-thought-out system, is of great value, as is also the large number of signs that he explains for the first time. Though it is difficult to follow him sometimes, it must be admitted that his identifications are often certain, and that when they are not that, they are either possible or probable. There are but few, however, who will admit that he is right in laying down the law that the characters have not, as a rule, to be turned top to the left to get the original forms. He has to admit that, for several signs, this assumption is correct, and, indeed, it can hardly be proved that this rule was not general.

Many will turn with interest to Delitzsch's derivations of

[1] Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Juli, 1896.

certain letters of the Phoenician alphabet from Babylonian signs.[1]

This paper, together with the larger book which Professor Delitzsch has written, has been wittily and suggestively reviewed by Halévy, who speaks of the learned author's return to the fold of the Akkadists or Sumerists, from which safe refuge he had been enticed by his (M. Halévy's) fault.

T. G. P.

1. THE PITṚMEDHA SŪTRAS OF BANDHĀYANA HIRAṆYAKEŚIN AND GAUTAMA. Edited by Dr. W. CALAND. Pp. xxiv and 136. (Leipzic: Brockhaus, 1896. Being Part 3 of Vol. X of the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.)
2. DIE ALT-INDISCHEN TODTEN- UND BESTATTUNGS-GEBRÄUCHE, dargestellt von Dr. W. CALAND. 8vo, pp. xiv and 193. (Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam, 1896.)

The cremation and funeral ceremonies of the Hindus have been already dealt with and described with considerable fulness by several competent scholars, notably by Colebrooke and Wilson in their "Essays," by Von Roth and Max Müller in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and by Oldenberg in his "Religion des Veda." The materials on which these and other accounts are based are, however, not complete; and though the usages and practices of one school of Brahmins do not differ very much, nor in essential points, from those of other schools, yet it is a distinct advantage to have the ceremony fully set out with the variations in each of its details found recorded in the various textbooks. Dr. Caland has done this, in the second of the works mentioned at the head of this notice, for thirteen schools, the textbooks of three of which he has edited, in the first. Dividing the whole ceremony into 114 separate episodes or usages, arranged in six special groups, he gives

[1] This was suggested by the Rev. J. P. Peters as long ago as 1884. See the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for February 5 of that year, pp. 73–76.

us for each usage, first, the general regulation as common to all the various schools, and then the specialities, either in ceremony or liturgy, of any one of them. We obtain in this way, and for the first time, a complete conspectus of all that took place during the cremation ceremonies in vogue in early times among the ancient Hindus, according to whatever school of ritual those ceremonies were carried out.

It is needless to point out how important a service has thus been rendered to the history of primitive culture. Not that the authorities quoted go back themselves to primitive times—no books can do that. But they bring us as near to primitive times as we are likely to get, except perhaps from Assyrian documents. And as they give the account in native phraseology, untarnished by filtration through a European mind, they are by so much more trustworthy than the travellers' tales of modern savages from which our ideas of "primitive culture" are so often derived.

The subject is treated throughout in a critical and scholarly manner, the author not neglecting references to similar usages now current among various savage tribes, and giving in an appendix an account of the cremation ceremonies described in the Mahābhārata. He notices also throughout the work the prevalent usages among the Brahmins of to-day, and we hope he may be induced to turn his attention to the details given in the non-Brahmin literature of India regarding the cremation ceremonies actually observed in various periods by those inhabitants of India who have been, from various causes, independent of Brahmin influence.

Meanwhile we can heartily recommend this very excellent monograph to all who are interested in the subject.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1. Rosaries in Ceylonese Buddhism.

Dear Sir,—In connection with Dr. L. A. Waddell's article on the above subject in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1896, p. 575, and my note thereon, reprinted from the *Ceylon Observer* in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1896, pp. 800–1, I would point out that in the Mahāvaṁsa the use of rosaries by Ceylon Buddhists in the seventh century is mentioned. I quote as follows from the late L. C. Wijesinha's translation (chap. XLVI, v. 17): "And as he [King Hatthadāṭha, or Dāṭhopatissa, who reigned 673–689] pondered always on the great merits of the three Sacred Gems, he made the king's string of pearls into a rosary." To this the learned translator appends the following footnote: "A Buddhist devotee uses a rosary to aid him in repeating certain formulas in which Buddha, the Law, and the Order are praised." The Pāli word translated "rosary" in the above passage is *akkhamālā*: this is not recorded in Childers's Pāli Dictionary. In the Sinhalese translation of the Mahāvaṁsa the word is rendered by "*akṣamālā hevat* [or] *navaguṇa(veḷ)*." The first word is explained in Clough's Sinhalese Dictionary as "rosary, strings of beads, especially the seeds of the *Elaeocarpus* used by the Hindu mendicants; name of Arundhati Vaṣishṭa's wife, from her wearing a rosary." *Navaguṇaveḷ*= literally "nine-attribute necklace": the "nine attributes"

being those of the Buddha. (Cf. the remarks of Dr. Waddell, *u. s.*, p. 576.)—Yours truly,

DONALD FERGUSON.

5, *Bedford Place, Croydon.*
*January* 9, 1897.

## 2. PIṢṬĀPURA.

SIR,—On p. 28 of the Society's Journal for January of this year, Mr. Vincent Smith gives us a list of kings and their kingdoms conquered, or at least temporarily defeated, by Samudra Gupta. The eleventh of these is the kingdom of "Piṣṭâpura," with its king "Mahendragiri." I should like to point that while all the other names of kings given are veritable names of persons, "Mahendragiri" can hardly be anything but the name of a place.

Piṣṭâpuram (modern Piṭṭâpuram) is, as Mr. Smith intimates (p. 29), in the north of the present Godâvari District. Mahendragiri, a place very seldom visited by Europeans, lies within the limits of the present Zamindâri of Mandasa in the Ganjam District. There is a very ancient and very sacred temple there, to which frequent pilgrimages are made by the devout. Piṭṭâpuram is undoubtedly a place of great antiquity. But it is difficult to see how the two places could be connected unless the old kingdom of Piṣṭâpuram was in those days of far greater extent than has hitherto been supposed. One would expect to find Mahendragiri included in the kingdom of Kaliṅgâ.—Yours faithfully,

R. SEWELL.

## 3. THE COINS OF ACYUTA, A PRINCE DEFEATED BY SAMUDRA GUPTA.

*British Museum*, W.C.

DEAR PROFESSOR RHYS DAVIDS,—Since the appearance, in the last number of the Journal, of Mr. Vincent Smith's *Specimen Chapter of a projected Ancient History of Northern*

*India from the Monuments*, I have found a number of bronze coins which, I think, must undoubtedly be attributed to the Acyuta, who is mentioned in the Allahabad inscription among the kings subdued by Samudra Gupta. The coins, which, so far as I know, have not hitherto been noticed, belonged formerly to General Sir A. Cunningham, and are now in the British Museum. They bear on the obverse the abbreviated name *Acyu-* in Gupta characters, precisely similar to those of the Allahabad inscription; and their reverse type is a wheel. In their general character they resemble the coins of the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī or Narwar, one of whom, Gaṇapati Nāga, is mentioned together with Acyuta in the Allahabad inscription. Indeed, the same reverse type, a wheel, actually occurs on the coins of another member of this dynasty—Deva Nāga (see Cunningham's *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pl. ii, 24). Nāga Datta and Nāga Sena, who are also mentioned in the Allahabad inscription, are probably other members of the same family; but the precise relationship of these princes to one another remains to be determined. The only suggestion which occurs to me at present is that, possibly, all the nine kings whose names occur together in this passage may have been Nāgas; and that the term "Nine Nāgas," used in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (trans. Wilson, p. 479), may, perhaps, refer not, as has been hitherto assumed, to a dynasty of nine members, but to this confederation of nine princes belonging to the same race.

E. J. RAPSON.

## 4. KAPITTHIKĀ; KAPITTHA.

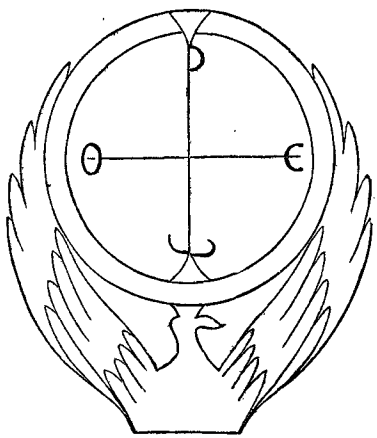
DEAR SIR,—The Madhuban plate of the great king Harṣadeva of Kanauj was issued from *Kapitthikā*; for the reading of the original plate, in line 1, clearly is *mahā-nauhastyaśvajayaskandhāvārāt* = *Kapitthikāyāḥ*, and not, as Professor Bühler's published text (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 72) has it, °*skandhāvārāt Pinthikāyāḥ*. Kapitthikā apparently

is the *Kie-pi-tha* (*Kapittha*) of Hïuen Tsiang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. i, p. 202), which, again, is the same as Sāṁkāśya, which by the late Sir A. Cunningham has been identified with the present Sankīsa on the Kālīnadī river, about forty miles north-west of Kanauj. Kapitthikā very probably also is the Kāpitthaka of Varāhamihira; and it may be the Kaviṭṭhakaassama mentioned in the *Jātaka*, vol. iii, p. 463, ll. 7 and 11.

F. KIELHORN.

## 5. GREEK INSCRIPTION IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

SIR,—Allow me to call your attention to an inscription at Mehterhané, the Central Prison of Constantinople. The prison is, I believe, situated on the ruins of the Amphitheatre of Theodosius. The inscription, written on a broken piece of marble, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $9\frac{1}{2}$ wide, is placed in the wall of the garden of Mehterhané, and represents the figure below.

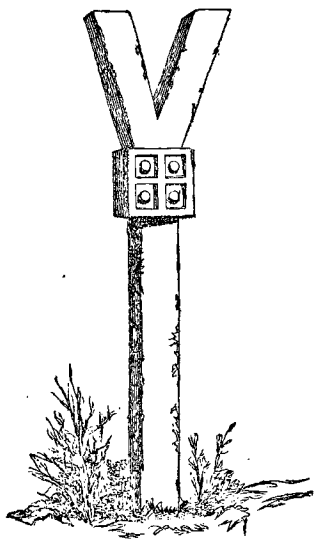


I read the four letters at the four corners of the cross: Θ[εοδοσιος] B(?)[ασιλεὺς] E[ὐσεβής] P[ωμαίων]="Theodosius the pious, king of the Romans."—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

K. J. BASMADJIAN.

## 6. Dimāpūr.

Dear Sir,—As I remarked at the time, I was extremely pleased to note as the chief feature of the Dimāpūr ruins, described to-day by Surgeon-Captain F. H. Burton Brown, some curious Y-shaped stones, and I now send you a facsimile of a drawing I made in the year 1870, and attached to my Report on the Hill Tracts of Arakan, of a similar wooden post common outside the villages of the Mros.



The following is the paragraph which explains it:—
26. "During the dry weather numerous feasts are given at which large numbers of cattle are killed and eaten, and rice-beer and spirits consumed. It is a mark of distinction amongst them to have it said 'that they have killed so many head of cattle at a feast.'" The largest number I have heard of was 150.

The gayals, buffaloes, and oxen are tied up to a post and speared behind the right shoulder, but other animals have

their throat cut. Dogs are castrated when young for use at these feasts.

The post used by the Mros is Y-shaped, and, just below the fork, carved so as to represent two or more breasts. There is some peculiar significance attached to this symbol, both by the Mros and 'Kamies, and it is often carved on the posts of headmen's houses and the house ladder. As with most of these customs, I have not been able to discover the real meaning of this symbol; the only answer one gets is, "It is a custom inherited from our forefathers." It appears to be, however, an emblem of fecundity. The 'Kamies and Chins do not carve their posts, but set them up rough, and in the Chin villages I have observed rough stones.

It is, I think, clear from the above that these Mros must at one time have been intimately acquainted with the customs of the inhabitants of Dimāpūr, and the question arises as to whether this post is derived from intercourse with Brahmans, or one peculiar to the worshippers of the spirits of the forest and the stream. Unfortunately, I have no note as to the names given to it by the various tribes.

It will be noted that these people *do not use it for the insertion of the victim's neck*, and that the stones at Dimāpūr would have been too large for that purpose. The carvings on the Dimāpūr stones, too, seem to show that they were used for animal sacrifice and not human. Can we be sure that the round pillars were also unstained with human blood? I fear not. Some of them were probably what the Burmese call Tu-raing posts, which are planted near the gates of a palace or city. In the story of Prince Sri Gutta of Madhūra, it is said that King Samuddha "made his city secure with fortifications, moats, barbicans, palisades, gates, and tu-raing posts (Skr. *toraṇa* ?)."

A description of what these are is to be found in the "Burman: his life and notions," by Shway Yoe, pp. 476, 477—

"On the foundation of a new capital, there are always a certain number of people buried alive. The idea is that

they become *nat-thehn* (guardian spirits); that their spirits haunt the place where they were put to death, and attack all persons approaching with malevolent intentions."

"When the foundations of the city [Mandalay] wall were laid, fifty-two persons, of both sexes and of various age and rank, were consigned to a living tomb. Three were buried under each of the twelve gates, one at each of the four corners, one under each of the palace gates, and at the corners of the timber stockade, and four under the throne itself." And this was in 1858 A.D.! "Along with the four human beings buried at the corners of the city were placed four jars full of oil, carefully covered over and protected from any damage that might come from the weight of earth pressing down on them."

"In 1880 it was found that the oil in two of the jars was either completely dried up or had leaked out. At this time a terrible scourge of small-pox was decimating the town, and two of the royal house, King Theebaw's infant son, his only child, and the ex-Pagahn Min, had fallen victims."

"At the instance of the Pohnna Woon, it was resolved that the number of victims should be the highest possible: a hundred men, 100 women, 100 boys, 100 girls, 100 soldiers, and 100 foreigners." So great was the panic that everyone began to fly from the capital, which so frightened the ministers that the whole thing was countermanded and denied.

However, it is still declared that victims were buried under each of the posts at the twelve gates. "Each of these posts bears an image of an animal from one of the seals of the king, and before the post sits a figure of a beeloo [Rakshas] with a thick club."

As far as I know, however, the Y-shaped post is not used by either Burmese or Talaings, and consequently has not been introduced by the Puṇṇā[1] (ပုဏ္ဏား) astrologers.

[1] Shway Yoe's transliterations of Puṇṇā and Pugan are incorrect.

These Puṇṇās are a Brahminical sect who were brought to Burma from Manipūr.

It has been stated that a post of this kind has been seen in the Nāga villages. If it be the Brahminical "Yupo" mentioned in the 'Kaṇḍahāla Jātaka and elsewhere, it would probably be still found in Manipūr, which is still under Brahminical rule.

Mr. B. Houghton, in January, 1895, gave two lists of 'Kamie words, but he does not show whether the Mro has any affinity to it. My impression is that they are connected rather closely, though the two tribes differ considerably in their character, habits, and appearance.

The 'Kamies are tall, light-coloured, well-dressed (for hill-men), and prone to improve; whereas the Mros are dirty, darker, and less inclined to improvement.

The 'Kamies build large and commodious houses, whereas those of the Mros are small. In fact, one would be led to infer that though these two tribes had migrated fr[illegible] the north together, the 'Kamies had held a higher posi[illegible] than the Mros before they were forced to shift their habit[illegible]

I see nothing in these stones to lead one to suppose that they were connected with either Brahminical or Buddhist cults; and it is clear from Rajendralāla Mittra's description (Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1872, i, p. 184) and description found elsewhere, that the "Yupo" must be of *wood* and *pointed*, not *forked*.

It seems to me that if round-capped stones are found in front of gates and elsewhere, as described by Shway Yoe, they are "Tu-raings"; but if in rows headed by the forked stones, they are a development of the ancient "Nat" (spirit) worship of the Nāga tribes.

In Sir A. Phayre's "History of Burma," p. 33, it is stated that the system of Nāga worship which prevailed in the north of Burma, A.D. 1010, "excited the indignation and horror of Anoarathâ," king of Pugan, and that the priests of this religion, who were called Arî အရည်း, lived in monasteries like Buddhist monks, but their practices

resembled those attributed to the votaries of the sect of Vāmācharis in Bengal. I do not know where these practices are recorded, or what may have been the practices of Vāmācharis, but the word အရည်း is evidently the same as the Pali araññaṁ (forest), and should be transliterated Arañ or Ariñ, and not Arî.

The following questions would naturally arise:—

1. Were these Arañ Nāga priests or merely hermits?
2. Do the forked posts represent a forked stick used for the purpose of controlling serpents?
3. Why is the tree *Mesua ferrea* called Nāga Kesura, and was it supposed to have any power over serpents?
4. If so, are the flowers carved on these stones, which look somewhat like a lotus, really the flowers of the Nāga Kesura?

My notes on the Hill tribes of Arakan were published in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. ii, 1872.—Yours truly,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

*March* 13, 1897.

## 7. Tâo.

Dear Sir,—I quite share Professor Douglas' regret that he was unable to be present on the occasion of my reading a paper "On the most appropriate equivalent for the word 'Tâo' as used by Lâo-tsze"; for had he been, and also heard the few remarks I made at the close of the proceedings in reply to objections, I feel convinced he would have seen reason to modify the views put forward in the letter to the President read at the meeting, and published *in extenso* in the report of the proceedings. As it is, I think it is only due to myself, as well as to those who

did not hear my paper, that I should repeat that the Tâo-tĭh-king is full of passages which are entirely antagonistic to Professor Douglas' contention that "*Tao* as used by Laotzu is much more nearly related to 'the impersonal Brahma, the universal, self-existing soul,' than it is to our idea of God." To avoid controversy, I will not now attempt to controvert the Professor's views with respect to what he calls the "commonly accepted idea of God," and its inapplicability to the great conception of the old Chinese Philosopher, but would simply refer him to Professor Max Müller's "Introduction to the Science of Religion," where he will find, at page 260, a chapter on the Chinese name for God, in which there appears a letter of remonstrance, signed by twenty-three Protestant missionaries in China, addressed to the Professor in his capacity of Editor of the "Sacred Books of the East," against the rendering adopted by Dr. Legge, in his translation of the ancient classics, of the Chinese terms 'Tî' and 'Shang-ti' by the English word 'God.' In his answer the Professor completely vindicates Dr. Legge's action, whilst he defines with great clearness the various aspects under which the idea of God presents itself to the human mind; and this vindication was followed later on by a published letter to himself from Dr. Legge, in which he enters with great thoroughness into the subject of complaint, and seems to me to have completely established his position. And here I would remark that, while insisting upon Von Strauss' view that it is impossible to translate Tâo, *as used by Lâo-tsze,* by any other word than God, I have no desire whatever to propose it as a substitute for the characters which have been adopted by our translators for that sacred word, and which no doubt had a far wider and more popular acceptance than the one put forward by Lâo-tsze, for what he believed to be a more ancient, and therefore a higher, conception of the creative and all-ruling power.

With respect to Mr. Baynes' letter, I would only observe that a general conclusion drawn from a single text is often very misleading, and that in order to understand the

Tâo-tĭh-king it has to be studied as a whole. With Professor de Harlez's answer to his question I am in perfect agreement. The Tâo was undoubtedly "le grand Sans-Nom," but that was only one of many designations.—Yours faithfully,

G. G. ALEXANDER.

*To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

## 8. THE DISCOVERY OF BUDDHA'S BIRTHPLACE.

*Vienna, February*, 1897.

The kindness of Dr. Führer enables me to give some account of his discoveries in the Nepalese Terai, north of the district of Gorakhpur, which were briefly noticed in an Indian telegram of the *Times* of December 28, 1896. He has sent me two excellent impressions of the new Ashoka edict on the Pillar of Paderia, together with a memorandum regarding his tour and the situation of the ruins in its neighbourhood.

The edict leaves no doubt that Dr. Führer has accomplished all the telegram claimed for him. He has found the Lumbini garden, the spot where the founder of Buddhism was born, according to the tradition of the canonical works of the South and of the North. The decisive passages of the Paderia Edict are as follows:—"King Piyadasi [or Ashoka], beloved of the gods, having been anointed twenty years, himself came and worshipped, saying, 'Here Buddha Shakyamuni was born' . . . . and he caused a stone pillar to be erected, which declares, 'Here the worshipful one was born.'" Immediately afterwards the edict mentions the village of Lu*m*mini (*Lumminigâma*), and adds, according to my interpretation of the rather difficult new words, that Ashoka appointed there two new officials.

However that may be, Lu*m*mini is certainly equivalent to Lumbini, and the pillar marks the site which was pointed out to Ashoka as the royal garden to which Mayadevi

retired immediately before her confinement. The evidence of the edict could only be set aside if it were shown that the pillar has been carried from some other place to its present site. But there is collateral evidence to prove that it is in its original position. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the sacred places of the Buddhists all over India and reached the Lumbini garden in A.D. 636, mentions the pillar erected by Ashoka. He says that it stood close to four Stupas, and Dr. Führer says that their ruins are still extant. Hiuen Tsiang further alleges that the pillar had been broken into two pieces through the contrivance of a wicked dragon, and Dr. Führer remarks that it has lost its top part, which appears to have been shattered by lightning. The Buddhists consider destructive storms to be due to the anger of the snake-deities or Nâgas, whom the Chinese call dragons. If Hiuen Tsiang does not mention the inscription, the reason is no doubt that it was not visible in his time. When Dr. Führer first saw the pillar on December 1, only a piece, nine feet high, was above the ground, and it was covered with pilgrims' records, one of which bears the date A.D. 800. This piece must, therefore, have been accessible, and the surface of the ground must have been at the present level for nearly 1,100 years. When the excavation of the pillar was afterwards undertaken, the Ashoka inscription was found 10 feet below the surface and 6 feet above the base. It seems impossible to believe that 10 feet of débris could have accumulated in the sixty-four years between the date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit and the incision of the oldest pilgrim's record at the top. Finally, it may be mentioned that the site is still called Rumindei, and the first part of this name evidently represents Ashoka's Lu*m*mini and the Pali Lumbini.

The identification of the Lumbini garden fixed also the site of Kapilavastu, the capital of the Shakyas, and that of Napeikia or Nabhika, the supposed birthplace of Shakyamuni's mythical predecessor Krakuchanda. According to the Chinese Buddhist Fahien, Hiuen Tsiang's predecessor,

Kapilavastu lay 50 li (about 8 miles) west of the garden. Following this indication, Dr. Führer discovered extensive ruins 8 miles north-west of Paderia, stretching in the middle of the forest from the villages of Amauli and Bikuli (north-west) to Ramghat on the Banganga (south-east), over nearly 7 miles. Again, Fahien gives the distance of Napeikia from Kapilavastu as one *yojana*. Dr. Führer found its ruins with the Stupa, which is still 80 feet high, 7 miles south-west. As the Stupa of Konagamana, another mythical Buddha, had already been found by Dr. Führer, together with its Ashoka edict, in 1895, at Nigliva, 13 miles from Paderia, all the sacred sites in the western part of the Nepalese Terai mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims have been satisfactorily identified. Some others, particularly Ramagrama and Kusinara, the place where Buddha died, will probably be found in the eastern portion of the Nepalese lowlands. For, if the direction of the route from Kapilavastu to these places has been correctly given by the Chinese, Kusinara cannot be identical with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district, where Sir A. Cunningham and Mr. Carlleyle believed they had found it.

Dr. Führer's discoveries are the most important which have been made for many years. They will be hailed with enthusiasm by the Buddhists of India, Ceylon, and the Far East. For the student of Indian history they yield already some valuable results, and they are rich in promise.

It is now evident that the kingdom of the Shakyas lay, as their legend asserts, on the slopes of the Himalaya, and that they were, as they too admit, jungle and hill Rajputs exiled from the more civilized districts. Their settlement in the hill-forest must have separated them for a prolonged period from their brethren further south and west. Their isolation no doubt forced them to develop the entirely un-Aryan and un-Indian custom of endogamy, as well as other habits not in accordance with those of their kindred. This also explains why intermarriages between them and the other noble families of Northern India did not take

place. It was not, as their tradition says, their pride of blood which prevented such alliances, but the stigma attaching to exiles who had departed from the customs of their race, and were perhaps not even free from a strong admixture of un-Aryan blood.

For the history of Ashoka, the Paderia Edict and the Nigliva inscription, the mutilated lines of which may now be restored with perfect certainty, teach us that the king visited in his twenty-first year the sacred places of the Buddhists in Northern India. His journey extended probably also in the east to Kusinara, and further west to Shravasti, where Hiuen Tsiang saw his inscribed pillars. And his route from his capital at Patna to the Terai is probably marked by the row of columns found from Bakhra, near Vaishali or Besarh, as far as Rampurva, in the Champaran district. The journey may indicate that Ashoka was at the time already a convert to Buddhism, or it may have been, as I think more probable, one of the "religious tours" which, according to the eighth Rock Edict, he regularly undertook from his eleventh year "in order to obtain enlightenment."

The fact that he planted a number of pillars all over the Terai indicates that also this district belonged then to his extensive empire. If I am right in my interpretation of the concluding sentence of the Paderia Edict, according to which Ashoka appointed there two officials, this inference becomes indisputable.

The promise which Dr. Führer's discoveries hold out is that excavations of the newly-found ruins will make us acquainted with monuments and documents not only of the third century B.C., but of a much earlier period, extending to the fifth and sixth centuries, which latter will be partly Buddhistic and partly pre-Buddhistic, like the ancient Shiva temple seen by Hiuen Tsiang ("Siyuki," vol. ii, p. 23, Beal) outside the eastern gate of Kapilavastu, where the Shakyas used to present their children. Kapilavastu and its neighbourhood are particularly favourable for the discovery of really ancient monuments; for in Fahien's time, about

A.D. 400, the country was already a wilderness, with very few inhabitants, and full of ancient mounds and ruins. Hiuen Tsiang's description is very similar. It is therefore to be expected that the old buildings have not been disfigured by late restorations. I am glad to learn from Dr. Führer's memorandum that the Nepalese Governor of the district, General Khadga Shamsher Jang Rana Bahadur, who had the pillar of Paderia excavated, but did not think any other operations feasible on account of the severe famine, has generously promised to lend next year a number of his sappers for more extensive excavations. I trust that the Indian Government will now consent to prolong the existence of the Archaeological Department, which, if the rumours in the papers are true, was recently threatened. The services of the few officers still employed are sorely needed for conducting the researches in a really systematic and scientific manner.

G. BÜHLER.

[From the *Athenæum*, March 6.]

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1897.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*January* 12, 1897.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss M. Frere,
Professor M. N. Chatterjea,
Mr. Edmund Russell, and
Mr. Richard Burn, I.C.S.,

had been elected members of the Society.

Letters addressed to the *Times* by the Secretary and Mr. Henry Morris, Chairman of the Transliteration Committee, on the subject of Transliteration, were read to the meeting.

The Secretary read a paper by Mr. Claude Delaval Cobham on the "Story of Umm Ḥarám."

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Gaster, Professor M. Barakat Ulloh Maulvi, and others took part.

The paper was published in the January number.

*February* 9.—The Right Hon. the Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Walter Stanley Talbot, I.C.S., and
Professor James Fuller Blumhardt

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Bendall announced the discovery in Kashgaria of a MS. of the third century in the Kharosthi alphabet.

Professor Rhys Davids announced that Dr. Führer, of the Indian Archaeological Department, who had made the discoveries on the Nepal border concerning which there had been so much discussion, had forwarded to Hofrath Bühler in Vienna two impressions of the new Asoka Edict on the Paderia Pillar. Hofrath Bühler had communicated to the Vienna Academy of Sciences in February the conclusions that could be drawn from his interpretation of this important and interesting find, and had been kind enough to send copies of his article to Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars in London. A summary of the article was communicated to the meeting, but readers can now be referred to Hofrath Bühler's own words above, pp. 429 to 433.[1]

Professor Rhys Davids then read an abstract of Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell's article (published in full in the present number) on "Village Tenures in the Dakhan." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Irvine, Sir W. W. Hunter, Mr. Whinfield, Dr. Leitner, and Mr. Sewell took part.

Mr. R. Sewell said that he was glad to note that the discussion was taking a historical turn, because he felt that inquiry into the origin and growth, in the course of past centuries, of the village communities in India, was more in

[1] As these pages were passing through the press we have also received a valuable article on the same subject by M. Barth (Journal des Savants, Février, 1897).

accord with the aims and objects of the Royal Asiatic Society than a discussion on the legal and economic side of the question. He could speak with no authority as to the condition of villages in Northern India, but with the Madras side of the Dekkan country and with the south of the peninsula he was familiar; and he could not entirely agree with the views of the last speaker. It is a fact that, at the present day, *merassi* right is strongest in the territories south of Madras which formerly constituted the dominion of the old Pallava and Chola dynasty, purely Hindu sovereignties; and that at the commencement of British supremacy it was little known, or at least had fallen into desuetude, in the South Dekkan country, which had been subject to more prolonged Muhammadan influences. The question of the origin of these village institutions all over India would form a very interesting subject for inquiry; the variations observable in different tracts should be examined, and it should be noted how far these tracts were conterminous with the territories ruled over by the various Hindu dynasties. A large field of research lay here, at present almost entirely unexplored, and it could hardly be supposed that researches in that direction would prove either uninteresting in themselves or useless to the Government.

Allusion had been made to our present Revenue field-survey and settlements. Educated Hindu writers, and some English authorities, often take objection to the system. He would not attempt to enter on a controversy regarding its merits, but there was one point which he thought was very little known. Whereas our system had the merit of being as simple as possible, and very easily and readily worked, the old Hindu sovereigns appear to have recognized a similar system of survey, but one so extraordinarily intricate in its details that it is hard to conceive how it could have been carried on in daily life. For instance, there was a proof afforded by the inscriptions on the walls of the old Tanjore temple, as to the measurements of the area of a village in the early eleventh century A.D. under

the Chola sovereigns. This was merely one of many similar records. It runs thus:—

"The village contains according to measurement twenty-three measures of land, one-half, three-twentieths, and one hundred and sixtieth; $\frac{1}{320}$ of one-eightieth and one hundred and sixtieth; and $(\frac{1}{320})^2$ of eight-twentieths. There have to be deducted nine-twentieths of a measure free from taxes, three-eightieths, one hundred and sixtieth, and one three hundred and twentieth; $\frac{1}{320}$ of nine-twentieths, one hundred and sixtieth, and one three hundred and twentieth; and $(\frac{1}{320})^2$ of four-twentieths. . . . There remain twenty-three measures of land, three-twentieths, and one hundred and sixtieth; $\frac{1}{320}$ of one-half, one-twentieth; one hundred and sixtieth and one three hundred and twentieth; and $(\frac{1}{320})^2$ of four-twentieths." This is intricate enough, but was still further complicated by the fact that the measure varied in different tracts, perhaps even in different villages; for it is a fact that even up to the present day measures of weight and bulk do actually so vary. A "viss" in one village differs from a "viss" in the next village, which would be equivalent to saying that a Whitechapel pound was different to a pound weight in Brixton, and the latter different to a pound in Kensington, and so on. It is certain that the weights and measures in this particular village differed from those in others, because the sovereign had to specially enact that the grain-measure for the land-revenue in this village, paid in kind, should be the "marakkāl called after Āḍavallān, which is equal to a *rājakesari*."[1]

The accuracy of the translation is vouched for by the fact that it is published by Dr. Hultzsch, one of the most careful of modern epigraphists.

With a system such as this in force it seems plain that every cultivator lay helplessly at the mercy of the village

[1 Professor Edward Müller also published in his "Ceylon Inscriptions" facsimiles, text and translation, of an elaborate account, found in a long inscription of the twelfth century, of the organization of the villages in possession of the Mihintale Vihāra. The right to mortgage the lands is expressly denied to the tenants, and they hold on a service tenure, analogous to our copyholds.—Ed.]

accountant and the crown officials, a state of things tempered only by the possible judicial fairness of the generally uneducated men who constituted the body of village elders, and whose final decision was practically law.

*March* 9.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that the Rev. W. Whitebrook, D.D., had been elected a member of the Society.

Dr. F. H. Burton-Brown read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on the "Ruins of Dimāpūr in Assam," in which he said—

The ruins of Dimāpūr consist of a number of tanks, large quantities of broken pottery, and a number of carved stones of grey speckled sandstone, enclosed in an area measuring about a mile square by a brick wall, probably of later date, with a moat and a gate.

Dimāpūr was sacked by the Āhōms in 1535, and has since been uninhabited, while a dense jungle has grown up all over the upper valley of the Dhunsiri. The stones themselves are carved in a most beautiful and decorative manner, with geometrical designs, figures of animals, conventionalized lotus flowers, and trees. They consist of two kinds: one round, free-standing, with expanded mushroom-like tops, narrow necks, gradually again widening to their bases; the others Y-shaped, the stem of the Y forming the base, while the free end of the limbs have mortices. The mouldings of both these kinds strongly suggest a wooden origin. At present three groups have been found with two solitary stones, one of which is much larger than any of the other round ones which it, to some extent, resembles.

Their orientation approaches north and south; they are arranged in rows in one group, a double row of round stones each pair of which apparently stood due east of a double row of Y-shaped stones, in another a row of round ones, and in the third a row of stones shaped like a U, to the east and west of each pair of which stood a pair of round ones.

In the first group are remains, more or less complete, of sixty-four stones; only of a few in the second; and twenty or thirty, at least, in the third. The carving in the first group is the most finished in execution; that of the third the least so; while the others are intermediate. The centre stones in the first group are the largest, the round ones being here about eleven feet high, while towards the ends they are only seven feet. While the round ones were evidently free-standing, the others bore in their mortices crowning ornaments of some kind or another, all traces of which have been lost, probably through their having been made in metal or wood. The vagueness of the symbolism employed precludes at present a definite assignation to any religion. If Buddhist, as seems in some respects most likely, they were probably in connection with some central building very much as a stūpa is with its rail; the beauty of their design and execution seems hardly reconcilable with any form of primitive cult; it is possible that they have some relation to the Muhammedan artists employed in Upper Assam during the fifteenth century. Local tradition refers them to rites of human sacrifice.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Sewell, Mr. St. John, Mr. Lyon, Dr. Thornton, Colonel Woodthorpe, and Professor Rhys Davids took part.

## II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

### 1. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. x, No. 4.

Mordtmann (J. H.) and Müller (D. H.). Eine monotheistische sabäische Inschrift.

Houtsma (Th.). Einige Bemerkungen zu den selgúquischen Inschriften aus Kleinasien.

Rosthorn (A. v.). Die theekanne des Freikerrn v. Gautsch.

Hirth (Fr.). Die theekanne des Freikerrn v. Gautsch.

Schuchardt (H.). Kharthwelische sprachwissenschaft.

Kirste (J.). Ueber das Khodāi-nāme.

Bühler (G.). An additional note on Dr. Waddell's Kaldarra Inscription.

2. Journal Asiatique. Série 9. Tome viii, No. 2.

De Harlez (C.). Fleurs de l'Antique Orient.

Chabot (J. B.). Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale acquis depuis 1874.

Lefévre-Pontalis (P.). Notes sur quelques populations du nord de l'Indo-Chine (3e et 4e séries).

De Vogüé (M. le Marquis). Notes d'épigraphie araméenne.

Siouffi (Mons.). Notice sur le cachet du sultan mogol Oldjäitou Khodabendek.

No. 3.

Basset (R.). Notes sur le Chaouia de la province de Constantine.

Devéria (G.). Notes d'épigraphie mongole-chinoise (suite et fin).

Lévi (S.). Notes sur les indo-scythes.

De Vogüé (M. le Marquis). Notes d'épigraphie araméenne (suite et fin).

Schwab (M.). Sur une lettre d'un empereur byzantin.

3. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Band L, Heft 4.

Grimme (H.). Abriss der biblisch-hebräischen Metrik.

Franke (O.). Epigraphische Notizen.

Vollers (K.). Beiträge zur Kenntniss der lebenden Sprache in Aegypten.

Horn (P.). Pāzend "bārida."

Justi (F.). Der Chiliarch des Dareios.

Hillebrandt (A.). Indra und Vṛtra.

Zimmern (H.). Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Alphabets.

Lehmann (C. F.). Erklärung.

Bartholomae (C.). Beiträge zur altindischen Grammatik.

## III. Obituary Notice.

### *Mr. George Phillips.*

The death of Mr. G. Phillips has deprived the Society of a modest, but painstaking investigator, in a special department.

Mr. Phillips was born at Lower Walmer, in Kent, in the year 1836. He was educated first at a private school at Hastings, and afterwards at King's College School and King's College, London.

In 1857 he obtained, by competitive examination, an appointment in the China Consular Service. After learning the Chinese Language in Hongkong, he was appointed to Foochow. He served in various subordinate positions at Amoy, Foochow, and other ports, and in 1877 he was promoted to be H.M. Consul at Kiukiang. From this he was transferred to Taiwan (South Formosa) in 1880, and to Foochow in 1886. On August 1, 1892, ill-health obliged him to retire on a pension, and he took up his residence at London.

Mr. Phillips contributed a large number of articles to the *China Review*, the *Chinese Recorder*, the Journal of the N. C. B. of the R. A. S., and to this Journal. His contributions dealt chiefly with geographical questions connected with China, and especially with the province of Fuhkeen. He maintained with much learning and great earnestness that the Zaitun of Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo was Chang-chow, not Chin-chew (Ch'uan-chow), as certain high authorities supposed.

Mr. Phillips died rather suddenly at his residence in Brondesbury on the 25th October last. He was a F.R.G.S., and he retained an interest in Chinese geographical writers and the geography of China up to the end.

T. W.

## IV. Notes and News.

*Falconry.*—With reference to the recent correspondence in our Journal on this subject, it may be noted that Medhātithi (who probably lived in the ninth century in Kashmīr) thinks that the author of Manu, iii, 162, is there referring to trainers of hunting falcons and hawks.

*Paris Oriental Congress.*—As already announced, the Congress will be held Sept. 5–12. The subscription (16*s.* for men, 8*s.* for ladies) can be paid, and tickets procured, from Mr. Luzac, 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. We trust that as many as possible of our members and their friends will attend this Congress, which promises to be a great success. Communications regarding papers to be read at the Congress may be addressed to the President, M. Charles Schefer, 2, Rue de Lille, Paris, or to the Hon. Secretaries of the various sections.

A special Committee of members of the Society has been formed to deal with any questions that may arise in connection with the Congress. The members of that Committee at present are Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, Professor Bendall, Dr. Cust, Dr. Leitner, Mr. Robert Sewell, and Dr. Thornton, with Professor Rhys Davids as secretary. The President of the Society, who takes an especial interest in the Congress, and has also consented to serve as one of the Society's delegates to it, is *ex-officio* President also of the Committee.

The following gentlemen have been asked to represent the Society as its delegates to the Congress, and those marked with an asterisk have signified their acceptance:—

*The President.

Vice-Presidents of the Society. { *Professor Sayce. *Sir Raymond West.

From Cambridge. { Mr. Edward G. Brown Professor Cowell.

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| From Oxford. | *Professor Macdonell.<br>*Professor Margoliouth. |
| From the British Museum. | *Professor Douglas.<br>*Professor Bendall. |
| From the Indian Civil Service. | *Mr. Robert Sewell.<br>Mr. Fleet. |
| To represent the Council. | Mr. H. C. Kay.<br>*Professor T. W. Rhys Davids. |

We hope in our next issue to be able to give a preliminary list of all the papers to be read. At present we can only say that English scholarship will be well represented at the Congress, both by personal participation and reading of papers.

*Notice to Members.*—Our present List of Members gives in many instances only the initials of the name, and omits in others the degrees held or the offices filled by members. The Council, thinking it advisable to amend the list in these particulars, would be obliged to any member who would be so good as to supply such information as may be necessary for the next issue of the list, to be corrected accordingly; and where names are Oriental, the Council would urge upon their members the desirability of conforming as far as possible with the scheme of transliteration as agreed upon by the Geneva Congress and reproduced in our own issue of October last.

*Transliteration.*—As Bible and Missionary Societies are frequently publishing translations, and also primers, vocabularies, and grammars—often of languages that have not hitherto had an alphabet—the report of this Society on the Scheme of Transliteration adopted by the Geneva Congress of Orientalists has been brought to their notice by Dr. Cust and Mr. Henry Morris, with the result that the following Societies have passed resolutions in which the

Scheme is recommended to the notice of authors writing under their auspices:—

1. The British and Foreign Bible Society.
2. The National Bible Society for Scotland.
3. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
4. The Religious Tract Society.
5. The Baptist Bible Translation Society.
6. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
7. The Church Missionary Society.
8. The South American Missionary Society.
9. The Universities' Mission to East Africa.
10. The London Missionary Society.
11. The Wesleyan Missionary Society.
12. The Moravian Mission.
13. The Christian Literature Society for India.

*Pāli Text Society.*—Professor Edmond Hardy has completed his edition of Dhammapāla's Commentary on the Peta Vatthu for this Society. The following works are also passing through the Press:—

Kathā Vatthu, edited by Mr. A. C. Taylor.

Majjhima Nikāya, vol. ii, edited by Mr. Robert Chalmers.

Attha Sālinī, edited by Professor E. Müller.

Index to Gandha Vamsa, by Mrs. Bode.

Samādhi and Jhāna, edited by Professor Rhys Davids.

Anguttara, vol. iii, edited by Professor Edmond Hardy.

Samyutta, vol. v, edited by M. Léon Feer.

Mrs. Bode has an edition of the Sāsana Vamsa ready for the Press, and is preparing a translation of the same work.

## Half-yearly Philology Notes. Part II, 1897.

I. *Asia.*
II. *Africa.*
III. *Oceania.*
IV. *America.*

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### I. *Asia.*

By the favour of Professor Donner, of Helsingfors, and Professor Radloff, of St. Petersburg, I have in late years received six pamphlets on the Inscriptions found in Siberia in an alphabet peculiar to itself, though no doubt descended from the common Mother Alphabet, the Phenician, of which the oldest specimen is the Moabite Stone in the ninth century before the Christian era. As scholars have a difficulty in finding the names of works published in a foreign country, I enumerate them chronologically:

1. Inscriptions de Jenissei, Siberie, N. Russie: par J. L. Aspelin. Helsingfors, 1889.
2. Wörterverzeichniss zu den Inschriften der Jenissei: von O. Donner. Helsingfors, 1892.
3. Antiquités de la Siberie Occidentale: par Axel Heikel. Helsingfors, 1894.
4. Altturkischen Inschriften der Mongolei: von W. Radloff. St. Petersburg, 1894.
5. Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, dechiffrées par Vilh. Thomsen. Helsingfors, 1894.
6. Sur l'origine de l'Alphabet Turc du Nord de l'Asie: par O. Donner. Helsingfors, 1896.

The subject is very intricate, and we have by no means yet heard the last word, and no opinion is ventured upon.

Satsaya of Bikâri, with a Commentary, edited by Mr. Grierson, Indian Civil Service, M.R.A.S.

Notes on Oukong's Account of Kashmir, by Dr. Stein, of the Lahor College.

The contribution of Professor J. S. Speyer, of Groningen, deals in a very thorough manner with Vedic and Sanskrit syntax. The two periods of ancient Indian syntax have been treated separately by Professor Delbrück and Professor Speyer respectively. In the present volume they are for the first time treated in connection, so that they can here be studied from a historical point of view. The work is divided into two parts: the first deals with the syntactical employment of the noun, the verb, and particles, while the second is concerned with the structure of the various forms of the sentence and the period.

Professor R. Garbe, of Tübingen, the author of the most important work hitherto published on the Sānkhya philosophy, treats of the closely allied Sānkhya and Yoga systems. The first part of the contribution (pp. 1–33) really represents the contents of his larger work on the Sānkhya in outline, with such modifications as criticism has suggested since its publication in 1894. The author shows that the Sānkhya doctrines are pre-Buddhistic, and are, in fact, the chief source of the theoretical part of Buddhism. He further points out that practically the whole of the Sānkhya doctrines are to be found in the Mahābhārata, which is actually our oldest source for these doctrines. The deviations it contains from the statements of the chronologically later textbooks of the system, are, he insists, secondary; and the Mahābhārata is therefore of less value as a source than those treatises. The second part of the book (pp. 33–52) deals with the Yoga philosophy, which in reality differs from the Sānkhya only in rejecting the atheism of the latter. The contribution contains some interesting information about the extraordinary hypnotic powers acquired by Yogis through the practice of a system of asceticism so elaborate, that it recognizes no less than 84 different sitting postures, as conducive to mental concentration.

## II. *Africa.*

*Jacotet on South African Languages.*—The well-known Oriental publisher, Ernest Leroux, of 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, has, in 1896, published an important contribution to African Philology, under the title of "Études sur les langues de Haut Zambéze": Original Texts, and a Grammatical Sketch by E. Jacotet, a French Missionary of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Paris. The first Part has been presented to me by the author, who called upon me in September: this part embraces Grammatical Sketches on the "Subiya" and "Luyi." The compiler is a Missionary in Ba-Suto land, but he had the assistance of three young inhabitants of the Zambesi Valley: the words were caught from their mouths, transferred to paper, and then carefully revised by them; these young men had come to Thaba-Bosiu (the headquarters of the French Mission) to be educated. The languages belong to the great South African or Bantu Linguistic Family. The study of the two languages is most useful to linguistic students, but a perusal of the Introductory chapter, pp. vii to xxxvii, would be interesting and instructive to the general reader.

Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen, 2nd year, 4th part, December, 1896, entirely occupied by a Grammar in the French Language by a G. de Beers, a Missionary on the Kongo, of the Tabwa Language in that region.

## III. *Oceania.*

Mr. Sidney Ray, the representative of our knowledge of the Languages of Oceania, has contributed to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute a "Vocabulary and Grammatical Note" on the Languages of Makura, Central New Hebrides.

He has also contributed to the Journal of the Polynesian Society an important Essay on the "Common Origin of

the Oceanic Languages." Here he is venturing upon a very great enterprise, and it cannot be assumed, that all will agree with him. He seems to include the Languages of the Malay Archipelago, under the name of Indonesian, into this category. Among the Languages mentioned in this division he includes what some students unhesitatingly include among the Languages of the East Indies. However, the subject is an interesting one, and the next generation will be able to arrive at a more certain opinion.

## IV. *America.*

(1) Linguae Guárani Grammatica and (2) Lexicon Hispano-Guaranicum, a Rev. patre Jesuita Paulo Restivo, secundum libros Antonii Ruiz de Montoya denuo edita et adaucta opera et studiis Ch. Fred. Seybold. (Stuttgardt: William Kohlhammer.)

Dr. Seybold's new and enlarged editions of the works of the Rev. Jesuit have been added to the Library. The circle of readers to whom they are addressed, those who combine a wish to study the Guárani language with a good knowledge of Spanish, is a small one, but that very fact will probably lead to a warmer appreciation of their value on the part of those who can use them. We trust that such members of our Society will not be slow to avail themselves of Dr. Seybold's painstaking and valuable labours, for the presence of such books in our Library is an important evidence of the cosmopolitan character of the Society, and the wide extent of its aims.

*January* 21, 1897. R. N. C.

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ART. XVI.—*The Arakanese Dialect of the Burman Language.*
By BERNARD HOUGHTON, M.R.A.S.

IT is well known that the people of Arakan are an offshoot of the Burman race, the accepted account being that they first crossed the range of mountains called the Arakan Yoma about B.C. 825 [1] under a Prince Kan-ruga-gyi. It seems probable that the small portion of the country then inhabited was settled by a few of the advance-guard of the Chin-Lushai or Naga tribesmen, with perhaps some colonies of Indians on the sea-coast. These were expelled or absorbed; and the Arakanese kingdom, having its centre in the flat open plains of the Akyab district, gradually extended south as far as the Mawyon-gyaw Hills, in the Sandoway district, and north to Chittagong (A.D. 1450). It was finally crushed by an invasion of Burmans from the east of the Yoma in 1784. The people of Arakan have, however, preserved their peculiar dialect, and in certain customs they differ slightly

[1] There can be little doubt, however, that this date is very much too early.

from the Burmese, against whom in some of the purely Arakanese parts is still cherished a deep hatred, born from the cruel manner in which they were handled at the Burmese conquest. It must be admitted, indeed, that in their intertribal wars the peoples of the Tibeto-Burman race have endeavoured to enforce in the strictest possible manner the modern doctrine of the "survival of the fittest." Owing to the steady immigration into Arakan of natives of India, principally from the Province of Bengal, which has been going on for centuries, the physical type of the people has been sensibly altered from the pure Mongoloid cast of their first progenitors. Thus the average Arakanese is taller, larger boned, and more hairy than the average Burman, whilst the cheek-bones are not so prominent, and the face generally tends to assume more of a hatchet type. The two races have not yet been compared anthropometrically, but it would not be a rash guess to assume that with the Arakanese the fronto-mental measurement is considerably, and the fronto-occipital slightly, larger than with the Burman, and that his nasal index is somewhat better. It is possibly owing to the same infiltration of Indian blood that the Arakanese has lost several of the more loveable traits which distinguish generally the people of the Golden Chersonese. He is less merry and light-hearted, less polite and obliging, and no particular good qualities seem to have been imported to supply the want of these. On the contrary, in the neighbourhood of Akyab especially, there is spreading the obnoxious Indian practice of the seclusion of women, who also are fonder of expensive jewelry than their Burmese congeners. The Arakanese houses are more comfortless, and perhaps even more dirty, than those on the east of the Yoma. In their nomenclature of persons, the Arakanese rather favour names of three syllables, whilst the ordinary Burman is content with one of one or two syllables only. The word *pyu*='white' is an especial favourite for this purpose — far more so than amongst the Burmans proper.

The Arakanese dialect has always been known to be a more archaic form of Burmese, the isolation of the Arakanese having tended somewhat to preserve their speech from the phonetic corruption which has befallen that language since it was first reduced to writing. At the same time Arakanese by no means represents exactly the sounds of Burmese as it is spelt, whilst some of the verbal terminations and words are different. With a view, therefore, of throwing some light on the subject, I have obtained from Mg. San U Khaing, a well-educated and intelligent Arakanese gentleman and a member of the subordinate Civil Service of Burma, a list of the most important dialectic peculiarities of the Western Province. This list, written down by him in the Burmese character, does not pretend to be exhaustive, but it shows fairly clearly the more salient points of difference, and probably contains all that is of general interest from a philological point of view. In arranging the list of Mg. San U Khaing, I have added thereto, for the sake of comparison, the Burmese equivalents, both as written and as now pronounced.

It will be seen that Arakanese, which it may be remarked *en passant* is articulated in a somewhat harsh and nasal manner, by no means entirely conserves the old pronunciation indicated by the characters, always supposing the latter to show accurately the sounds of the language at the time. This is particularly the case with final *ach*,[1] which, corrupted into *it* in modern Burmese, has still further degenerated in Arakanese to *aīk*. Again, the modified vowel *ë*, (pronounced as in French *père*), is not found at all in Arakanese, neither as the sound of regular vowel *ë* nor as a corruption of final *ay*, (which latter I imagine to have been originally pronounced *aih*, both in Burmese and in Tamil). Certain words and forms, however, have been obviously brought by the founders of the Arakanese kingdom from across the Yoma, and show that at that time there was not the same

[1] I am, however, inclined to believe that this ending, though written *ach*, was probably pronounced *ats* or *its*, the vowel-sound being obscure.

uniformity in Burmese as now prevails, but that minor dialects still existed in contradistinction to the standard Burmese of the capital.

*Yaws.*—In this connection it may not be inappropriate to allude to these people who inhabit the west part of the Pakokku district, immediately to the east of Arakan, from which they are separated by the Yoma Mountains. From a list furnished by Lieut. Tighe, Burma Commission, it appears that their language in no way differs from modern Burmese, except that the pronunciation is slightly more archaic, a result due to the comparative isolation of the Yaw Valley. Thus *ak*, pronounced *et* in the colloquial, is sounded by them as *at*, and *aṅ* similarly *an* instead of *in*. Dialections are *lan* for *lam* (='path'), *dâ-gyi-ō*='old woman' (cf. the Arakanese), and *na* for *ʿnaṅ*, *ʿnin* in the imperative. It is probable that these people came from the East, i.e. the Irrawaddy Valley proper, but there is nothing in their dialect to support their tradition of descent from the Parawgas, said to be a Palaung clan.

*Dialectic Divergences of Arakanese.*

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese (spoken). | Notes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ē (final) | ē | ī, ēn. | |
| 2. | ë (final) | ë | ē. | |
| 3. | å (final) | å | wā. | |
| 4. | wā: (final) | wå: | å. | |
| 5. | ak (final) | et | at. | |
| 6. | aṅ (final) | in | aṅ, an. | |
| 7. | ach (final) | it | aīk. | |
| 8. | ay (final) | ë | ē. | |
| 9. | wan (final) | un | wan. | |
| 10. | wat (final) | ut | wat. | |
| 11. | kr | ky, gy, ch, j | kr, gr. | |
| 12. | hr | sh | h | (in some words only). |
| 13. | r | y | r. | |

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese (spoken). | Notes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Examples.* | | |
| 1. | awē | awē | awī | distance. |
| | re-nwē: | ye-nwē: | rī-nwī | warm water. |
| | mī: | mī: | mēn: | fire. |
| | nē | nē | nēn | day. |
| | ʿlē | ʿlē | ʿlī | boat. |
| 2. | bë | bë | bē | duck. |
| 3. | kʿrē-tå-rā | chē-då-yā | krī-twā-rā | the presence. |
| 4. | nwā | nwå | nå | bullock. |
| | chå-pwā | så bwå | så-bå | Shan chief. |
| 5. | krak | chet | krat | fowl. |
| 6. | chʿaṅ | ʿsin | ʿsaṅ, ʿsan | elephant. |
| 7. | sach-tā | θit-tā | taīk-tā | fox. |
| | chach-twē | sit-twē | saik-twē | Akyab. |
| | rach | yit | raīk | pheasant. |
| 8. | lay-praṅ | lë-byin | lē-braṅ | rice-fields. |
| 9. | kʿaṅ-pwan | kʿin-pun | kʿaṅ-bwan | spouse. |
| 10. | wat | wut | wat | duty. |
| | akywat | achut | akywat | deliverance. |
| 11. | saṅ-kran | θin-jan | θaṅ-gran | Thingyan. |
| | krwā | chwā | krwā | move. |
| 12. | hri | shi | hi | be. |
| 13. | arū | ayū | arū | madman. |

*Grammatical Terminations, etc.*

VERBAL.

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aorist | sañ | de | re.[1] |
| Past tense | pyī | byī | byā. |
| Future tense | mañ, bʿō | me, bʿo̤ | mē, pʿo̤. |
| Imperative | kë | gë | lat. |
| Closing affix (emphatic) | kå | go | wā:. |

[1] Possibly connected with Manipuri *ri*.

PRONOUNS.

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st person sing. | ṅā | ṅā | ṅa, ṅā. |
| ,, mas. | kywan-tå | chun-då | akywan. |
| ,, fem. | kywan-ma | chun-ma | |
| 2nd pers. sing. | naṅ, maṅ: | nin, min: | man:, nan, awē, ayọ̄. |
| 1st pers. plural | ṅātọ̄ | ṅadọ̄ | ṅarọ̄. |
| Interrogative | bʿā, bʿay | bʿā, bʿë | zā. |
| | bʿaynañ: | bʿë në | bʿazauṅ. |

MISCELLANEOUS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| To this place | sañ-kō | di-gō | tọ. |
| Plural affix | tọ̄, myā: | dọ̄, myā: | tēn,[1] rọ̄. |
| Exclamations | alō-lē: | alō-lē: | ēṇ-hēṇ. |
| | amay-lē: | amä-lē: | amēn-lē:, aman-lē:, apā-lē. |

*Illustrative Sentences.*

1. Burmese (written) amē-ka saṅ-kran-pwë-twaṅ wat-ran pu-ʿsō ʿrach-tañ pē: laik-pā chō-sañ.

   Burmese (spoken) amī-ga θin-jan-pūe-dwin wut-yan patsō shit-të pē: laik-bā ʿsō-de.

   Arakanese ami-ga θan-kran-pwē-mā wat-pʿọ̄ dåyā shaīk-tʿē pī-lat-bā ʿsō-rē.

   English Mother says, "Give eight patsos for wearing during the Thingyan festival."

2. Burmese (written) maṅ: sañ-kō la.
   Burmese (spoken) min: di-gō lā.
   Arakanese awē tọ̄ lā-lat.
   English Come you here.

[1] Colloquial.

3. Burmese (written) naṅ ṅā-kō bā prå-sa-lë.
   Burmese (spoken) nin ṅā-gō ba pyå-da-lë.
   Arakanese ayō: ṅa-gō rā prå-re-lē:.
   English What are you saying to me?

4. Burmese (written) sañ min:ma-krī: kywan-ma-kō chë sañ
   Burmese (spoken) di min:ma-gyi: chun-ma-gō ʿsë-de.
   Arakanese adwā a kywaṇ-kō ʿsē:re.
   English This woman abuses me.

5. Burmese (written) bʿā lë bay-kō swā:-sa-lë.
   Burmese (spoken) bʿā lë be gō θwå:-da-lë.
   Arakanese aswā-lē: zā gō lā: re-lē:.
   Cheduba dialect bʿa-sauṅ-dōn:man: ʿza-pʿō-kwā.[1]
   English What is it? Where are you going?

*Vocabulary.*

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Aunt (mat.) | mi-tʿwē: | mi-dwē: | aywē. |
| Bamboo sprout | ʿmyach | ʿmyit | ʿnaīk. |
| Basket for catching fish | palaiṅ | palain | puyaiṇ. |
| Be | ʿri | shi | hi. |
| Beard | mu-chʿit | mōkʿsēk | mu-ʿswī:. |
| Beat | raik | yaik | θat.[2] |
| Blanket | chauṅ | sauṅ | patsō:.[3] |
| Bowl (glazed) | pukan-lun: | pagan-lōn: | han:zā:. |
| Boy | lū-kalē: | lū-galē: | kalashē. |
| Bridge | tauṭā: | tadā: | tan:tā:. |
| Child | akalē | akalē | ashē.[4] |

[1] The dialect spoken in the island of Cheduba (Ma-auṅ) differs slightly from Arakanese proper. The interrogative affix *man* may possibly be allied to the Chin *mâ*.

[2] This is still used in certain connections with the meaning *beat* in Burmese, e.g. *sat-paṭ*.

[3] Cf. *patso*, infra.

[4] Cf. Naga *ka-shē*, S. Chin *sō*, etc.

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chin | mē:chē | mē:sē: | mēt. |
| Closet | im-sā | eṅ-θā | pʿauṅ-θā. |
| Comb | bʿī: | bʿī: | wapʿyī:. |
| Cover (of pot) | cha-lauṅ: | salauṅ: | kʿwat. |
| Cut | kʿut | kʿōt | kʿwat. |
| Cymbal | laṅ-kwaṅ | lagwin: | lan:kʿwan:. |
| Dove | kʿō | kʿō | kʿwā. |
| Draw back | chʿut | ʿsōk | ʿswī:. |
| False hair | chʿan-chu | ʿsazū | ʿsan-dōn. |
| Father | apʿē | apʿē | abʿā. |
| Fireplace | mī:-pʿō | mī:bʿō | sapʿō. |
| Garnet | padëgau | padëgå | padakarå. |
| Girl | min:kalē: | min:kalē | mama-shē, kalamē-shē. |
| Go | swā: | θwå: | lā:.[1] |
| Grandmother | apʿwā | apʿwā | abʿaung-ma, adā. |
| Guava | mālakā | mālakā | kū-yaiṅ. |
| Hat (Chinese) | kʿamauk | kʿamauk | mat-kalā |
| Headache(have a) | kʿauṅ kaik | gauṅ kaik | gauṅ kʿē |
| Inga (tree) | taṅñaṅ: | tañin | añaṅ. |
| Ink-pot | ʿmaṅ-ō: | ʿmin-ō: | ʿman-pū:. |
| Jaggery | tʿan:lyak | tʿanyet | θagā. |
| Lapwing | tachtītū: | tittītū: | talin-dwat. |
| Marry | maṅgalā chʿauṅ | miṅgalā ʿsaung | θamat-tat. |
| Miser | lū-chē:në | lū-sē-në | lū-pwan:, lū-si. |
| Mother | amē | amē | aman, ami. |
| Mud | ʿrwaṇ | shuṇ | taman:. |

[1] = 'to go' in certain connections in Burmese.

| | Burmese (written). | Burmese (spoken). | Arakanese. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mullet (fish) | ka-bīlū: | ka-bīlū: | ṅā:kaṇ-pyaiṅ.[1] |
| *Ngapi* | ṅā:pi | ṅapī | ṅā-ʿsamā. |
| Numerous (be) | på | på | tan. |
| Oar | kʿat-tak | kat-tet | paṅ-dwan:. |
| Old man | lū-ō | lū-ō | wākarī:. |
| Old woman | min:ma-krī | min:ma-jī | adwā. |
| Papaya | saṅ-bʿau-sī: | θimbʿå-θī: | padagā-θī:. |
| *Patso* | puchʿō: | patsō: | dåyā. |
| Perch (fish) | kakatach | kakatit | θē-aik. |
| Pineapple | nānat | nāna | nandrā. |
| Plantain | ʿṅakpyan | ʿṅapyå | ʿnatpyō |
| Plate | pukan-prā: | pagan-byā | lauṅ-pwan: |
| Quill pen | ʿṅak-krī:tauṇ | ʿnet-jī-dauṇ | ʿmō-haṅ:wat-paran:. |
| Scarce (be) | ʿrā: | shā: | kʿat. |
| Shawl | tapak | tabet | patsō:pain. |
| Sparrow | chā-kalē: | sā-galē: | sā-shē. |
| Tamarind | man-kyañ: | majī: | ʿman:kyō:. |
| Three stones supporting pot | kʿan-lauk | kʿanauk | kʿōn-dauk. |
| Tide | dī-rē | dʿi-yē | pʿrā-rē. |
| Toddy-palm[2] | dani | danī | ōn:.[3] |
| Turban | kʿauṅ-pauṅ | gauṅ-bauṅ | ʿsā-pʿā. |
| Uncle (mat.) | ū:-maṅ: | ū:-min: | akʿan. |
| Uncle (pat.) | pʿa-tʿwē: | pʿa-tʿwē | abʿē, abyē. |
| Vegetables | haṅ-ñō | hin:ñō | han:rekʿyō. |
| Wood-oil (tree) | kañaṅ | kañin | dō:. |

[1] *ka* = 'fish' in Mōn; *ṅā* is the true Burmese word.
[2] Growing in tidal waters.
[3] = 'cocoanut' in Burmese.

ART. XVII.—*The Buddhist "Wheel of Life" from a New Source.* By Professor LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN, M.R.A.S.

THE doctrine of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* is expounded at considerable length in the sixteenth chapter of the *Caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* (MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Société Asiatique, and Cambridge).

As is well known, the doctrine expressed in this very difficult formula forms one of the details of Buddhist doctrine regarded by the early Buddhists themselves as of primary importance; and its meaning has been frequently discussed.[1] Mr. Waddell lately published in our Journal the explanation of the Lamas of Tibet; and the fullest account of the whole question will be found in Professor Rhys Davids's "American Lectures," pp. 120, 155–161, where previous discussions are referred to.[2] Since then M. Senart has published a very interesting article on the same subject,[3] which is as rich in the results ascertained as remarkable for the elegance of its deductions.

The formula of the Twelve Nidānas, as it has been formed in the course of time by means of various recastings of no doctrinal importance, does not embody any learned theory distinct from the *Samudayasatya*, as conceived in its most rudimentary form. It is quite a delusion to try and find

[1] Burnouf, Kern, Oldenberg, Warren, and the most important essay of Jacobi: "Der Ursprung des Buddhismus aus dem Sāṁkhya-yoga" (Nachr. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen, 1896).

[2] See also by the same, Vinaya Texts, S.B.E. i, p. 146.

[3] "À propos de la Théorie bouddhique des douze Nidānas" (*Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 281–297).

in it any systematic view; it is a vain task to endeavour to construct a rational exegesis of it.[1] Yet M. Senart shows how it may be possible to utilize it for the history of the scholastic system; and amid all the idle nomenclature of Buddhist literature there is not a single antithesis, an equivalence, or a word which does not merit a serious examination.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula, compiled at an early date, and itself the result of a contamination whose mechanism has been explained by M. Senart, has received during the course of ages a large number of different native explanations: an endeavour was made to find in it what had never been placed in it at the beginning, viz. a technical exposition of the evolution of the *Karman*, of the *Saṁvṛti*. One of the simplest of these explanations is that preserved by Tibetan tradition and ingeniously interpreted by Mr. Waddell. But does it enable us to understand the theory? Does it reveal the genesis of the formula? Assuredly not. At the same time, from the historical point of view, it is not without considerable value. It is interesting to examine the somewhat too simple artifices by which certain communities pretended to resolve the problem.

Similarly, if I think it useful to call attention to the text which is about to occupy us, it is because we may find in it certain curious facts concerning one of the traditional interpretations of the Pratītyasamutpāda. The nature of the book in which this text appears merits a few remarks.

The Tantras are not rich in dogmatic expositions or discussions. For the masters as for the adepts of magic, the chief business is the description of the Maṇḍalas, the panegyric of the Siddhis, the drawing up of pharmaceutical recipes and dhāraṇīs. Only a small space is accorded to theory. Of course certain principles are apparent in the foreground—the thesis of the three secrets

[1] In the Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā, chap. ix (at present in the press), certain original philosophical elucidations will be found of the Pratītyasamutpāda (extracts from the Çālistambasūtra, etc.); cf. Buddh. Text Soc. 1895, pt. 2.

of the body, of the voice, and of the thought (compare the Shin-gon-shû sect, Fujishima, *Bouddhisme Japonais*, p. 81 sqq.), which dominates the Samājatantra and furnishes a convenient framework for the ritual; also the doctrine of the vacuum, borrowed from the Mādhyamikas, which inspires a large number of dhāraṇīs, and fixes the end of meditation; or again, the dogma of salvation by Atiyoga (Mahāsukha, surata), which is in flagrant contradiction with the moral system of the Master and brings sectarian Buddhism dangerously near to Śaivism. The data are too scattered; we lose ourselves in a medley of ritual details and mythological representations. But underlying these details, there are ruling ideas; underlying these representations, which are really symbols, there are cosmogonic theories.

Indeed, it is an error to regard tantric Buddhism as a mass of popular superstitions, as gross as they are heterogeneous. It may be broadly laid down that the people creates neither symbols nor rituals. The metaphysical and subtle character of all the essential concepts of Tantrism, under whatever aspect they are manifested and into whatever pattern they are interwoven, bear clear evidence of their origin. Non-tantric Buddhism appears to be a synthesis of theories borrowed from the Upaniṣads and the Dharmasūtras, a synthesis crowned by the doctrines of the Arhat and of Nirvāṇa. Tantric Buddhism weds these theories and dogmas to the hypothesis of Bhakti, the practices of the Yogins, the doctrines of the Schools. Such is the Mantra° or Tantrayāna, excessively composite and variable in character. Restrained within proper limits, the inspiration whence it proceeds animates the religious life of the most orthodox Bhikkhus (cf. the Ākankheyyasutta,[1] the Kammaṭṭhānas); unrestrained, it ends, though slowly, in dissolving in the community the traditions of the so-called original Buddhism.

[1] The Majjhima Nikāya, No. 6, translated in Rhys Davids's "Buddhist Suttas."

If the motor principles which constitute the tantric organism are not directly revealed to us; if the theories proper to the Tantrikas are not expounded in the Tantras, it would be still more vain to seek in them discussions of Buddhist doctrines—the Arhatva, the Four Truths, the Noble Way. Are we to suppose that the sacred tradition had been interrupted? Precise facts forbid us to suppose this, and cast a singularly clear light on the syncretism which is the characteristic of the Hindu churches. Before his initiation into rituals, sometimes literally inspired by the Kāmasūtras, and requiring the use of fleshmeat, alcohol, and the practice of *maithuna*, the Nepalese monk takes refuge in the Three Pearls and takes on himself the vow of the regular abstinences. What is true of the rules of conduct is still more true of doctrine. The Vajrācāryas, adepts of mysticism and teachers of the Siddhis, were Mādhyamikas or Yogācāras, and sometimes doctors of the Vinaya. To practise the Tantras, it is necessary to be a professed adept in ethics and philosophy. But it is easy to understand that these books are generally silent on problems alien to their direct object.

The interpretation of the Pratītyasamutpāda given us by the Caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra is doubtless borrowed from the philosophical school in which its editors were formed, and rests entirely upon the belief in the *antarā-bhava*,[1] a belief certainly ancient in India and in the Buddhist Order, although condemned by the orthodox. It may be said that the thesis of antarābhava naturally suggests the doctrine of our text, and permits us to join the terms *bhava* and *jāti* to the preceding ones. The Pubbaseliyas and the Sammitiyas, "antarābhavavādinaḥ,"

[1] Kathāvatthu, viii, 2, Atthi antarābhavo ti [Pubbaseliyā, Sammitiyā], and xiv, 2, Saḷāyatanaṃ apubbaṃ acchimaṃ mātu-kucchimhi saṇṭhātīti [Pubbaseliyā, Aparaseliyā]. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Schools of Buddhist Belief*, J.R.A.S. 1892. Pañcakrama, iv, Comm., l. 27. Bodhicaryāvatāra (edidit Minayeff), Comm. ad. ix, 73. Lankāvatāra Dev. 92, fol. 48 B. Minayeff, *Recherches*, pp. 221, 222. Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, pp. 243, 254, 256. Antarābhavasūtra, Bunyiu Nanjio, No. 463 (translated by Fo-nien, latter Tshin dynasty, A.D. 384–417). Oldenberg, Z.D.M.G., xlix, pp. 178, 179.

perhaps explain in the same or a similar manner the Pratītyasamutpāda.[1]

Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantre pratītyasamutpādapaṭalaḥ ṣoḍaçamaḥ[2]

atha bhagavatī āha

katham utpadyate lokaḥ kathaṁ yāti[3] kṣayaṁ punaḥ |
kathaṁ vā bhavet siddhir brūhi tvaṁ parameçvara ||

atha[4] bhagavān āha

avidyāpratyayāḥ saṁskārāḥ | saṁskārapratyayaṁ vijñānam | vijñānapratyayaṁ nāmarūpam | nāmarūpapratyayaṁ ṣaḍāyatanam | ṣaḍāyatanapratyayaḥ sparçaḥ | sparçapratyayā vedanā | vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā | tṛṣṇāpratyayam upādānam | upādānapratyayo bhavaḥ | bhavapratyayā jātiḥ | jātipratyayā jarāmaraṇa[5]çokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ[6] | evam asya kevalasya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo bhavati | evam apy avidyānirodhāt saṁskāranirodhaḥ | saṁskāranirodhād vijñānanirodhaḥ | vijñānanirodhān nāmarūpanirodhaḥ | nāmarūpanirodhāt tṛṣṇānirodhaḥ[7] | tṛṣṇānirodhād upādānanirodhaḥ | upādānanirodhād bhavanirodhaḥ | bhavanirodhāj jātinirodhaḥ | jātinirodhāj jarāmaraṇaçokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsā nirudhyante[8] | evam asya mahato duḥkhaskandhasya nirodho bhavati

pratītyotpadyate[9] lokaḥ pratītyaiva nirudhyate |
buddhvā rūpadvayaṁ caitad advayaṁ bhāvya sidhyati ||

atha bhagavatī uvāca | kathayatu bhagavān avidyādivivecanam[10]

[1] I must thank the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for its kindness in lending the London MS., and Professor Cowell, who has been so good as to communicate to me the variants of the Cambridge MS.

[2] Cambridge, Add. 1319, 42*b*–46*a*. London, 115, 39*b*–43*a*; fol. 41 missing. Cf. Feer, Index Kandjour, p. 298 (Rgyud v).

[3] Camb. jāti; third pāda defective.

[4] Camb. omits atha.

[5] Camb. °maraṇau.

[6] Camb. °upāyāsaḥ.

[7] Sic Camb.: enumeration complete in London.

[8] Camb. °upāyāso nirudhyate.

[9] Camb. pratyutpadyate.

[10] Camb. omits ādi.

atha bhagavān āha

triparivartam idam cakram atītādiprabhedataḥ [1] |
dvādaçākāram ākhyātam dharmam [2] sarvajinair iha ||

tatrāvidyā heyopādeyājñānam [3] maraṇānantaram dhandharūpam cittam çarīrākāram bhavatīty arthaḥ | tasmāt saṁskāro bhavati sa ca trividhaḥ | tatra kāyasaṁskāra āçvāsapraçvāsau | vāksaṁskāro vitarkavicārau | manaḥsaṁskāro rāgadveṣamohāḥ | ebhir yuktā 'vidyā çvasati praçvasati vitarkayati sthūlam gṛhṇāti vicārayati sūkṣmam gṛhṇāti [4] | anurakto bhavati dviṣṭo mugdhaç [5] ca | tasmād vijñānam bhavati | ṣaṭprakāram cakṣurvijñānam çrotra° ghrāṇa° jihvā° kāya° manovijñānam ca | ebhir yuktā 'vidyā paçyati çṛṇoti jighrati bhakṣati [6] spṛçati vikalpayati | tasmān nāmarūpam | nāma catvāro vedanādayaḥ | rūpam rūpam eveti dvābhyām abhisaṁkṣipya viçundhitvā nāmarūpety uktam | upādānapañcaskandharūpeṇāvidyā pariṇamatīty arthaḥ | tatra vedanā trividhā sukhā duḥkhāsukhā ceti | saṁjñā vastunā [7] svarūpagrahaṇāntarābhilāṣaḥ | saṁskārāḥ sāmānyaviçeṣāvasthāgāhinaḥ | cittacaittavijñānāni pūrvoktāny eva | rūpam caturbhūtātmakam | pṛthvī gurutvam vākyam [8] tattvam | āpo dravatvam abhispanditvam [9] | teja uṣmatvam [10] paripācanatvam | vāyur ākuñcanaprāsaraṇalaghusamudīraṇatvam [11] | tasmāt ṣaḍāyatanāni cakṣuḥçrotraghrāṇajihvākāyamanāṁsi | ebhir yuktā pūrvavat paçyatītyādi | tasmāt sparçaḥ | rūpaçabdagandharasasparçadharmadhātusamāvarttaye [12] | tatas tṛṣṇā sukhābhilāṣaḥ | tata upādānam tataḥ prāpakam karma | tato bhavo garbhapraveçaḥ | tato jātiḥ prakaṭīkaraṇābhiniṣpattiḥ [13] | upādānam

[1] Camb. °prabheditaḥ.
[2] Sic London; Camb. and Paris, dharma.
[3] Camb. ajñānamaraṇ°.
[4] Sic MSS.
[5] Camb. mū(r)kha.
[6] Camb. omits bhakṣati.
[7] Sic MSS.
[8] Sic Paris, certainly inexact; Camb. illegible; perhaps kharatvam, comp. Pañcakrama, i, 61.
[9] Sic Camb.; Paris gatiḥ syanditatvam |
[10] Camb. illegible.
[11] Camb. samuditanalam.
[12] Paris omits gandha and dharma; Camb. samāp°.
[13] Camb. prakaṭika renābhiniṣpatti.

pañcaskandhalābhaḥ | tato jarā purātanībhāvaḥ | maraṇaṁ cittacaittanirodhaḥ | tato jarāmaraṇacittaṁ yena[1] çokākulo bhavati | muktir mayā na praveçiteti paridevati[2] | vyādhyādyupadravataç ca duḥkhī bhavati tad eva punaḥ punar manasi niyojanād[3] daurmanasī[4] bhavati | durmanā[5] api kenāpy upadravata upāyāsī bhavati ||

ayam arthaḥ | avidyādi[6]ṣaḍāyatanaparyantenāntarābhavasattva ekatraiva sthitas trailokyaṁ paçyan | paçyati strīpuruṣān anuraktān | tato 'tītajātikṛtakarmaṇā prerito 'yaṁ jātāv utpanno bhaviṣyati | tajjātistrīpuruṣau rataṁ dṛṣṭvātīva tasya tayoḥ sparça utpadyate | tatra yadi puruṣo bhaviṣyati tadātmānaṁ puruṣākāraṁ paçyati | bhāvimātari paramānurāgo[7] bhavati | bhāvipitari ca mahāvadviṣṭaḥ[8] | rāgadveṣau ca sukhaduḥkhavedane | tataḥ kenākāreṇānayā sārdhaṁ ratiṁ karomīti cintayan | aduḥkhāsukhavedanatayā vyāmugdho[9] bhavati | tataḥ pūrvakarmavātaprerito mahātṛṣṇayā etāṁ ramāmīti kṛtvā kaṣṭena ko hi puruṣo mama striyaṁ kāmayatīti kṛtvā tārāsaṁkramaṇavad bhāvipitṛçiromārgeṇa praviçya tasya çukrādhiṣṭhitaṁ cittam adhiṣṭhāya bhāvimātaraṁ kāmayantam ātmānaṁ paçyati sukhakāraṇam upādadāti tataḥ çukreṇa samarasībhūya mahārāgānurāgeṇāvadhūtīnāḍyā pitur vajrān[10] nirgatya mātuḥ padmasuṣirasthavajradhātvīçvarīnāḍyā[11] kukṣau janmanāḍyāṁ sthitaḥ | kṣaraṇāntaritavat tato bhavo bhavati | sa ca krameṇa kalalārbudaghanapeçīçākhāyuto navabhir daçabhir vā māsair yenaiva mārgeṇa praviṣṭas tenaiva mārgeṇa nirgato jātir bhavati || yadi vā strī bhaviṣyati tadā bhāvipitary anurāgo bhavati | bhāvimātṛçiromārgeṇa praviçya padme patitvā çukreṇa bhāvimātari[12] ca dveṣaḥ | tatrātmānaṁ strīrūpaṁ paçyati |

[1] MSS. °maraṇaṁ cittaṁ yana.
[2] Sic Camb.
[3] Paris, niyojayed; Camb. niyojana.
[4] Camb. duḥkhi, daurmanasi.
[5] Camb. mano 'pi.
[6] Camb. omits ādi.
[7] Camb. °anurajo.
[8] Camb. apa°.
[9] Camb. vyāsukho.
[10] Tib. rdo-rje = p'o-rtágs.
[11] Camb. dhātveçvarī.
[12] Camb. bhāvita°.

miçrībhūya tasyā eva janmanāḍyāṃ tiṣṭhati [1] | tataḥ [2] pūrvavan nirgacchati jāyate | tad evam avidyādibhir lokā jāyante | lokāç ca pañca skandhā eva | te ca duḥkhāḥ saṁsāriṇaḥ pañca skandhāḥ | na ca duḥkhena kāryam asti mokṣārthinām | avidyānirodhāt pañcaskandhābhāvaḥ | çūnyatā tucchatā | na ca tucchena kāryaṁ mokṣārthinaḥ | tasmān na bhāvo mokṣo nāpy abhāvaḥ | tasmād bhāvābhāvavirahitaṁ prajñopāyasaṁputam | mahāsukharūpiṇaṁ çrīmadacalanāthātmakaṁ caturānandaikamūrticittaṁ bhavanirvāṇāpratiṣṭhitaṁ mokṣaḥ [3]

rāgeṇotpadyate loko rāgakṣayāt kṣayaṁ gataḥ |
acalārthaparijñānād buddhasiddhiḥ samṛdhyati ||
na calati prajñāsaṅge sukharasamuditaṁ tu yac cittam |
vidhunan viramasumāraṁ tad acalasaṁjñayā ca kathitam ||[4]

ity Ekallavīrākhye Çrīcaṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantre pratītyasamutpādapaṭalaḥ sodaçamaḥ.

[1] Camb. tiṣṭhanti.
[2] Camb. te.
[3] Sic MSS.
[4] Sic MSS.; metre and grammar uncertain.

ART. XVIII.—*On the Har Paraurī, or the Behāri Women's Ceremony for Producing Rain.* By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L., Corresponding Member of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

IN a paper entitled "On some Ceremonies for Producing Rain," which I published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*,[1] I gave a short description of the *Har Paraurī*, or the "Behāri Women's Ceremony for Producing Rain," to the following effect:—

"The other day I came across another curious custom, peculiar to this part of the country, the observance whereof is supposed to bring down rain. It was at about ten o'clock in the night of Saturday, the 25th June last (1892), as I was about to retire to bed, I heard a great noise made by the singing, in high-pitched tones, of some women in front of our house (at Chupra). I thought that the women were parading the streets, singing songs, as they often do before some marriage takes place in a family. But, on making inquiries next morning, I came to learn that the previous night's singing formed part and parcel of a rain-bringing ceremony, known, at least in this district (Saran), as the Har Paraurī, and that some women of the locality had formed themselves into a little band and paraded the neighbouring streets, singing certain songs, which they superstitiously believed would surely bring down showers. Curiously enough, a tolerably good shower of rain fell during the afternoon of the following day."

In the present paper I propose to publish the text of the song which is sung on this occasion, with a translation and some notes.

[1] Vol. iii, pp. 25, 26.

The song sung when performing this rain-bringing ceremony is an invocation to the god Vishṇu the Preserver, and is as follows:—

*Stanza I.*

Kehu kahe sāṁvāṁ sukhal kehu kahe ṭanguni hamār
E govind dularu katek dukh dihale savsār
E govind dularu i dukh sahalo na jāe
Dharatī meṁ tavā paral vā av ise dukh sahalo na jāe
E govind dularu pāni vinā chuṭelā parāṇ
E govind dularu eh dukha sahalo na jāe
Kehu kahe makaï sukhal kehu kahe dhān hamār
E govind dularu katek dukha dihale savsār
Volahu ke sak nāhi vāe e govind
Dularu katek dukha dihale savsār.

*Stanza II.*

Choḍale phalānā rām apani mehariā an vinā nāhi hodev pāni vinā re
Rōële vāvuālog māikā gōd an vinā nāhi ho dev pāni vinā
Savsār men an nā jure bālak kaṁhāse dudh re pie pāni vinā nāhi
Choḍale phalānā rām apani mehariā ko pāni e vinā nāhi.

*Stanza III.*

Sarukahi dhanavā ke ciurā e nanadī gäiyāre sorahiāke dudh.
Hāli hāli jevale vāvā ho visun vāvā vādar holā gabhīr.

*Stanza IV.*

Bhajan vah maugi chhinār e harparaurī re.
Tani pāni vo nā de u chhinār e harparaurī re.
Tujhe bāḍu baḍā chhinār e harparaurī re.

*Stanza V.*

Khāu khāu dahiyā bhajaurām.
Raure bahinī ke karile chodāyiā.
Rasiā binā nind nā āve.

*Stanza VI.*

Khāt hai pīyat hai karat hai daṇd.
Sabh deh chādī ke moṭāt hai laṇd.
Khāt hai piyat hai uḍat hai dhurī.
Sabh aṅg chādi ke moṭāt hai burī.

## Translation of the Song.

*Stanza I.*

Some people are saying that their *shama* (a kind of grain) crops are withering, and others are saying that their *tangooni* (a kind of grain) crops are withering. O God! how much distress and misery you are inflicting on the people! This misery cannot be endured. The earth is getting baked with the heat (literally, the earth has become a frying-pan), and this misery cannot be borne. O God! people are almost dying for want of rain. O Lord! this misery cannot be endured. Some people are saying that their crops of maize are withering, and others are saying that their rice-plants are withering. O God! how much distress you are inflicting on the people! Men have not even the strength to speak. O Lord! how much distress you have caused to the people!

*Stanza II.*

Men are deserting their wives, O Lord! for want of food and for want of rain. Children are crying in their mothers' laps, O God! for want of food and for want of rain. Food cannot be had in the world; how is it possible for children to get milk to drink, when it cannot be had for want of rain. Men are deserting their wives for want of rain (i.e. for scarcity of food caused by drought).

*Stanza III.*

O God Bishnu! soon eat the *choora* (flattened rice) which has been prepared of *sarukahi*[1] rice and the milk of the *Suravi*[2] cow, so that, O husband's sister, clouds may send down copious showers of rain.

*Stanza IV.*

O Bhajan! that woman is of loose character, O harparauri!
O harparauri! that loose woman does not give even a small quantity of water.
O harparauri! you are a woman of very loose character.

*Stanza V.*

O Bhajaurām, take *dahi* (or curdled milk).
May your sister be defiled.
Without my beloved I do not get a wink of sleep.

*Stanza VI.*

Men are eating and drinking and taking exercise.
With the exception of the rest of the body, a certain member of the man's body is gaining flesh.
Women are eating and drinking, but the dust (from the parched earth) is flying about (on account of the drought).
With the exception of the remaining members of the body, a certain portion of the woman's person is gaining flesh.

During seasons of drought, women in Behar form themselves into little bands, and during the night parade the streets of the villages and sing the above-mentioned song for ten or twelve days. After the lapse of ten or twelve days, they go outside the villages during the night, take hold of ploughs and plough the Palihara lands (that is to

[1] *Sarukahi* is the name applied to rice when it is in the milky state in the ear.
[2] *Suravi* is the name of the celestial cow.

say, fields which are ploughed in the months of Āsāḍh, Srāban, Bhādo, and Kuār, for sowing wheat therein in Kārtik). While ploughing the lands, the village women sing this song again. And they also pour forth volleys of abuse on the village officials, such as the Thikādār (or the lessee of the mouza) and the Pātwāry. Sometimes the women of the village abuse to their hearts' content the proprietor of the village, and compel him to take a *hala* (plough), and plough up some land. During the commencement of the long-standing drought from which the whole of Behar is suffering at present, the proprietor of mouza Sewan, Babu Ismāil Khān, was, I am informed, made to perform this ceremony, and plough some land in order to appease the wrath of the offended Rain-God. These are the principal features of the ceremony of Har Paraurī as it is performed in this district, and especially as it has been performed in many villages of the Hutwa Raj during the present exceptionally dry season. It is said that before beginning to plough, the women sometimes first strip themselves naked and only then carry on the ploughing operations. In order to verify whether this last-mentioned practice obtained in this district, I caused inquiries to be made in several villages of this Raj. But I am informed that this practice is very rarely, if ever, resorted to in the villages belonging to this estate. I have ascertained from several residents of the neighbouring district of Gorakhpur that the practice exists there. This is also borne out by the testimony of such a careful observer as Mr. W. Crooke, the Editor of the *North Indian Notes and Queries*. He says:—"During the Gorakhpur famine of 1873–74 there were many accounts received of women going about with a plough at night, stripping themselves naked and dragging it across the fields as invocation to the rain-god. The men kept carefully out of the way while this was being done. It was supposed that if the women were seen by men the spell would lose its effect."[1] A practice similar to this

[1] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii, 41, 115.

is also observed in the Mirzapur district of the North-Western Provinces, as will appear from the following instance:—"The rains this year held off for a long time, and last night [24th July, 1892] the following ceremony was performed secretly. Between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m., a barber's wife went from door to door and invited the women to join in ploughing. They all collected in a field, from which all males were excluded. Three women from a cultivator's family stripped off all their clothes: two were yoked to a plough like oxen, and a third held the handle. They then began to imitate the operation of ploughing. The woman who had the plough in her hand shouted, 'O Mother Earth! bring parched grain, water and chaff. Our stomachs are breaking to pieces from hunger and thirst.' Then the landlord and village accountant approached them and laid down some grain, water, and chaff in the field. The women then dressed, and returned home. By the Grace of God the weather changed almost immediately, and we had a good shower."[1]

The ceremony of Har Paraurī consists of a series of spells. It may be analyzed into the following component parts: (1) An invocation to the Rain-God; (2) the nudity-spell; (3) abuse or vicarious sacrifice; and (4) a ritual to propitiate the Mother Earth.

It will appear from the song of which the text has been given above, that it embodies a touching appeal to the god Vishṇu to send down copious rain. The god's sympathy is sought to be enlisted by reciting to his deityship the thousand and one ills which have been caused to the people by the want of rain. Some of the other rain-ceremonies performed in this district and in Bengal are nothing but invocations to the Rain-God. During the recent drought of this year, the ceremony of Varaṇa Pūjā was performed by many Brahmans of this place (Hutwa), that is to say, they worshipped the god Varuṇa (Varaṇa in Hindi), or the Hindu Neptune, who, like the Mahomedan saint Khwaja

[1] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i, 210.

Khizr, is supposed to have authority over all the waters of the heaven and the earth, in order to propitiate him so that he may send down rain. In the same way the goddess Kālī was worshipped in the neighbourhood of this place, and offerings made to her so that she might remove the drought. On occasions of failure of rain, the ceremony of Hari Sankīrtana is performed in Bengal. This ceremony consists in the people forming themselves into a procession and parading the streets of a village or town, singing songs in praise of the God Hari or Vishṇu to the accompaniment of the tom-tomming of the khola (a kind of drum) and the tinkling of the kharatāla (a kind of cymbal). This is done in the belief that the god Hari will be propitiated, and his deityship will cause the much longed-for rain to fall, as will appear from the following instance:—"Lately the Bengalis of the city (of Jhansi, in the North-Western Provinces) led a procession of *Harisankīrtan*, believing that it would propitiate Heaven and produce rain. No sooner had the processionists returned than down came the long-retarded rain in pretty showers."[1] Sometimes the god Indra is propitiated for this purpose, as will appear from the following example:—"The wealthy merchants of the town (Puri, in Orissa), the zemindars, and the mahājans or bankers, lately raised Rs. 700 among themselves, and entertained the services of twenty-one Brāhmins, who enjoy the reputation of special sanctity and are versed in the Vedas, to appeal to Indra, the God of Rain, to avert the impending famine and scarcity. It was a curious sight to see so many Brāhmins standing in water up to their necks, singing the Vedas and praying to Indra to give rain soon. During these days a shower or two fell in the mofussil, though no rain fell in the town (Puri)."[2] In the same way Urammā, who is the tutelary goddess of the village of Kudligi, in the Madras Presidency,

[1] Vide the Jhansi correspondent's letter in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Wednesday, the 20th July, 1892.

[2] Vide the Puri Correspondent's letter in the *Statesman and Friend of India* (Calcutta) of Friday, November 20, 1896.

is also invoked to send down rain whenever it is wanted. The Kêlu, or the five conical earthen symbols representing her, is taken to a well, and the *pujārī* or the priest (who is fasting) is the medium through whom her aid is invoked by the people in times of drought. Sometimes the villagers vow her a festival if she will only cause rain to fall—a festival being an early form of prayer.[1] All these ceremonies are nothing but invocations to the God of Rain to remove the drought and send down showers.

The second component part of the ceremony of Har Paraurī is the nudity-spell. Nudity forms an important feature in some of the rain-ceremonies as performed in Northern India. Anthropologists are divided in their opinions as to the origin of this spell. Three theories have been propounded to account for the evolution of this practice. (1) It has been said that the custom of the women stripping themselves naked while performing the rain-ceremony typifies their abject poverty and inability to give more offerings to propitiate the God of Rain. (2) It has been interpreted to be a modified form of the English legend which represents Lady Godiva riding stark naked through the streets of Coventry, everyone having been previously forbidden to look out. Only one individual, namely, "Peeping Tom," gazed too curiously upon her, and was immediately struck blind by way of punishment.[2] The privacy taboo observed in the Godiva legend also forms an essential feature of the Har Paraurī ceremony. (3) The practice may be based on the idea that the god, who is withholding the rain, is afraid of indecency, or rather of the male and the female principles. Much plausibility is lent to the last-mentioned theory by the fact that, on the occasions of the festivals held in Southern India in honour of the village-goddesses, both men and women who have taken vows strip themselves naked, and, then covering themselves with the branches and leaves of the Margosa-

[1] Vide the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. ii, p. 278.
[2] Conway's "Demonology," i, 267.

tree (*Melia azadirachta*), proceed to the temple and lay offerings before the deities in order that their deityships may get afraid of looking at them in a state of nature and grant them their prayed-for boons. All men and women of the Sudra castes *substitute garments of leaves of the margosa (little branches and twigs tied together) for their ordinary clothes, and, thus attired,* go with music to the temple of Māriammā—the goddess who presides over the village of Hoshalli in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency—carrying offerings of milk and curds called *Misalu.*[1] Men and women of the Bōya caste, who take vows to Dūrgammā, the tutelary goddess of the village of Bannivikal, *divest themselves of clothing and, putting on a covering made of margosa leaves,* walk thrice round her temple on festal occasions.[2] Similarly, in the village of Ojini, close to the Mysore frontier, the tutelary goddess is called Wannathamma, in whose honour a festival is held every few years. *Men and women under vows to her dress in margosa leaves from head to foot after doffing their ordinary raiment,* and then sacrifice sheep and goats before her deityship.[3] On the occasion of the festival to Urammā (from *ūr* 'village' and *amma* 'mother'), the village goddess of Kudligi in the Southern Presidency, the procession held in her honour is headed by a Madiga Basivi, *who goes almost naked, covered only with a few margosa leaves,* and is held by other Madigas.[4] Those of the lower Sudra castes and Madigas who are under vows *come dressed in margosa leaves* with lamps on their heads, and sacrifice buffaloes, sheep, and goats to her.[5]

The principle of vicarious sacrifice underlies the act of abusing the proprietor, or the thikādār, or the pātwāry of the village, which forms a part of the Har Parauri. By getting abused, these men are supposed to be offered as

[1] *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. ii, p. 265.
[2] Op. cit., p. 268.
[3] Op. cit., p. 273.
[4] Op. cit., p. 276; also p. 279.
[5] Op. cit., p. 277.

sacrifices to appease the wrath of the Rain-God. The custom of offering sacrifices in times of drought to the Rain-God, to appease his wrath, is widely prevalent among savage and semi-civilized races. For instance, one of the methods pursued by the Zulus of South Africa, of obtaining rain, is by offering a sacrifice in times of drought. The headmen of the villages present their chief with the oxen which are to be sacrificed by way of public prayer for rain, and which, for such is the notion of the Zulus, must *all* be black, without a white one among them, for the reason that, as rain is preceded by *black* clouds, so it must be symbolized or attracted by *black* oxen. Closely akin to this Zulu idea is the practice of the rain-doctor beginning to frown when he hears the rumbling of the thunder, "that he, too, may be dark as the heaven when it is covered with clouds"—that, when the storm shall come, he may be on equal terms with the elements with whom he will have to contend. Another of the Zulu sacrifices to appease the Rain-God consists in killing a certain kind of bird, which is called by them "the heaven-bird," and throwing it into a pool of water, in the full belief that the heavens will then melt into tears by sympathy with the bird, and cease to be hard-hearted, the rain being supposed to be the funeral wail of the sky for the unfortunate bird that has been sacrificed.[1] The next stage is that semi-civilized races, instead of actually sacrificing animals, select some victims and make them undergo, according to the principle of substitution, some physical tortures or some sort of bodily mutilation symbolizing the act of actual sacrifice, to appease the wrath of the offended deity. This is typified in the custom of hook-swinging for rain which is prevalent in the Presidency of Madras.

This barbarous and cruel custom to propitiate the Goddess of Rain, which had been obsolete for some time, was lately revived at Sholavandan, near Madura. "Eight men were

[1] "Zululand and the Zulus," pp. 145–6; by J. A. Farrer. London: Kerby & Endean, 1879.

selected, according to time-honored custom, from four villages and lots were cast among them. Immediately the person on whom the lot fell was taken to the temple in Sholovandan and kept within its walls till the day of exhibition. Early in the morning the victim, dressed in a fancy costume with purple cloth, went to see the car with its long pole, on which he was to swing. At 2.30 p.m., the hooks having been fixed into his back, the victim was taken from the temple to the car. The hooks were attached to the end of the pole. On the hooks being fixed a haul was made at the other extremity, and the victim was swung up into the air about 40 feet. Here he dangled while the car was being drawn through several streets. At the end of a little over an hour, the goddess was declared to be satisfied, the pole was lowered, and the victim was released." [1]

The last stage is that the victims, instead of being either actually sacrificed or subjected to torture or mutilation, are made to undergo mental mortification in order to symbolize the actual sacrifice. This is done in Behar by the women pouring forth volleys of abuse on the proprietor or the officials of the village, or by compelling the former to undergo the physical labour of ploughing, as is typified in the Har Parauri ceremony. By abusing these men, they are supposed to be offered as sacrifices to the offended Rain-God, in order to appease his wrath, so that he may cause rain to fall. Abuse is also supposed in Behar and Bengal to bring good-luck or to wipe away sin. On occasions of marriages, people who accompany the Varāta (the marriage procession to the bride's house) are often vilely abused by the womenfolk of the bride's family, in the belief that it will lead to the good fortune of the newly-married couple. In the same way, on the occasion of the *Jama Dwitīyā Day* in Behar, corresponding to the Bhrātṛ Dvitīyā ceremony in Bengal, which falls on the second day of the bright period of the moon next to that during which the Dusserah in

[1] Vide *The Statesman and Friend of India* (Calcutta) of Wednesday, the 28th October, 1891.

Behar and the Durgāpūjā festival in Bengal take place, brothers are abused by sisters to their hearts' content. This is done under the impression that it will prolong the lives of the brothers and bring good-luck to them. In Behar, if anyone be rendered sinful by looking at the moon on the *Chauk-chanda Day*, which corresponds to the Naṣṭ Chandra Day of Bengal and falls on the fourth day of the waxing period of the moon in the month of Bhādra (August–September), he is absolved from all sin if he gets abused by anybody. In order to ensure getting abused, the person rendered sinful takes care to throw brickbats into the house of a neighbour, who abuses him for pelting in this way. This abuse absolves him from all sin caused by looking at the moon. Similarly in Bengal the sinful man robs a neighbour's orchard of fruits or cuts down his plants, for which he is abused by the latter and thus rendered clean of all sin caused by looking at the "moon of ill-omen." In Bengal, too, the practice of pelting is resorted to on this occasion, and sometimes leads to breaches of the public peace, as will appear from the following report of a case which appeared in *The Indian Mirror* (Calcutta) of Wednesday, the 28th August, 1895:—"On Monday last, before Mr. Abdul Kader, Deputy Magistrate of Alipore, a Hindu of Bhowanipore preferred a curious complaint against several neighbours, charging them with conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. On Saturday last, the accused, in accordance with a religious Hindu custom, kept up an 'all fools' day,' being the occasion of what is regarded as the inauspicious moon (*Nashta Chandra*), characteristic of the occasion on which the god Krishṇa was accused of theft. The accused, it is alleged, on seeing the moon, spotted the complainant as the 'thief,' and began tormenting him by throwing brickbats into his house. The accused, on being remonstrated with by the complainant, told him that they were only acting under a religious belief, otherwise they would suffer great misfortune during the year. The Magistrate granted summonses against the accused."

In the Vedas the Earth has been personified as the mother of all things, an idea which is to be found in the folklore of many races of mankind. As such, she is considered sacred, and supposed to be endowed with power for good or evil to man. There are many ceremonies performed by the various races inhabiting India which have for their object the propitiation of Mother Earth or the Earth-goddess. She figures largely in almost all agricultural festivals and ceremonies. The custom of ploughing, which is one of the essential components of the Har Paraurī ceremony of this district, and of the rain-ceremony which is prevalent in the Mirzapur district of the North-Western Provinces, partakes of the nature of "sympathetic magic," and is had recourse to for the purpose of propitiating the Mother Earth, the goddess of the soil, to whom the produce of the land is ascribed, and in whose name and by whose permission are all agricultural operations performed.

As the Har Paraurī is the Behārī women's ceremony for producing rain, so Vāṭi Pomtā (or the burial of the cup) is the Bengali women's spell to prevent the rain from falling. This practice is had recourse to by the Bengali women in times of heavy rain, for the purpose of causing it to cease. The custom is described in the following doggerel verse, which is recited by Bengali womenfolk:—

Eklā māyer betī
Māṭite puntile bāti
Jal nāhi hai kadācan
E kathā ati nirdhārya
Kahen Śrī Rām Bhaṭṭācārya
Eman dekhechi katavār.

TRANSLATION.

If the only daughter of a mother buries a cup underneath the earth, the rain will never fall. Srīrām Bhaṭṭācārya says that this is very true, as I have on many an occasion seen the rain being prevented from falling (by the observance of the spell of burying a cup underneath the earth).

The ceremony requires that the only daughter of a woman (her parents not having, either living or dead, any other child, male or female) should bury the cup underneath the earth. It is practised only in times when heavy rain is likely to cause damage or inconvenience. Closely akin to this Bengali custom is the following:—"Another approved method is to put some water in a pot and bury it. This is believed to be a common practice with corn-chandlers, who love a drought (for the purpose of raising the prices of food-grains, and thereby deriving much profit in times of scarcity), and when rain fails it is a common village phrase—'Some rascal has been burying the water' (*pānigārnā*)."[1] By the process of substitution enunciated by Mr. G. L. Gomme,[2] the rain is supposed to be buried by burying the water in the pot. The next step is, that the water being left out, simply the cup, which here symbolizes the rain, is buried, as in the spell from Bengal, and thereby the latter is also supposed to be buried and estopped from asserting its power.

[1] Vide Crooke's "Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," p. 46.
[2] Gomme's "Ethnology in Folklore," p. 112.

ART. XIX.—*An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander.* By M. GASTER. (Translated from Hebrew MSS. of the twelfth century.)

## I. INTRODUCTION.

MORE marvellous and more remarkable than the real conquests of Alexander are the stories circulated about him, and the legends which have clustered round his name and his exploits. The history of Alexander has, from a very early period, been embellished with legends and tales. They spread from nation to nation during the whole of the ancient times, and all through the Middle Ages. Many scholars have followed up the course of this dissemination of the fabulous history of Alexander. It would, therefore, be idle repetition of work admirably done by men like Zacher, Wesselofsky, Budge, and others, should I attempt it here. All interested in the legend of Alexander are familiar with those works, where also the fullest bibliographical information is to be found. I am concerned here with what may have appeared to some of these students as the bye-paths of the legend, and which, to my mind, has not received that attention which is due to it, from more than one point of view. Hitherto the histories of Alexander were divided into two categories; the first were those writings which pretended to give a true historical description of his life and adventures, to the exclusion of fabulous matter; the other included all those fabulous histories in which the true elements were smothered under a great mass of legendary matter, the chief representative of this class being the work ascribed to a certain Callisthenes. The study of the legend centred in the study

of the vicissitudes to which this work of (Pseudo-) Callisthenes had been exposed, in the course of its dissemination from the East, probably from its native country, Egypt, to the countries of the West. The history of this literary migration has, as already remarked, been told with admirable skill by those scholars. A few have also attempted to find the sources of those legends which were incorporated in this transformation of the true history. Meissner and Budge, among others, have shown that Egyptian and Babylonian legends had been taken from local gods and heroes, and had been attributed to the figure which was looming so largely in the imagination of the nations. The transformation from genuine history to legend is, however, a slow process, and it is an extremely interesting psychological evolution not easily to be followed. The legends which we find in Pseudo-Callisthenes, not to speak of the numerous translations and changes connected with it, are not all of the same period, nor are they due to one and the same factor. They grow like the snowball, and, in rolling, gather elements from every quarter through which they pass. Even one and the same text is thus radically changed: a great gulf separates, e.g., the earlier Greek text known as *A* from the later known as *C*. And if we study the mediaeval romances of Alexander, be they the French, or the old English, or the German, we find many incidents and legends in them which are not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes. Some of these have been borrowed from later compositions, based, as has hitherto been assumed, solely on Pseudo-Callisthenes, such as the so-called "Historia de Preliis" of Leo, or the "Iter ad Paradisum." But for others the origin is anything but clear. I do not believe in the fecundity of human imagination. There are only very few elements due to spontaneous imagination, all the rest are mere repetition in kaleidoscopic change of old legends and fictions. The poets of the Middle Ages were as little able to invent all those legends concerning Alexander with which they are credited, as we are now; it is a literary problem of no mean importance, and I attempt now to

contribute towards the elucidation of the sources from which they drew their information. I maintain that there must have existed, side by side with the literary tradition represented by Pseudo-Callisthenes, other traditions of Alexander and tales of his adventures which fed upon local religious and political traditions.

Alexander had become also a religious hero. The history of his mild treatment of the inhabitants of Jerusalem gave rise to the belief that he worshipped the God of Israel. This at once won him the admiration of Jews, and then of Christians. The Egyptians, probably as a protest against the Roman conquest, invented the legend of Alexander's father having been Nectanebus, the last native ruler, basing this fiction upon Alexander's visit of the temple of Ammon and worshipping him. These two sources blended their waters in Alexandria, the place built by Alexander, and hence the legendary history of Alexander spread so early among Jews and Christians, borrowing largely from their own traditions. Portions of these were then slowly incorporated either into the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes or found their way into separate smaller legendary stories, influencing the writers of Legends of the Saints on the one hand and the romancers of the Middle Ages on the other.

Professor Wesselofsky, in studying the version of the Alexander legend,[1] which has deeply influenced the Slavonic nations and the Rumanians, and which he calls the Serbian version, was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that many an incident in the journey of Alexander to the land of the Blessed or his intercourse with the Brahmans and their king Dindimus or Dandamus, as well as his journey to the source of life and the gates of Paradise, are found already in Christian legends of the second and third century, in the lives of Zosimos and later in Ugo d'Alvernia's travels, and as I had also shown in my edition of it, in the apocryphal life of Macarius of Rome and his three

[1] "Izŭ istorii romana i povêsti," vol. i, pp. 129–511. (St. Petersburg, 1886.)

companions ("Izŭ ist. rom.," i, pp. 321–3, 448). I go now one step further back and say that the portions dealing with the Brahmans-Rehabites is to be found already in the apocryphal work called "The Rest of the Words of Baruch," dating, as I believe, as far back as the first century. J. R. Harris, in his edition (London, 1889), assigns it the date of 136 A.D. In a collection of rabbinical "Exempla," published by me (Report of the Montefiore College, 1896), which dates not later than the fifth century, we find not a few of the most remarkable adventures of Alexander directly connected with him, and mentioned as exploits of Alexander. He bears here the name of "*Maqron*" instead of "*Maqdon*," i.e. the "horned"[1] instead of the "Macedonian." Josephus already mentions some legends connected with Alexander, and so if we search through the whole old Oriental literature we are sure to meet with one incident or another which has afterwards crept into the Western versions of the legend, prose or rhymed.

The discovery of totally different versions of the legend, which were termed Romances, in Syriac and Ethiopic, strengthen further this view, and go a long way to prove the existence of a series of purely fabulous stories of Alexander, in which every genuine historical element had been discarded in favour of a tissue of purely legendary and religious fiction. Their peculiar character is the absolute adaptation of the hero to the local or religious needs of the writer of the Romance. In both Alexander becomes a devout Christian, and in one

[1] The slight change of the Hebrew letter ד (D) into ר (R), which is very difficult to distinguish from it, gives to the word which means originally "Macedon" the meaning of "horned." This may be the origin of the famous name which Alexander bears in the Qoran, and thence in the whole Arabic literature, "The double-horned"—"Dhulqarnain." It is not unlikely that Muhammad or his secretary, who knew the Hebrew alphabet, and in which probably also Arabic legends were written, made that simple mistake in spelling, and hence the name. The application to Alexander was facilitated by his Ammon's or ram's horn which he has on some coins. But it certainly did not originate from that fact. Those coins were very scarce and not used after Alexander's death. The parallelism which some have drawn between that epithet of Alexander and the peculiar legend which ascribes horns to Moses requires further investigation.

(the Ethiopic) he holds converse with the prophet Elijah and even with God. Persian writers, such as Firdusi or Nizami, have changed him into a devout Muhammadan; Alberic of Bezançon, or Lambert li Tors, or the German Lamprecht, or Thomas of Kent, have made of Alexander a mediaeval knight and good Christian. There are, however, some links missing even in the history of these Romances, and I am now furnishing one which I hope will prove of some value in the history of the Alexander legend, both in connection with the older legends of Zosimos and Macarius, with the Christian legend or Romance in Syriac and Ethiopic (in which Gerasimus, i.e. Zosimos) is directly quoted), and with the sources for some of the most remarkable incidents in the mediaeval Romances of the West of Europe; and thus to establish a connection not even hitherto suspected between those Romances of the East with the Alexander legends of the West. It will also furnish the source of some incidents in the latest version of the Greek texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes, viz. *C*. It is an old Hebrew Romance, and I am publishing here the translation of this text.

In this history, subdivided by me into fifty-seven chapters, according to the number of the most important incidents, every trace of history has disappeared. Alexander is merely the hero of extraordinary adventures, and the whole is a collection of curious and remarkable tales, few of which are found in Pseudo-Callisthenes or even any other history of Alexander. The author has woven into one picture numerous scattered elements. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the author had not copied a single text directly, even there where we find close parallels to them in other works. Only rarely does Alexander appeal to God, as we find him doing it often in the Ethiopic or Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*). On one or two occasions, and only when forced by circumstances, Alexander becomes a Jew, as when he meets the priests in Jerusalem, when he approaches the gates of Paradise, and when he wishes to enter the land of the Blessed, here the land of the children of Moses.

But we find here all the old legends which are known from the pages of the Talmud and Midrash, in a somewhat independent form, and a number of many legends for which no parallel exists or is hitherto known. This version seems to be the source of the famous "Iter ad Paradisum," and some incidents are found in mediaeval French Romances.

The text of this Hebrew version has come down in three MSS., of which one is in Modena, and has been published from it by I. Levi (*B*), in Steinschneider's Memorial Volume,[1] to whom this text is devoid of any interest and absolutely valueless. With his usual superficiality he writes:—"Ce texte, nous l'avouons sans détour, n'offre aucun intérêt pour l'histoire de la légende d'Alexandre. Il ne forme pas, comme d'autres, un anneau dans la chaîne de la tradition littéraire; il n'a exercé aucune influence sur les conteurs chrétiens, ou arabes, ou même juifs. Il est tout à fait hors cadre!" The other was found by Professor A. Y. Harkavy in Damascus (*C*), who has given an analysis of it in Russian, and has added valuable notes, trying also to ascertain the date and place of its composition, and tracing some of the parallels in the literature of the Alexander legend.[2] He has failed, however, to identify the proper names that occur in this version, and as his MS. seems to be a comparatively modern copy, he has also been mistaken in the date of its composition, nor has he adduced any sufficient reason for a supposed Arabic original. The third MS., discovered by me and copied as far back as 1888, is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*A*). It is imbedded in the Chronicle of Jerahmeel (a translation of which I am preparing for the Oriental Translation Fund). This MS. belongs at the latest to the twelfth century. For more than one reason I am inclined, however, to assign to the romance itself a much earlier date. No allusion is made to any of the

[1] "Festschrift zum achzigsten Geburtstage M. Steinschneider's" (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 235–7, and Hebrew, pp. 142–63.

[2] "Neizdannaya Versiya romana obŭ Alexandrê," St. Petersburg, 1892.

nations that occupied Asia Minor since the seventh or eighth century. Islam does not seem to be known by the author, who must have lived in the East. He quotes in one single instance (ch. 49) an Arabic word, and quotes it wrongly. He can therefore not have translated it from the Arabic. It is certainly older than the version of which a mutilated form had been inserted in Pseudo-Josephus (Josippon, or Gorionides, as he is commonly called), which I consider to be a translation from an Arabic text of the seventh or eighth century. The legends are given in their more primitive simple form. Some of the words which occur in the other two MSS., and which might have warranted the belief that the author was acquainted with French, or Provençal, are missing in the old MS. It is also centuries older than the existence of the Marranos, in Spain, with which Professor Harkavy connected this version.

In the translation I have followed in the main the Oxford MS. (*A*), but I have added also those portions which I found in the other two texts, when they added something material to the story.

In the few notes given here by me by way of introduction I have limited myself to pointing out those chapters which either have no parallels, or which show some relation to other Oriental versions or to mediaeval Romances. In some instances I have drawn the attention to the peculiar character of the legends, and here and there the attempt is made to explain some of the proper names. Harkavy's essay is always referred to whenever his remarks or identifications are mentioned.

The character of this version is best seen by the fact that the story starts directly from Egypt. Macedonia is mentioned only towards the end three times, and it is thought to be a province of Egypt! Everything connected with Greece is thus omitted; so also Alexander's battles with Darius, and with Por. Every trace of genuine history is effectively obliterated. Even the name of Alexander's mother is changed into Galopatria, i.e. Cleopatra, unless it is a peculiar corrupted reading of גוליפטריא, אוליפידאה

(Olipiada). In this the Hebrew Romance agrees with the Ethiopic-Christian Romance (Budge, p. 445), and the same name is also found (according to Harkavy) in one version of the "Historia de Preliis." Nectanebus, the Egyptian king-wizard and reputed father, as represented by the literary tradition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, is replaced here by a simple magician who bears the biblical name of Bildad. We also do not find a trace of Candace and of her transactions with Alexander. Cleopatra has, according to this version, many children, and is not at all friendly disposed towards Alexander—at any rate, not at his birth; she afterwards gets reconciled to him. Instead of the god Ammon, in whose name Nectanebus pretends to speak, Bildad mentions a god Digonia, in whom I see either Dionysos or Diogenes. Thus far no satisfactory explanation of the proper names can be given.

The second chapter agrees more with *B* and *C* than *A* in Pseudo-Callisthenes. At the birth Cleopatra wishes to have the child strangled: the only parallel is in the French poem of Alberic de Besançon (Harkavy). No parallels to the whole of the following chapters are to be found anywhere. Harkavy points out a faint reflex of chapters 9 and 10 in Ibn Fatikh. A remarkable legend, contained only in the Oxford MS. (A), is that of the dwarfs and the stone by which they make themselves invisible, and the episode that when Alexander meets them they were just engaged in conducting a bridal procession to their home. It reminds us of the numerous popular legends of fairies and pixies and the cap of invisibility, so well known in German mediaeval romance; such as the story of the dwarf king Alberich and his "tarn-hut" or cap of darkness, and of the Nibelungenlied. (Cf. Grimm, "Deutsche Mythologie," chap. xvii and additions; cf. also the legend of Gyges and the ring that makes him invisible (Plato, "De Republ.," ii).) Capp. 13 ff. contains a peculiarly changed version of the visit to the temple and the mysterious figure on the couch, which is preserved only in Pseudo-Callisthenes, L, B, C, iii, chap. 28 (v. Zacher, p. 169). Harkavy compares the

temple mentioned there (ii, 18, and i, 31), but neither of these has anything in common with the description given in the text, and which seems to be the fullest account of that mysterious figure on the couch. We meet here for the first time Menaḥem, the chief of the scribes. Harkavy has compared this name with that of Simon in one of the old French poems and Solomon in one MS. of the "Iter"; and has thought that all are derived from "Eumenes." It would be difficult to say whether it be so or not. Remarkable, however, is that the Ethiopic legend has "Rahâmân" (p. 293) as the name of the scribe, a name which looks very similar to Menaḥem. The history of "Busfal" (instead of "Boucefal" or "Boukefal") is told here, and not in any way resembling the version in Pseudo-Callisthenes or the other sources. Here commences already the recital of the encounters of Alexander with peculiar peoples, one of which attempts to poison Alexander and his army by means of strange-looking fish. But for that incident the rest resembles chap. 49. No parallels are to be found for the following chapters, in which there is a peculiar incident about a frog emitting a foul stench. Immediately upon this incident follows here that of the speaking trees, and in the Oxford MS. again a meeting of Alexander with the king of the dwarfs. The description of these trees varies from that in Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 17 (Zacher, pp. 161–2). In chap. 25 we have the trial, for which no other old parallels are available beyond the rabbinical "Exempla," No. V*a*, and then in various rabbinical works. It is found also in the "Bocados de Oro" of Ibn Fatikh and in the French Romance of "Lambert," etc. (v. Meyer, ii, p. 199). The name of the country is identical with that of the "Exempla." The first half of No. V*a* contains in the "Exempla" a very short account of Alexander's fight with the Amazons; here it is very amplified in chapters 26–7. The country is called "Ansiq," with which Harkavy compares the name "Sichie" of the Queen in the French version. No parallel have I been able to find for the history of the treasure and the

behaviour of Ga'tan the treasurer. Alexander avoids fighting a king who had dug pits in his country, and he journeys to Jerusalem. The recital of this meeting of Alexander with the High Priest, whom he calls "Anani" (Josephus and others call him Yaddus, others Simeon—so my "Exempla," No. cclxxix, only Gorionides, Hanani), resembles Pseudo-Callisthenes, *C*, ii, 24 (Zacher, 134). Chap. 32 is like a faint reflex of Alexander's meeting with the Gymnosophists (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *C*, ii, 35; cf. iii, 17*a*), and more like Syriac, p. 93, and the later Slavonic versions of Alexander's meeting with Evant and the Brahmans, but there is no parallel to the second half of chapter 32. So also none for the very extraordinary tale in which a certain Matan, who is the priest of the god Aṣilin, plays the chief rôle. In the Ethiopic version we meet with a *Mâtûn* who is a sage, and is the type of a pious man, exactly the reverse of the Matan in our text (Budge, p. 264 ff.).

Alexander comes now (chapter 37) to the famous water of life, which is recognized by the fact that birds which had been killed came to life again when dipped into it. In all the other versions the place of the birds is taken by fish. Pseudo-Callisthenes, ii (*C*, 39 and 41). This incident is not found in either "Gorionides" or "Historia de Preliis" (Harkavy). In our text the servant drinks of it, and as he cannot find the water at the bidding of Alexander, the latter cuts off his head, but the servant, being immortal, goes to the waters of the great sea and lives there headless: cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 28, about the headless people in the sea. Wesselofsky has given a long list of modern tales of such men (*loc. laud.*, pp. 377–8). This fountain leads Alexander to the gates of Paradise, and he obtains there as a token a piece like an eye. It is a human eye, and its meaning is explained to him by Menaḥem. Here we have the parallel to the "Iter." The same tale is found in the Talmud, but also in the Ethiopic version (p. 271), and, what is more, in the French romance of "Lambert li Tors" and the German version of

"Lamprecht" (v. Meyer, ii, 201). Chapter 39 contains the description of Alexander's flight to heaven, by means of iron spits with meat on them, and eagles looking up to them and carrying him upwards. In my "Exempla" No. v, the tale is absolutely identical with the version of the Romance; in the Talmud and in the Midrash the legend is very short. Pseudo-Callisthenes has the tale, but in a somewhat different form, and only in *L* and *C* (Pseudo-Callisthenes, ii, 41). How widely spread this legend is in the East, is shown by the fact that we meet it also in the Samaritan Chronicle published by Joynbull, pp. 185 and 322 (Harkavy). In the Ethiopic (pp. 277–8) Alexander flies upwards on the back of an eagle like the old Babylonian hero Etana (v. Budge, ad. loc. in the note). The sequel to this flight is the diving in the sea in a glass cage, chapter 40. The only old Hebrew parallel is found in the "Exempla," No. v; Pseudo-Callisthenes only in *L*, *C*, ii, 38 (Zacher, p. 140). I have not found anywhere a parallel to the idea that the sea could not tolerate any blood or dead body, and throws it up in consequence, as mentioned here, chapter 40, a bit of folklore which deserves further study. The Ethiopic version, which contains a very elaborate description of Alexander's descent into the sea (p. 282 ff.), does not know this incident. In chapter 41, I see a parallel to the French poem of "Lambert" (v. Meyer, ii, p. 174). The riding on the lion's back reminds us of the legend of Macarius and other legends of saints. In chapter 42, the land of the dwarfs is mentioned, which we find in a fuller form in the Slavonic Alexander legend, where their fight with the storks is told. The Kynokephaloi are mixed up here with that other legend: cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*), ii, 34, 37. Chapter 43 contains the long journey upon the sea and the foetid sea, which is mentioned only in the Syriac Christian legend (Budge, pp. 147 and 145) and in the Ethiopic version (p. 224). For the strong wind cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii, 17, *k* (A. V.), Zacher p. 159. No parallels are known to the following chapters, one of which has the extremely curious tale of the Couvade,

for which custom this is the only mediaeval reference. In modern times it has been studied by folklorists. One incident seems to be found also in Thomas of Kent's Romance of Alexander, viz., that a dog rules the people in the absence of the king (chapter clxxx). Whether the Igoli of the legend are the Uigurs (Harkavy), I better leave undecided.

The Ethiopic version contains the description of a huge serpent, and the Syriac of a dragon (p. 107), worshipped by certain people, which was killed by Alexander by means of pitch. This seems to be a reminiscence of the Daniel and Dragon legend; but in our text we meet a peculiar animal (chapter 46) that has the body of a lion and the hands and feet of a man, which vomits pitch upon Alexander and nearly kills him. This seems to be the older form of the legend transformed by the Ethiopic writer under the influence of the Daniel legend. The great noise heard on the top of the mountain is the same that Alexander hears in the modern Greek and Slavonian versions, and also heard by Macarius and his companions. It is the voice of the damned in hell, and that of Adam and Eve or of Prometheus. There is no parallel for chapter 47, about the appointment of Ṭikusa or Ṭibusa as regent of Egypt. Quite unique is the legend in the following chapter about the fish-men and the means by which they were recovered. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*, ii, 42) has some bearing on it, but is incomplete, and in the French mediaeval romances we often come across the Otifals (or Ichthyophagoi). In the Syriac (p. 106) and Ethiopic (p. 166), only huge fish and the dress made of their skin are mentioned. In the Hebrew we have a much closer parallel to the famous tale in the "Arabian Nights" of men being changed into fishes. The charm or the performance by which they seem to be restored to life solely from the scales, is parallel to the popular tales of human beings being restored to life from the smallest particle of their body. Still more interesting is the recital of the encounter with the women in the following chapter (49), who wear magical bags for

protection and two snakes' heads under their garments. As for the strong woman who runs so fast that no steed is able to overtake her, cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes (*C*), ii, 33.

The chapters 52–3 are those in which we find the oldest parallels to the meeting with the Rehabites in the legend of Zosimos (Gerasimus in the Ethiopic), who had become first the Happy, then the Blessed, and then the Departed, and has nothing whatever to do with the visit to the Paradise and ought not to be confounded with it. These are two independent incidents, which have afterwards been mixed up as soon as the "Blessed" were considered to be the "Departed" from this world. In the most ancient form Alexander merely comes to a land in which the righteous and pious men lived under the special protection of God, but they are in this world. The Brahmans and Gymnosophists are the true counterpart in the Greek version. In the Hebrew and Christian tradition these godly men were either, as I have mentioned, the Rehabites, or the children of Seth (as in the Slavonic and Rumanian version), or as in the Hebrew, the children of Moses and the Ten Tribes. Of all these variations, the last is in every probability the oldest, as it occurs already in the apocryphal ancient literature, such as in the Rest of the Words of Baruch and in the Fourth Ezra. This early tradition has been incorporated at a later time into the version of Alexander, and it can be shown that it was known in this form in the Jewish literature in the fifth and sixth centuries, and from then uninterruptedly.

The place Sidonia is in every probability "Sinai," as in the Ethiopic (and Syriac?) version, and there Alexander really finds the Manna. The mixing of the sweet with the bitter herb has a parallel in the French mixing of sweet and bitter water (Weismann, ii, p. 356). The fighting of the stars, which portend the death of Alexander, is also based upon an old legend connected with the birth of Abraham and the downfall of Nimrod. Remotely identical with it is the sign in Pseudo-Callisthenes (*B*, *C*), iii, 31.

The death of Alexander by poison administered here

by a certain Afiq (chapter 56) is accelerated by the feather dipped in poison. In this incident concur only the Ethiopic version and the "Historia de Preliis." All the rest is peculiar to this version. The division of the empire among the four diadochs and the ultimate burial are described in a manner different from all the other versions.

This short summary shows us that, far from standing isolated, many an incident in this version is found also in the Syriac and the Ethiopic. There must have existed from very ancient times already a number of legends grouped round the name of Alexander, out of which grew in the first instance the Christian and Hebrew Romances in the East, which must have found their way, directly or indirectly, also into many a mediaeval composition and metrical romance as well as into some of the oldest legends of saints. Some of them were ultimately absorbed into the more developed form of the Pseudo-Callisthenes version, which superseded the Romances and destroyed them, obliterating their memory. These have now been recovered, and help us to lay bare the fountains from which many of the writers in later times drew their information and their legends. Those parallels between the "Romances" of the East and West are not the result of chance, but prove that the latter have borrowed directly or indirectly from this other, hitherto not recognized source—the ancient oral traditions and legends of the East as embodied in the Eastern "Romances," the oldest recoverable hitherto being the Hebrew.

## II. *Translation.*

### The Book of Alexander of Macedon.

1. It happened in the days of yore that there reigned over the land of Egypt a man named Polipos (פוליפוס Philipus). He was a liberal and kind-hearted man, and he did righteousness and justice, and there was none like unto him. All his people loved him. The name of his wife was (גולופירא) Golopira (or Gloptiria, Cleopatra), and she was a most beautiful woman, such as had never been before her. A certain man lived in the land of Egypt whose name was Bildad, the son of Ason. This man was an astrologer and a wizard, and was such as none has ever equalled in cleverness. Whatever he desired he brought about by means of his witchcraft. Now it happened that he had set his eyes upon Cleopatra the Queen, the wife of Polipos, king of Egypt. He desired her, for she was most beautiful in form and appearance, so that he pined within himself on account of his ardent love for her. When he had almost died through his strong desire, Bildad strengthened himself, and relied upon his knowledge of astrology and witchcraft to find out if his destiny would be to go to the Queen or not. He therefore drew a lot by means of his witchcraft, and the lot fell upon the Queen, so that he rejoiced exceedingly, [B, C. and going into the fields hither and thither he sought to find a certain herb, the name of which was (צרפיליא) chervil, and conjuring it by means of his witchcraft, he buried it for nine consecutive days.]

2. It came to pass on the third day that a letter reached King Polipos (Philip), as to whether he would not deliver the land of (תוגרמה) Togarma from the hands of King Kos (כוס), who had invaded the country, for then he would lose his whole kingdom. When the King Polipos heard this, he feared very much, and having taken counsel he issued a command to all his kingdom that they should

all be prepared, everyone that drew the sword, to come to the help of the King, so that all the people of his kingdom were assembled before him as one man. And the King and his army went to save the land of Togarma.

3. When Bildad saw that the King had gone out of his land, [B. he went on the ninth day to the place where he had buried the herb (צרפיליא), and taking it up he performed therewith some witchcraft, according to the desire of his heart, and] going to the queen Cleopatra, he said to her: "Hear, O my lady, for I have brought a message unto thee from Digonia (or, Rigonia דיגוניא) our God." The Queen thereupon rejoiced very much. She arose from the throne, and making obeisance to Bildad, she said to him: "Tell me what thou hast to say, and do not keep back anything from me." Bildad replied, and said unto the Queen: "Digonia, our God, hath sent me unto thee, saying, since he has seen thy modesty and the uprightness of thine heart, he has therefore filled his heart with desire to come to thee, and having lain with thee to beget a son, who will also become a God."[1] The Queen upon this said to him: "Give me a true sign by which I may know that thy words are just and true." And Bildad answered, and said to the Queen: "Let this be a sign: when the God shall come to thee, there shall be three horns on his forehead, one of silver, the other two of gold; and at the end of an hour, one of them shall be sunken and the other two shall continually grow."[2] When the Queen heard this she rejoiced, and bowed and prostrated herself to the ground.

4. It came to pass on that night that Bildad performed some witchcraft: [B. he came into the court and garden of the Queen, after he had caused a deep sleep to fall upon

[1] A. "Thy God Digonia has searched through the whole world to find a woman of royal birth, who should be modest and beautiful, so that he obtain from her a son, who would rule over the whole world, and he has not found any one like unto thee."

[2] A. "When he comes the room will be full of light, and he will have a burning light on his forehead, and two horns, one of gold and one of silver, both turned towards the heavens, as a sign that the son who will be born shall reign over the whole world under the heavens."

all the household of the Queen's palace; he then entered from one chamber to the other until] he came before the bed of the Queen. He then performed those signs of which he had spoken to her. And the Queen saw all these signs, and hearkened unto him, so that he went in unto her, and she conceived by him. She then said unto him: "What shall be the name of the boy who is about to be born?" And he replied, "Alexander" [A. Alexandron]; for Alexandron in the Egyptian language signifies 'Lord over all.' The Queen then rejoiced very much. And it came to pass in the morning that the Queen sent for her wise men and princes, and made a great banquet for them.

5. While they were eating and drinking and their hearts were merry, Polipos returned from battle rejoicing and of good cheer, for he had conquered King Kos. The Queen then ran to meet him; she embraced him and kissed him, and related to him everything that had happened to her [A. and she told him that the God Digonia had been with her]. When, however, the King heard it, he became enraged; he smote his hands together, for he knew very well that Bildad the wizard had gone to her. The King thereupon sent a messenger for Bildad, and Bildad was very much afraid, and fled the land of Egypt, and dwelt in a cave all the days of his life, for the King had sent after him in all the borders of his kingdom to slay him, but he had hidden himself and could not be found. The King then said to the Queen: "The punishment of death shall not be awarded thee; but stifle the report, so that no man shall know of this, lest we come to shame."

6. It came to pass after a time that the Queen bore a son, and she said to the midwife: "Strangle this my son, and I will give thee a shekel of [A. his weight in] gold." But the midwife answered: "Far be it from me to do such a thing, to stretch forth my hand against a son of the King, and besides which, considering the fact that I foresee in him signs of royalty, for he will reign over the whole world, although he shall die in his youth in another land."

The Queen heard this, but refrained from replying. Thus the child escaped. This was the form of the child. One eye resembled the eye of a cat, and the other eye the eye of a lion; he looked towards the earth, and he was fearful, and his appearance was strange.[1] His mother called his name Alexander. The lad grew, and was prosperous in all his ways, and the land trembled before him. The fear and the dread of him fell upon all those who saw him or heard him. [A. And the Queen said to her husband: "Let us kill this bastard, so that he may not inherit with our own children"; for they had besides four other sons. But Polipos said: "Far be it from us to kill him. Maybe, our children will benefit through him."]

7. It once happened, when the lad went out among the ministers of the King in the court of the garden of the King's palace, that a wizard, one of the magicians of Egypt, came there, and on beholding the lad trembled exceedingly, and fell at full length on the ground, prostrating himself before the lad. At this the lad said: "What art thou doing?" The wizard replied: "Behold, I see that thou art destined in the future to vanquish the whole world, and many shall the number of the slain be; thou shalt go to a distant land, and [A. thou wilt die in the prime of thy days, and thou wilt be buried in Egypt] and thou shalt go down to the depths of the waves, and thou wilt place thy seat among the stars, and during thy life thou shalt come to the place of those who fear God." The lad rejoiced very much at this, and said to the wizard: "If thou speakest the truth, behold I will make thee and all the family of thy father and mother free men, and thou shalt be my second in rank." The wizard then made obeisance to him, and gave some presents to the lad as a sign and as a memorial.

[1] A. "From the sole of his feet up to his navel he was covered with hair; between his shoulders he had the image of a lion, and upon his chest that of an eagle. One eye resembled that of the lion, and he looked with it towards the sky, and the other resembled that of a cat, and he looked with it towards the earth."

8. Now King Polipos became old and ill, and was about to die. He therefore assembled all the magicians of Egypt and all its wise men, and asked them to make known unto him in truth who was to be king after him. They all thereupon answered at once, and said: "Give us time until the morning, and we shall then tell the King." The King did so. In the morning all the magicians of Egypt and the astrologers came to him, and said with one voice: "This lad Alexander shall reign after thee, and his throne shall be more powerful than the throne of our Lord the King, and whatever he shall do will prosper." The King then became very angry and wept very loudly, for he had many sons, and not one of them was destined to inherit the kingdom, and moreover the King knew that Alexander was not his own son.

9. The King then called his sons together, and said unto them: "Hear me, O my sons: you have heard from all the wise men that the kingdom is decreed to Alexander: therefore do you listen to my counsel, and do not fight with Alexander, for this thing is destined by God; do not be angry, nor let your countenances fall, and do not break the yoke of Alexander from off your neck, lest he be to you a stumbling-block and a danger, for the kingdom and the dominion are in the hand of the King of Kings, who grants or takes away the kingdom, and it is in His hand to make great and to strengthen all." When he had finished exhorting his sons he was gathered to his people. He died in his old age of 93 years. They buried him with great honour, and erected a large and wonderful building upon his grave.

10. It came to pass after the death of Polipos that his sons sought to kill Alexander by poisoning him. This was told to Alexander, who said to them: "What sin or transgression have I committed that you seek to kill me and shed innocent blood? Do you not know, and have you not heard, that the kingdom has been granted me from Heaven; and, moreover, has not the King exhorted you to give me the kingdom?" When the brothers

heard that their deed had become known, they said to each other: "We are indeed trying in vain, for all the magicians and astrologers have declared that he was to reign after our father. If we make him king it will be well for us, for he is our brother and our own flesh; and if we are stiff-necked towards him, then, when the kingdom is strengthened in his hands, he will slay all of us." The King's sons then called all the princes, and said in their hearing and in the hearing of the wise men, the sages, and the astrologers, saying: "You have heard what our father commanded us, viz. to make Alexander king; why, then, do ye delay this thing; for is not the kingdom given to him by God, just as the magicians and wise men have said?" All the princes replied, saying: "You have spoken the truth. But we were afraid to make him king on account of you; but now that we see you are pleased with it, we shall certainly not prevent it." So the princes assembled all the people of the land, and made Alexander king, and they exclaimed, "Long live the King!" The King then ordered for himself a chariot and horsemen, and he prospered in all his ways.

11. The King then said to his mother: "If it is pleasing to thee I shall build a new Temple to our God Digonia (דיגוניא)." His mother replied: "Do not thus waste the treasures of thy ancestors, but hear thou my counsel, and issue a command in all the provinces of thy kingdom that every man from the age of thirty years and upwards should come unto thee to go to war and to vanquish all the kingdoms under thee, and do thou gird thy loins and become a warrior to fight thy battles in thy youth, and then it shall be well with thee in thine old age." Alexander the king hearkened to the words of his mother, since it pleased him. He accordingly did whatever she had spoken, not knowing that she was eagerly desirous that he should fall into the hands of his enemies, as a consequence of which she would then be able to give the kingdom to her eldest son begot by Polipos the king.

12. King Alexander then gathered all the princes of the

armies and took counsel with them, and their counsel agreed with that of the Queen; for she had (previously) induced them to do so. The king Alexander accordingly commanded his army to be assembled, and had many iron chariots made. Having gone forth at the head of the army he took his standard, and they all followed after him, and came to a very huge forest, through which they travelled twenty-nine days, and they came to a beautiful meadow, in the midst of which was a fountain. Alexander rested there with his army. Whilst he was walking to and fro he alone beheld a dwarf riding on a richly caparisoned horse, the trappings of which were of gold and the stirrups of precious stones, and decked all over with jewellery. Alexander, beholding him, went up to him and said to him: "Who art thou, and whence art thou coming, and why art thou so richly and gorgeously dressed? Dost thou not know that here are desperate men among my company who covet money and riches?" The dwarf replied: "My name is Antalonia (Antoninus?), and I am a king, and many are now riding along with me, and we are not afraid of anyone; we are now conducting a bride to the house of her parents-in-law, and I have more riders with me than thou hast." And Alexander replied: "But I do not see anyone except thyself." The dwarf said: "Every one of us carries in his hand a stone of invisibility, by means of which no creature is able to see the man who holds one of those stones in his hands. I have, however, shown myself to thee in order to warn thee." And he gave him one of those stones of making invisible. Alexander asked him: "About what wishest thou to warn me?" And the dwarf replied, and said: "O King, thou hast more than one enemy among thy servants who wish to take thy life." And Alexander asked: "Who are they?" The dwarf said: "They are a great number. Come to-morrow and sit here close to the fountain, and I will sit next to thee, and whomsoever I will strike know that he is not thy friend. I will all the time be invisible, and thou call all thy servants, and do afterwards as seems best

to thee." Alexander said: "Antalonia, blessed art thou, for thou art a good man. How can I thank thee? I will come to-morrow, according to thy word." The dwarf asked leave to go, and it was granted to him. On the morrow, Alexander came and looked for the dwarf, and he found him sitting close to the fountain on the stone, as he had promised. And Alexander rejoiced very much, and he embraced and kissed him. When the dinner-time came, a servant brought the meals to the King, and the dwarf struck him so violently that the blow could be heard some distance. The servant turned round and asked the King why he had struck him. But Alexander denied having touched him. Another servant came, and he again was struck, and he fell down to the ground. He also said to the King: "Why dost thou strike thy servant?" But the King denied having touched him, so he turned upon the other servant, and said: "O wicked man; why dost thou strike thy fellow-man?" And thus arose a mighty tumult in the camp, for the dwarf struck all those who wished to lay hands on the King. The King kept quiet all that day, noticing only those who were struck by the dwarf. On the morrow, the King took counsel and deposed those men who had been struck from their positions, and appointed others in their stead; and he told them: "Egypt is now like unto a flock without the shepherd, and there is no one who could help them against their enemies. Return therefore to my country Egypt, and bring this crown to my eldest brother Qanitor (קניטור), and take also servants with you." And Alexander gave them those very men who had been struck by Antalonia as servants. And all those who remained behind with Alexander loved him very much, and he loved them, and he rejoiced mightily on that day, and appointed new governors and generals, and the rejoicing was general. And they stayed in that place ten days.

13. Leaving the forest, they arrived at a great and very high hill, upon which was a large, beautiful building. The King (on noticing th[illegible]d: "Who will ascend with me

upon this mountain?" At which 200 men volunteered to do so, saying: "Come, we will ascend with thee." They thereupon went to the top of the mountain and there found a large and broad gate, beside which an old man was sitting. When the old man saw the King he ran to meet him, to embrace him, and to kiss him; but the King's warriors intervened, and, pushing him aside, did not allow him to approach the King. The old man then asked: "Why do you not allow me to embrace and kiss my Lord the King Alexander?" At which the warriors retorted: "Who told thee that his name is Alexander?" The old man replied: "Because his name and image are engraved on my temple, and I have dwelt upon this mountain many days and years to guard this fortress for him." "But," said the warriors, "what is thy power and thy might, that thou dwellest here alone. We, who are not a few, have caught thee and shall not allow thee to approach the King." The old man thereupon became angry with the warriors, and said to them: "Do you imagine that you are going to conquer me? for were it not that the fear of the King is upon me, I should not be afraid of you all, since I have thus been commanded not to do anything against the King."

14. The warriors then said to the old man: "If now we have found favour in thine eyes, show us thy power." To which the old man replied: "If the King will grant me permission, I will show you my power and my might." The King said: "Permission is granted thee." When the old man heard this he cried so loud that the warriors had no strength left to stand, but all fell upon their faces, as did the King also. The King then said: "Thou takest too much upon thyself: do not repeat this cry, for neither I nor my warriors have the strength to stand before the power of thy voice." The old man then said to the King: "If thou desirest, I shall show you my might by another means." But the King refused. The old man continued, and said to the King: "Come with me, thou and thy men standing before thee, and I will show thee the beauty of

this fortress and the whole of the building in detail, for it is wonderful and pleasant to behold." The King replied: "If it is agreeable to thee, let one of my warriors descend the mountain and call one of my scribes, that he may write down everything that he shall see on this mountain." The old man assented. One of the warriors accordingly went down and brought back with him Menahem the Jew, the principal scribe of the King. The King then went with the old man into the fortress, and after them there followed his warriors and Menahem, the chief of the scribes. The King and his warriors entered a chamber of red glass, which was very lofty and wide and contained ninety-five windows, and on every window there were all kinds of birds, clean and unclean, chirping so that it could be heard very far off, and on the highest window there sat an old black man, who waved his turban (kerchief) towards the birds and they were immediately silent.

15. The King then went with his warriors from that chamber into another, built of green glass, wherein lay all kinds of beasts, clean and unclean, and in their midst there sat a strange beast, from the sole of the foot unto the head of which there was no hair, but it was quite smooth; its feet resembled those of a lion and its face that of a bird. Its eyes were large and as broad as two cubits. The height of the beasts was about five cubits; and the length of the tail, which was green, was about three cubits, and that of the teeth was about one cubit and a half. When the King appeared very much astonished, the old man said: "Do not be amazed, because I will show thee something much more wonderful than this." The old man then took a certain herb, and, placing it in the mouth of the beast, there came out of its bowels a strange beast covered with white hair. Its voice resembled that of a human being, and its teeth were green. The old man then said: "The hair of this beast is very powerful in its effects, for whoever carries it in battle will be sure to conquer, while his enemies fall before him slain in multitudes." The King scoffed at the words of the old man, and he appeared to be laughing at

him. On seeing this the old man waxed angry, and said to the King: "How darest thou to scoff at my words? Know for a certainty that it shall be bitter for thee in thy latter end." When the King saw that he was very angry, he spoke to him mildly to try and appease the wrath of the old man, saying: "If it appears to thee that I have said anything that is not right before thee, pardon me for the sake of thine honour and show honour to the King." The old man replied to the King, saying: "I have hearkened to thy entreaty, but do not do this again."

16. The King then said to the old man: "If now I have found favour in thine eyes, show me yet further the beauty of this fortress"; to which the old man replied: "Come with me and I will show thee a great and marvellous wonder." The King went with the old man, and they came to a very beautiful chamber built of red marble. In it were all kinds of spices (perfumes). When the King felt the extraordinary odour, he marvelled greatly at it. Through it he regained his former strength and might. On raising his eyes, the King saw a beautiful marble stone, on which a red glass vessel was placed. "What is this?" he exclaimed. "This," replied the old man, "is balsam-oil, all of which has been brought from Jericho, the city of the palm-trees." On further looking round, the King saw a stone of green marble, like the sepulchre of kings. On asking the old man what it was, he replied: "Beneath this stone King Altinos (אלטינוס), who was anointed with oil of balsam, was buried, and his body still remains (intact)." "Dost thou know how long ago he was buried?" asked the King. "Wait a little time," answered the old man, "and I will read the inscription which is engraved upon the stone." On reading the inscription he found that it was 285 years old. The King then said to the old man: "If I still find favour in thine eyes, I entreat thee to show me the body of King Altinos (אלטינוס), so that I may verify what thou hast said, that his body still exists." "I will grant thy request," answered the old man; "but be warned and take heed of

thy life that thou touch not the body of this king if thou hast been with any woman this night." The King replied, falsely, that he had not been with a woman that night. "Also tell thy men," said the old man, "not to touch the body of this king unless they are quite clean." The King then said: "He who touches the flesh of this dead person shall surely die." Thereupon the old man drew near, and removing the lid from the marble, he took the shroud from off the dead, so that the King and his warriors saw the dead king. They expressed their intense astonishment to each other. On the King asking whether he might touch the dead man's flesh, the old man said, "No!" But no sooner had he asked the question, than he stepped forward suddenly and touched the body. He immediately fell down backwards, perspired very much, and became changed in his appearance. When his warriors saw it, they uttered a loud and bitter cry, and all fell down before the old man prostrating themselves to the ground. "O my Lord! What shall we do with our king?" they exclaimed. But the old man replied: "Did I not tell you not to touch the dead body, lest you die." The warriors continued, however, to lament very loudly, and entreated the old man a second time, to which he replied: "Were it not that I wish to show favour to you, I should not trouble myself about your King. Now stand up, and see what I shall do to him." They all said simultaneously: "We shall do just as our Lord commands us." "Be not afraid," said the old man, "for there is yet some hope for the King." The old man then took a black horn of a ram, and bringing some glowing coals, and placing them in the horn, he put it upon the neck of King Alexander. Alexander stood up as before, but was dumb, and could not utter a word. His warriors were afraid, and wept, so their joy was turned to lamentation. "Do not be afraid," exclaimed the old man, who took a certain herb, and placed it on the left ear of the King, when he opened his mouth and spoke to his men. They were all exceedingly rejoiced. "Why," said the old man to

the King, "didst thou not fear to touch the dead body, and why didst thou not listen to me and take care? Through it thou didst stumble. Did I not command thee, saying: 'Take heed of thy life, that thou touch not the body.'" The King replied by saying: "The mouth of a fool is a snare to him"; and he said further: "O my Lord, I entreat thee to measure the length of this dead body for me." The old man complied with his request, and found the measurement to be ninety cubits. The King and all his warriors were greatly astonished. "Place now the covering upon the body," said the King; and the old man did so.

17. After this the old man said to the King: "Come thou with me into another chamber, and I will show thee the desire of thine eyes." On entering the chamber with the old man, he saw there a very beautiful girl, and the heart of the King was broken on account of the girl, his face changing many colours. The old man then said to him: "Why dost thou tremble so?" To which he replied: "I will not withhold from thee that my heart is broken within me, on account of the beauty of this maiden." "Swear, then," said the old man, "that thou wilt not make her thy concubine, and I will give her to thee as a wife." The King rejoiced very much, and took three oaths. "Now thou mayest go thy way," said the old man; "take her and let her be to thee as wife, since thou hast sworn." The King approached the maiden, took her by the hand, and led her into his tent. He then said to his warriors: "Take my first wife and carry her into Egypt, until I return in peace." They accordingly took her away to Egypt, and told his mother all that had happened to them. And the Queen rejoiced, and said in her heart: "Why should I hate my son, who came forth from my womb. What matters it whether the King or another man has begotten him; he is just the same my son, and I shall be honoured through him." She then sent a certain horse named Busifal (בוסיפל) to her son, since it was very swift and strong, the like of which was not to be found in the

whole of Egypt. When the horse was brought to the King he tried it, and found it to be according to the desire of his heart. The King then ordered a great banquet to be given to his princes and servants, so that the King and his warriors rejoiced. The King then took the maiden to wife, and he loved her. The old man, after presenting the King with precious stones and all kinds of beautiful vessels, blessed him and sent him away, and the King and his army went from this tower.

18. They came to a forest, whence there emerged a number of very hairy men, who destroyed many people of his small army. They pressed the King very sorely, so that he commanded his men to shoot the rebels of the forest. But when they shot at them they caught the arrows in their hands, and they did not harm them. As soon as the King saw that this kind of war was of no avail against them, he ordered his men to burn the forest with fire, which they did, and they fled [A. and they were burned in the fire].

19. After the King had departed thence, he came to the land of Carthage (קרטיגוניא Qarṭigonia), the length of which was a thirty days' journey. In the whole of this land there was not a woman to be seen; they were kept in subterranean places. The King asked the people for tribute, and they brought him a hundred thousand talents of gold and precious stones. They moreover brought him a large, strange-looking fish. Its scales were red, it had but one eye in its forehead, and its teeth were as black as pitch. The King did not wish to eat it, and ordered it to be cast away to the dogs, but when the dogs ate it they died. The King was very angry at this, and said to them: "Why do you seek to kill me and all my people?" They were silent, and were not able to reply, so the King ordered his men, saying: "Arm yourselves and go to war against these men, who sought to lay their hands on you." They did so. They fought a great battle with them, which lasted for three days and three nights, and the King prevailed over them, and slew of them men without number. The women then came

out from beneath the ground, and fought against the King and all his host, but the King again prevailed over these also, and slew a great number of those who had hidden themselves under the ground.

20. The King then went forth from thence and fought against the inhabitants of Antiochia (? אנטיפיא; אנטוכיא), and slew of them 30,000 men, and took away all their arms. They fell before him to the ground, and the King had mercy upon them, and ordered them to be saved alive. They afterwards brought him 500 talents of gold, and putting upon them a tribute, the King went away from them.

21. He next came to the land of Alṣilah (אלצילה), which was as black as pitch. The men of that place fought against the King, who said to them: "Why are ye stiff-necked towards me?" "Because," they replied, "we have never had either king or ruler, and we have hitherto been free from all the peoples of the land." The King then said: "I do not seek your silver or your gold, but only all the young children that were born this year. Give me them as a present with which to feed my dogs." "We do not think it right," they replied, "to give our children away as food for thy dogs. If thou desirest it, take our silver and our gold in abundance, but if not we must fight with thee." The King then took counsel with his wise men, who said: "Do not take their silver or their gold, but fight against them, and then thou wilt obtain fame among the nations." The King listened to their voice, and went to war against the enemy, and prevailed. He slew of them numberless men, and took their silver and gold and all their precious objects, until they scorned silver and gold and only took precious stones.

22. The King went forth from that place and came to the land of Armenia (? ארמניא Argonia). The men of that place went out to meet him, all the men of war, and fought against him and slew many of his men, but the King prevailed over them on the second day and slew a great number of them. The King went forth with his standard

and came with great strength against the fortress of their king. There he found an exceedingly great number of precious stones; he took all their precious objects and divided them among his men. He made a great feast to all his servants, and remained there nine days. It happened in the night-time that a frog came before the bed of the King, and in its mouth it held a certain herb. The King said to himself: "This has not come here for nothing." He thereupon drew his sword upon the frog and slew it. It emitted a stench so foul that many of his men died through it. The King also became very ill, but the physicians cured him.

23. The King went from that place and came to the land of 'Ofla (? עופלה, or 'Arpola ערפולא). The people of that land came out to meet him and killed many of his people. But the King ultimately prevailed over them, and slew of them about 40,000 men, and took their gold and precious stones.

24. He then passed from that land across the water, and came to a certain forest, in the midst of which sweet waters were flowing. The King then had rafts made, and ordered his men to go up to its source, and he abode there on the rafts with his men, but a wind blew up and cast the King and all his army into a cave, from which the water issued. For twenty-nine days the King was wading through the waters, seeing neither the sun nor the moon during this time. At the end of the twenty-nine days he emerged from the cave into the light of the world, and found two large red trees, upon which two old men were sitting. One of them was blind and (the other) dumb. On seeing them the King said: "Why are you sitting here?" To which the other old man replied: "To hear tidings of the future from these trees." "Is it possible," said the King, "that these trees are able to speak?" "O my Lord the King," said the old man, "do not be surprised, for I tell thee the truth, that these trees speak on the third hour of the day, and whatever one asks of them they tell, except of the day of death." The King expressed his

great astonishment, and fixed his tent there. It came to pass on the morrow, at the third hour, that a voice went out from the tree and called the King, saying: "O my Lord the King, ask of me whatever thou art searching for, except one thing, and I will tell thee?" The King then said: "Shall I reign ten years?" "Thou wilt reign," said the tree, "ten years and more." "Shall I reign forty years?" asked the King, but the voice was silent and did not answer him. The King further asked: "Shall I reign thirty-five years?" "Thou wilt reign thirty-five years and more." "How much longer (than thirty-five years)?" The voice was again silent and did not reply. The King then knew that he would not reign as long as forty years. The King then asked: "Shall I return to Egypt?" To which the voice answered: "Thou shalt die in a strange land, and shalt be buried in the land of Israel (?)." "Shall my son reign after me?" asked the King. "Thy son shall not reign after thee, but thy kingdom shall be divided among four rulers." The King, on asking further questions, was not answered.[1]

[1] A, § 24, reads totally differently, and in some particulars more correctly:— "And the King went away from that place and came to the land of the Dwarfs, and their King Antalonia who ruled over them came to meet the King Alexander, who on seeing him exclaimed: 'Art thou it, O King Antalonia? tell me what thou wishest and I will do for thee.' But Antalonia replied: 'Nay, I am willing to offer thee any amount of gold and silver if thou desirest it.' Alexander said: 'I do not wish anything from thee, except thou givest me herbs which are good for healing.' So they told Alexander the virtues of all the herbs and their curing powers. Alexander stayed there three days and ordered the scribe Menahem to write down the virtues of the herbs. He then said to Antalonia: 'Which way am I to turn from here, as I have gone out of my country for the purpose of encompassing the whole world?' Antalonia replied: 'There are a great number of kingdoms here round this country who are all subject to my rule; if thou wishest I will place them all under thy power, and they shall go to war for thee and pay thee tribute.' But Alexander refused, and said: 'Far be it from me to take anything that belongs to thee; only tell me which way I am to take?' And he said: 'Thou must pass through the Dark Mountains, and I will give thee precious stones which are brilliant as the sun.' And he gave him those stones and food to last for seven days for him and his whole army. And Alexander passed through the Dark Mountains. When he came again forth to the light of the world he said to his followers, 'Let us encamp here for two or three days.' There were at that place two red and tall trees, and two old men were sitting close to those trees, one of them blind, the other dumb. The King asked them, 'What are you sitting here for?' One replied, 'To hear the future from these trees.' And Alexander said: 'Is such a great thing possible that trees should be speaking and foretelling the future?' And the old man said: 'In truth it is so; at the third hour of the

25. The King went forth thence, passing through the Mountains of Darkness by means of a pearl which gave him light. A king came out to meet him, and, paying him great honour, did whatever he commanded. It happened while the two kings were sitting together with their crowns on their head, that two men came before the king. One of them said to the king: "O my Lord! I bought a piece of ground from this man and desired to build upon it, but on digging it I found a treasure and an immense store of riches, so I said to the seller: 'Take thy treasure, for I have not bought this from thee, but only the ground.'" The other man answered, and said to the king: "My Lord, when I sold my ground to this man, I sold him also everything that it may have contained, from the depth of the ground to the height of the firmament, and since this man does not wish to associate himself with robbery so do I not wish to do so." The king thereupon said to one of them: "Hast thou a son?" He replied: "Yes, my Lord." To the other the king asked: "Hast thou a daughter?" On replying that he had, the king said: "Then give thy son to his daughter, and let the treasure be given to both of them." Alexander laughed at this decision, which seemed wonderful to him. The king, noticing Alexander, said: "Why dost thou laugh? Have I not judged well, and have I not acted justly?" "Thou hast judged well," answered Alexander, "and thou hast acted justly, but if this had been my kingdom I should not

day these trees speak and tell the man what he asks for, except the day of his death.' The King was greatly astonished, and he fixed his tent close to the trees. On the morrow, at the third hour, a voice came forth from the tree, saying: 'My lord King, ask whatever thou wishest, and I will tell thee, except the one thing.' And he said, 'Shall I reign ten years?' And the tree replied, 'Ten and more.' And he asked, 'Shall I reign twenty years?' 'Twenty years and more.' And the King asked, 'Shall I reign thirty years?' 'Thirty years and more.' And he asked, 'Shall I reign forty years?' But no answer came. He then asked again, 'Shall I reign thirty-five years?' And the answer came, 'Thirty-five years and more.' He thereupon asked, 'How many more?' But again no answer was given. Thus he knew that he would not reign forty years. He then asked, 'Will my son rule after me?' And the tree replied: 'Thy son will not rule after thee, for thy kingdom will be divided among thy four generals.' He asked many more questions, but the tree did not reply any longer."

have decided thus." "How, then, wouldst thou have acted?" asked the king. "Why, if this had been my kingdom," he said, "I should have killed the two men and have taken all their money." The king was much astonished at this, and said: "Does God's sun shine in thy kingdom?" "Yes." "Are there dews in thy kingdom?" "Yes." "Are there small and large cattle in thy kingdom?" "Yes." Then said the king: "It is, then, through the merit of the animals that you live and are sustained, as it is said, 'Both man and animal God saves.'"

26. Alexander went forth from that place and came to Afriq (אפריק), which he subdued. They gave him 180 talents of gold and very precious stones. The King, departing thence, came to the land of Ansiq (אנשיק), and found there only women; the men dwelt on the other side of the river. The men, however, never crossed the river, but the women used to do so in order to have relations with the men, and if a woman bore a male child she carried it across the river, and the men took it and reared it; but when a female was born the woman reared it until it was five years of age, and then taught it the art of war. The women rode horses, and continually crossed the river two or three times every year to fight their neighbours. King Alexander sent word to the Queen, saying: "Do not refrain from coming to me with thy princesses and with all thy precious things; do not be stiff-necked before me, because it will act as a stumbling-block to thee." The Queen answered the messengers of Alexander, saying: "What right has my Lord to come to my land in order to war against me?" "He humbles," said they, "all his enemies beneath his feet; there is no wall which is too high for him; kingdoms and peoples have fallen beneath him, and whatever he does, prospers." "Tell then your Lord that he does not appear to me to be wise, but only his lucky hour favours him." "Why dost thou speak thus," they said, "of our master?" "Because," said she, "we are

recognized to be speakers of truth. If your Lord were wise, he would not have come here to war with women, because, if he conquers, the world will say: 'What glory is there in having conquered women? are not men swifter than they? he was sure to conquer them.' On the other hand, if the women are victorious, what will the world say? 'Women have been found able to conquer so great a king.' None of his former victories will then redound to his honour and praise, but shame will come upon him and will be magnified by all those who hear of it." The messengers returned to Alexander, and said to him: "Thus and thus has the Queen said to us"; and her words pleased Alexander and all his people, to whom he said: "What shall I do? If I go away without having gone to war against them and without obtaining a victory over them, all who hear of it will say that women have conquered me." He therefore said: "I shall not go away from here until I see the Queen herself and speak to her face to face."

27. When the Queen heard that the King was coming to see her, she assembled 5000 virgins, clothed them in fine linen, silk, and lace-work, and mounted them on camels. In this manner they came to meet the King. When the Queen approached Alexander's camp, she said to her maidens: "Look at me and do what I do." Thus they did. The Queen then hastened and uncovered one of her breasts, and all followed her example. The King and all his people were much amazed when they saw this. The King immediately hastened to ride up to her, and, embracing and kissing her, said: "Why did you act like this?" to which she replied: "It is customary and right in this kingdom, when receiving a king, to show him the beauty of our bodies." "What can I do for you?" said the King. "Thou shalt do nothing," said the Queen, "except leave us and do not destroy our land." The King then said: "If thou wilt accept the kingdom from me I will leave you, but if not, I shall destroy your land?" "Why," answered the Queen, "wilt thou destroy my land, and add iniquity to thy iniquity; for we have of old sworn that

we shall not bear (submit to) the yoke of any king; but if thou desirest I shall give thee gold, silver, and brass, and very precious stones, the like of which thou, nor thy fathers, nor thy grandfathers, have never seen." The King then said to her: "If I fight with thee and conquer thee I shall take the precious stones, the gold and silver, and everything which thou hast from thee." But the Queen replied: "Thou hast thought foolishly in this, because I have stored with my maidens all our treasures in a place which it is impossible for thee to find, wert thou even to turn the earth topsy-turvy." But the King said to her: "If thou dost not reveal all thy treasures I shall torture thee and all thy maidens, until thou show me the place of thy treasures." The Queen replied: "We have already sworn, both we and our handmaidens, not to reveal any of our treasures to any man in the world. Therefore, stop thy words, because it will not help thee." At this the King said: "What can I do for thee, for thou art much wiser than I am? I have only spoken in this manner to test thee, and now give me the gold and the precious stones as thou hast spoken, and I shall depart in peace from thee." The Queen thereupon hastened to blow upon a strange little trumpet, and there came to her a very beautiful maiden, to whom the Queen said: "Take with thee my maidens and bring me the gold and the precious stones which I have stored in the place shown to thee." The girl hastened and brought the King gold and the precious stones, at which all wondered who saw it. Even the King wondered at it.

28. And he said to her: "Comply, I entreat thee, with my request, and I shall then know that I have found favour in thine eyes." The Queen replied: "I will do anything thou askest, except one thing, viz. to accept my own kingdom from thee." He then said: "I only ask thee to be with thee this night." "I have hearkened," said the Queen, "to thy request; but swear to me that thy men will not do the same to my maidens, for such things are not done in the whole of my land." The King said: "I will do according to thy word," and he swore

unto her and passed the word of command in all his camp, saying: "He who molests the Queen's maidens shall surely be put to death." It came to pass in the night that the King sent messengers to bring the Queen to his tent; but she refused to go, saying: "It is not proper here for a woman to go to a man"; and the King said: "She has spoken the truth," and rising, he went to the Queen, and she conceived by him. In the morning the Queen said: "I have conceived by thee." "How dost thou know?" said the King. "Because," she said, "I noticed by the planets of the sky that I had conceived a male, who will be a mighty warrior, and he will slay very many, and in his old age will be slain himself." While she was yet speaking with the King, one of her maidens came up and, crying to the King, said: "One of thy men has done violence to me." The King thereupon grew angry, and said: "Who is the man that has done this thing?" "Ga'tan (געתן)," they replied, "the guardian of thy treasures." "Hasten, then," said the King, "and bring him to me." They accordingly hastened to bring him before the King. The King said: "Why hast thou transgressed my command?" to which Ga'tan answered: "Why should I banter with words? Know thou that if thou wilt not swear to me that thou wilt do no harm to me, thou shalt not see again any of the treasures entrusted to my care; for I have hidden them in a place, which it is impossible for thee to discover." The King waxed exceedingly angry, and did not know what to do. At length he said to Ga'tan: "Wherefore hast thou acted so evilly and committed such iniquity against me?" "Because," said Ga'tan, "my evil inclination got the better of me, and I had not the strength to restrain myself." The King then said, "I shall swear"; and he did so. "Show me now," said the King, "my treasures." He showed them to the King, who took them away, and entrusted them to Aṣan (or Aṣdan, Iṣdan אצדן) the chamberlain. It came to pass one day, when the King was dining at his table, that he raised his eyes and beheld Ga'tan standing in front of him, with

his eyes fixed upon the King. The King was terrified, and cried: "Remove this man from me." But while he was giving his command, Ga'tan suddenly ran against him with his knife, and stuck it into the King. When his men saw this they trembled, and, dashing forward, caught hold of Ga'tan. Antipal (or Antofil אנטיפל), the physician, however, came quickly, and, applying some herb to the wound, cured him immediately, as the reward for which the King gave him many presents. The King commanded Ga'tan to be torn to pieces by the dogs, limb by limb. This being done, the anger of the King was assuaged.

29. After this the King journeyed, with all his army, in the direction of the land of Hagar (הגר). It was soon told him that the King of Hagar had set out to fight against him; but he laughed and scoffed at the idea. He sent messengers to the King of Hagar, saying: "What hast thou seen that thou art stiff-necked, and that thou leviest thine army to fight against me? Has it not been told thee of the deeds I have done by the strength of my hand, and of the kingdoms and peoples I have subjected beneath my sway." The messengers accordingly carried the wish of the King, saying: "Thus and thus are the words of Alexander." The King of Hagar replied to the messengers of the King (Alexander), saying: "Say unto your Lord: 'What sin have I committed or what transgression have I made that thou hast come to war against me, and to destroy my land?'" They reported his words to the King, upon which the King said to his people: "Prepare ye the implements of war, for at this time to-morrow I shall go to him and shall humble his pride." They accordingly prepared their implements of war and went to fight with the king. But the King of Hagar anticipated this, and commanded his men to dig pits and to hollow caves throughout the whole land, and to cover them with straw, so that Alexander and his army should stumble thereon and fall in them. This, however, was told Alexander, and it appeared dangerous to him, so that he feared to go there, on account of the

depth of the pits which the servants of the King of Hagar had dug. He therefore sent word a second time, saying: "Listen to my counsel and do not be stiff-necked; come, now, to me and bring me a tribute, and I shall go away in peace and not destroy thy land." The King of Hagar sent word saying: "I willingly will empty my treasure-houses if he then only will leave my country." The messengers brought this word to Alexander, who accepted it, and the King of Hagar came to him with the choicest of his men and with very precious stones. The King, on receiving them, departed from his land.

30. He then turned in the direction of Jerusalem, for he was told of the power, of the strength, and of the might of the Jews, so that Alexander said: "If I do not conquer the Jews, my glory will be accounted for nothing." He therefore journeyed thence, and arrived in twenty-six days with all his camp at Dan. He then sent messengers to Jerusalem, saying: "Thus sayeth the mighty king Alexander: 'You have dwelt here so many years, in which you have never yet paid me tribute, poll-tax, or (other) taxes; now that this letter is brought to you, collect and send me your tribute, and this is the tribute which I ask of you: all the treasures of the house of God, which you have stored in the Temple for several years.'" When the people heard this, they were very much afraid, and proclaiming a fast they clothed themselves with sackcloth, and prayed to God. And the old men and the sages in Jerusalem took counsel together as to the reply they should send King Alexander. The High Priest Anani (ענני) accordingly wrote to Alexander, saying: "Thus say the men of Jerusalem, the thing that thou askest is too difficult for them; they are not able to do this thing, because we have not the power to bring forth the treasures contained in the house of our God and to send them to thee, for our ancestors have dedicated them for the wants of widows and orphans, for the lame and the crippled, to support them; but if thou desirest, we shall send thee from every house in Jerusalem a dinar of gold, but we have no power to bring

forth the treasures of the Temple which our ancestors have dedicated." When King Alexander read the letter of the men of Jerusalem, he grew very angry, and swore by his idol that he would not leave that land ere he had made Jerusalem and its temple a heap of ruins. It happened on that night, when the King was lying in his bed and could not sleep, that he opened the window, and lifting up his eyes he saw an angel of God with drawn sword standing before him. He trembled very much, and said to the angel: "Why will my Lord smite his servant?" But the angel answered, and said, "Am I not he who subdues kings beneath thee; why, then, wilt thou do evil in the eyes of the Lord, to destroy his land and his people?" The King, replying to the angel who addressed him, said: "Whatever thou tellest me I will do." The angel, clothed in linen, then said: "Beware lest thou doest evil to the men of Jerusalem, but when thou enterest it thou shalt ask after the welfare of the city, and do good to them, and give thy treasures to be stored up in the House of God. If thou rebellest against my word know that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that belong to thee." Alexander was grieved at this, and said to the angel clothed in white linen: "It is very hard for me to do this thing, to degrade my honour, but if it is evil in thine eyes I shall return and not enter Jerusalem." But the angel retorted: "By thy life! return not until thou enter Jerusalem, and there place thy treasures in the House of God."

31. It came to pass on the morrow that the King journeyed with all his host to Jerusalem. When he arrived at the gate of the city, the High Priest Anani, together with eighty priests clad in holy garments, came forth to meet the King, and to entreat him not to destroy the city. When Alexander saw the High Priest Anani, he alighted from his horse, and prostrating himself to the ground, embraced the feet of the High Priest, and kissed them. The warriors of Alexander, seeing this, were very much angered, and said to the King: "Why dost thou do this, and humble thy

honour before an old man like this? Do not all the kings of the earth bow down before thy feet, and now thou degradest thy honour before this man: what will the world say?" "Do not be surprised," answered he, "for this old man who has come here is the likeness of the angel of God who goes before me at the time of battle, and who tramples down nations beneath me; I therefore do him this great honour." When the High Priest Anani heard the words of the King, he bowed down to the God of Israel, and blessing God in a loud voice said: "O my Lord, if I have found favour in thy sight, do not harm the men of Jerusalem, for they are thy servants ready to perform thy will." The King replied: "Instead of entreating me on behalf of the men of Jerusalem, entreat the men of Jerusalem on my behalf, for I am not able to do any harm to them, for the angel of God has warned me, and commanded me to do no evil to them." All the warriors of Jerusalem, its old and its wise and its pious men, brought the King to the upper castle in Jerusalem, where he remained three days, and on the fourth day the King said to the High Priest: "Shew me, I entreat thee, the temple of the great God who subdues nations beneath me." The King and his warriors then went into the temple of God, and on lifting up his eyes, behold, an angel clad in white linen stood before him. The King, on seeing him, instantaneously prostrated himself at his full length upon the ground, and lifting up his voice he cried: "This is indeed the house of God, the like of which there is none in the world." The King then brought forth vessels of gold and silver and precious stones, and placed them in the treasury of the Temple, and he sought the High Priest Anani and the other priests who took the gold that they should make a statue of him in the Temple as a token and a remembrance. But the High Priest and the other priests replied: "We cannot do this thing, to make a graven image or any likeness (or figure) in the Temple, but listen to our counsel: give this gold, of which thou desirest a statue to be made, to the treasury of the House of God, by means of which

the poor and the crippled of the city will be maintained. As for thy good name and thy remembrance, all the males born this year shall be named Alexander after thee." This thing pleased the King, who forthwith weighed forty talents of the finest gold, and placed it in the hands of the High Priest Anani and the other priests, saying to them, "Pray for me continually"; and he added more silver and gold and other precious stones to the treasury, and entrusted them to the High Priest, who acceded to his wish to pray for him continually.[1]

32. The King then journeyed from Jerusalem, and passed over to Galilea, and thence to Qardonia (or Qironia, קרדוניא, קירוניה), a land very fruitful and fat. The inhabitants lived in tents, and they had no houses, and the only clothes they possessed were those made from camel's hair, but on account of the extreme heat they could not bear any clothing on them. When they heard the report of Alexander's arrival they went forth to meet him, and made obeisance to him. The King received them and spoke to them, and testing them with riddles and in various sciences, found them very clever. He wondered at the greatness of their wisdom, and said to them: "Whatever you ask of me I will give you." They thereupon all cried: "Give us everlasting life." The King, however, was confused, and confessed his inability to do that. "If, then," they replied, "thou hast not the power to do this, we shall not ask thee anything more." They then said: "Do thou ask what shall be given to thee." The King replied: "I only ask for some choice herbs which you are so clever in knowing their virtue." "We shall do," said they, "what thou askest." They accordingly brought the King many herbs, and explained to him their virtue, their use, and their power of healing,

[1] A. "Coming out from the Temple, Alexander and his host stayed three nights in Jerusalem, and he gave lavishly away gold and silver and precious stones, so that the wise men said that such riches had never been seen any more in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon, the son of David. And all the people from the surroundings brought food and drink to Alexander's host, and he gave them whatever they wished, so that the land became enriched."

and the King went searching everywhere for similar herbs, so that he should be able to recognize them in any place. He commanded his physicians to write down all the herbs and their use, and ordered them to place the book in which they were written into the treasure-house. After these things King Alexander became very ill, and he commanded the book of cures, which was placed in the treasury, to be brought to him. They brought it, and found instructions as to his disease, and the physicians accordingly cured him by means of it. Among the physicians there was one who hated the King, so he stole the book of cures and burned it in the fire. When it was told the King he was very much grieved, and he rent his garments, and commanded the culprit to be brought before him, but he had fled and was not to be found.

33. After this the King journeyed to the land of Qartinia (קרטיניא), where they received the King with great honours. The name of the king was Ardos (or Amzosh ארדום). He brought him into his residence, the name of which was 'Amaq (or 'Ariq; Zeriq עמק). There was a woman there whose beauty was so great that all who looked at her praised her, and testified that there was not her equal in the whole world. Now every month it was the custom of this woman to go once to the temple of the god Aṣilin (Apolon ?) (אצילין), in order to offer there a sacrifice of idolatry, and whenever she passed through the market-place of the city all the workmen ceased from their work and ran after her to gaze upon her beauty. This woman continually passed to the temple, and burned incense. One day Matan (מתן), the priest of Aṣilin (אצילין), in the temple of the god, saw her and had almost lost his mind after her. Once when she had come to the temple to offer incense to Baal, Matan the priest said to her: "I have been sent to thee from our holy Aṣilin (אצילין)." The woman rejoiced, and said to Matan:

"Tell me, I entreat thee, what thou wishest to say, and do not hide anything from me." "Know," said Matan, "that Aṣilin (אצילין) desires to come to thee, and to beget a son by thee like himself, for there is not another woman in the world that is fit to be with him except thee." The woman rejoiced, and said: "Whatever Aṣilin (אצילין) commands me I shall do, and shall not neglect anything." Matan then said to the woman: "If, then, thou hearkenest to the words of Aṣilin (אצילין), go thou and obtain permission from thy husband, and if he be willing, do thou come to the temple this very night and thou shalt beget a son by Aṣilin (אצילין)." The woman thereupon hastened to her husband, and told him whatever Matan had said to her, to which her husband replied: "Do that which seemeth good in thy eyes, but take with thee into the temple of Aṣilin (אצילין) pillows, coverings, and wraps, and silk garments to spread over them." She did so, and having taken them, made a couch in the temple behind the altar. It came to pass on the night that the woman went to the temple that her handmaid came with her, and Matan said to the woman: "It is not right that thy handmaid should come with thee into the temple, because she is not worthy of it." The woman therefore told her handmaid to go out of the temple, and to lie down before the door until dawn. In the middle of the night Matan came into the temple by way of the door of the second gate, and the handmaid, hearing the creaking of the door, was frightened, and, rising from her bed, she went softly into the temple, and beheld Matan coming into it. She was afraid lest he should kill her, therefore she did not speak, but beheld him kissing and embracing her mistress. . . . . She waited until he had exhausted his strength, and then, going in secretly, she took the statue of Aṣilin (אצילין) and struck him upon his head with it, so that he died on the bed of her mistress. The handmaid then said: "What is this

thou hast done, for thou hast defiled thyself with another man?" The woman quaked and trembled, for she knew that she was defiled, and, lifting up her voice, she wept; but her handmaid said to her: "Do not cry, because what has been done cannot be undone; therefore remain silent, and go to thy house, and do not say anything about it." But the woman replied: "Do not tell me to remain silent, for it is impossible for me to restrain my words, for I am defiled, and no other man than my husband has ever touched me." She then went out, and, placing her hand upon her head, she wailed until she came to her husband, who said unto her, "What ails thee?" and she told him all that had happened, but her husband could not reproach her, since he had given her permission to go to the temple of Aṣilin (אציליין).

34. Her husband then went to the king and related to him everything that had occurred, and that his handmaid had killed Matan. The king then asked Alexander how he would decide in this case, and Alexander said: "If the kingdom were mine, I would pull down the temple of Aṣilin (אציליין) to its very foundation, since it has been defiled, and it is therefore not right to pray within its precincts." The king thereupon commanded the temple of Aṣilin (אציליין) to be pulled down to its foundations, and that Matan, who was killed, should be burned with fire. Alexander then said: "Send the woman to me, that I may see her beauty." The king sent for her. She came to the king. When Alexander beheld her he was amazed at her beauty, which appeared wonderful to him. On asking the king to give her to him, he replied: "Far be it from me to do such a thing, to take a woman from her husband while he is yet living. The land would be filled with wickedness." Upon this King Alexander went away in great anger, and sent a message to the king, saying: "If thou wilt not give me this woman, know that fierce wars will be waged in thy kingdom." But the king

replied: "Let him do that which seems right to him, for I shall not give her to him, because I am honoured in all my kingdom through her, and if she goes away from my kingdom it will create a great rebellion." As soon as Alexander saw that the king would not part with her he got ready his implements of war, and fought against the king and was victorious. He killed many of his warriors, and, seizing the king, ordered him to be put in chains of iron. Alexander then took the woman by force, and he loved her very much, and made for her a temple of gold, the length of which was eleven cubits, its breadth six cubits, and its height fifteen cubits. He covered the beams of the temple with very precious stones. It contained no windows, but the precious stones gave light during the day and night. The King then placed the woman within it. The temple was placed on iron wheels, and several horses drew it along, but the woman did not move from her place within the temple, for all the food was prepared for her. She conceived by Alexander, and bore a son, whose name they called Alexander. The King rejoiced very much, and made a large banquet for all his princes and servants, and he placed the crown of sovereignty on her head and made her Queen. And the King was very merry, with all his host, and distributed money and presented many gifts.

35. It came to pass after this that Alexander, the King's son, died after nine months, and also his horse Busfal (בוספל), and the King wept very bitterly for both of them, and commanded his son and his horse Busfal to be buried by the side of each other. He then ordered a large and beautiful mausoleum to be built over them, and he consoled his wife and went to her so that she conceived, and at the time of her bearing, which was very hard, she died. The King and all his host showed great mourning, and the King rent his garments, beat his hands one upon the other, tore out his hair, and fell upon the ground. His princes came to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, so

they went away from the King and left him alone. He then took a rope and tried to hang himself, but his princes perceiving it, ran to him and took the rope away and reproved him, saying: "Why wilt thou refuse to reign? Are there no more women in the world that thou seekest to hang thyself for one?" Thus they continued to speak to him for a long time, and they said: "If it be pleasing to thee let us send scribes and messengers in all the provinces of the King, and let them seek and search for virgins or beautiful wives, and let the King crown her who appears best in the eyes of the King." This thing pleased the King, so he sent messengers and they found a very beautiful maiden in the land of Africa (Afriqia, אפריקיא). They brought her to the King, and he loved her, and placing the crown of sovereignty upon her head he made her Queen.

36. It came to pass after this that the King journeyed with all his camp and arrived at a certain very large forest. At that place there ran against the army strange beasts with five horns, which destroyed a great part of the army. On seeing this the King said to his men: "Take fire and brimstone and pitch and burn the forest; perhaps God, with His abundant mercy, will save us from these wild beasts." They accordingly hastened to burn the trees of the forest, and the wild beasts ran away: thus the King and the army were saved.

37. They then went forth from that place and came to the land of 'Ofraṭ (עופרת). There they found a large river strange to behold. Both the King and his army were thirsting for water, but were afraid to drink the waters of that river, so the King commanded them to dig wells round about the river. They thus found plenty of water to quench the thirst of the King, themselves, and the cattle. The King then said to his army: "Let us encamp here by the water, because I like the odour emanating from it, which is healthy." They accordingly encamped there for ten days. And it came to pass on the tenth day that one

of the King's hunters caught some birds, and killing them, washed them in the water of that river, but when he put them in the water, in order to wash them, they came to life and flew away. When the servant of the King saw this he hastened to the river and drank of its waters, and then told the King, who exclaimed that it must be the water of the Garden of Eden, and whoever drank of it would live for ever. "Go and bring me some to drink." The servant, taking a vessel, went to bring the water; he sought, but was not able to find it, so, returning, he said to the King: "I was not able to find the water of that river, for the Lord has hidden it from me." The King, on hearing this, grew so angry that he took his sword and cut off his head. The headless servant then went to the great sea. Menaḥem, the scribe, says in the name of our sages that there exist headless men in the sea who overturn ships, but when one approaches to overturn a ship, if the passengers cry out, "Flee, flee! Behold thy master, Alexander," they at once run away, and the ship is saved.

38. The king Alexander, ordering the image of himself to be brought to him, swore by it that he would not return until he came to a place where there is no way to turn either to the right or to the left, nor any place through which to pass. The King then journeyed with all his host, and, passing the river, came to a very large gate about thirty cubits high. The King was amazed at the height of it, and heard a voice calling to him. It was the voice of the keeper of the gate, behind which the righteous are. The King then, raising his eyes, saw letters engraved on the gate. He thereupon called Menaḥem the scribe, who read the inscription, which was: "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be elevated, ye gates of the world," etc. The King went from that place, and wandered among the hills with all his army for fully six months, during which time the way of the hills did not come to an end, until the end of that time, when they came to a plain where stood another immense beautiful gate, whose height the eye of no man could reach. Upon it there was an inscription

in very large and exceedingly beautiful letters. Menahem read the inscription, which said: "This is the gate of the Lord, through which the righteous shall enter." Menahem explained the letters and the words to the King, who exclaimed: "This is certainly the Garden of Eden!" The King then cried out: "Who is there upon this gate?" and a voice answered: "This is the gate of the Garden of Eden, and no uncircumcised man may enter it." Accordingly, in the night-time, Alexander circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, and his physicians cured him immediately by means of herbs. But nothing of this was known in the camp, for he commanded his physicians not to say anything. On the morrow, the King said unto the gate-keepers: "Give me a token and I shall go on my way." They then gave him a box (chest) in which was something like a piece of the eye. The King stretched forth his hand to lift it from the ground, but was unable to do so. The King then cried, and said: "What have you given me?" They replied, "This is an eye." "What is the use of it to me?" the King said. "This is a sign," said they, "that thine eye is not satisfied with riches, nor will thy desire be satisfied by thy roaming over the earth." "But how," said Alexander, "can I lift it from the earth?" "Place," they said "some dust upon the eye, and then thou canst do what thou wilt with it, and this is a sign that thine eye will not be satisfied with riches until thou return to the earth from which thou wast taken." The King did so: he placed some dust on the eye, and lifting it from the ground, placed it in his treasure-house, together with his treasures, to be a remembrance of his having obtained a token from the Garden of Eden.

39. It came to pass after this that the King said to himself: "I am not yet satisfied with what I have hitherto done." He then ordered his warriors to bring him four large and strong eagles. The King then ordered them to be starved for three days. On the third day the King took a board, and ordered his men to bind him upon it. The King then ordered four iron pikes to be fixed

at the four ends of the board, and then ordered four pieces of meat to be stuck on the four pikes. The King then said: "Take the four eagles and bind their legs to the four corners of the board." They did so. Now the eagles were starving, and, on seeing the meat fixed above them, they lifted their wings and flew to reach the meat, but they, of course, could not. They flew until they reached the clouds. When the King had almost died on account of the heat of the clouds, he quickly turned the pikes, on which the meat was stuck, downwards. When the eagles saw this they descended after the meat until they reached the land. The King said: "When I was placed between heaven and earth I saw all the world in the midst of the waters, and the world, with all its inhabitants, seemed to me like a cup floating on the waters of Oceanus."

40. The King then said to his wise men: "Make me a hollow (bell of) white glass, for I am not satisfied yet that I have been and I have seen what is above, for now I will descend and see what is under the earth." The King then sat in the glass, and took with him a fowl and a brilliant stone which gives light. He then said to his wise men: "Let me descend into the sea, and wait for me a whole year; if I do not return after the year, return then to your tents." His sages accordingly let him down into the sea, and the glass floated from sea to sea, and descended into the depths, where he saw everything the sea contains, large and small. When the King had seen all that he wished, he took the fowl and strangled it, so that the blood issued from it. Now the great sea (Mediterranean?) does not retain any blood, so it vomited the King upon the dry land at the end of three days (months), and cast him among a people which he did not know, and whose language he did not understand. The form of the people of this land, both of the men and the women, was as follows: their faces were about two cubits in width, in the middle of which they had one eye, and their legs were very broad. When they saw the King they were struck with terror, and prostrated themselves to the ground.

41. It came to pass in the night that the King suddenly became frightened, and fled from the land. For nine whole months he was searching for his army; the cold was consuming him in the day and the frost in the night. At the end of his nine months' wandering, he met a lion, and being afraid ran away, but the lion ran after him, and seizing hold of his garment it crouched before him. Alexander then sat upon the lion, which carried him by force into a cave, where he found an old man and greeted him. "Art thou," said the old man, "my lord Alexander?" The King was surprised at the question, and said: "Who told thee that my name is Alexander?" The old man replied: "Because I saw thee when thou camest to Jerusalem to destroy it." "Of what people art thou," said the King, "or who art thou and what is thy name?" "Why dost thou ask for my name?" said the old man: "I will not tell thee anything, but if thou wilt swear to me that thou wilt not do any harm to the Jews, I will bring thee to thy army." The King rejoiced very much, and swore to him. The old man then brought the King into one of the chambers of the cave, and bringing forth a lovely horse said to the King: "Do thou ride, and I shall walk by thy side." The old man walked with him for six months, until he brought him to his camp. When they saw their King they were exceedingly rejoiced, and blew the trumpets, so that the earth quaked at its sound. The King then related to his army all that had happened to him, and commanded Menahem, his scribe, to write it down. "But where is the old man who brought me to you?" he asked. They searched for him, but could not find him, so that the King was very grieved and commanded his men to search for him in every place, but they could not find him.

42. The King then journeyed thence with all his camp, and came to the land of Kalbina (כלבינא). All the people of that land barked like dogs, and were very weak and very hairy from the soles of their feet to the crowns of their

heads. They were dwarfs, about one cubit and a half in height. They neither sowed nor reaped, and the only food they possessed was nuts. They covered themselves with the leaves of the nuts, which was all the clothing they had. The King ordered one to be brought before him. He barked like a dog before him. The King then took him to the Queen, whom he had brought with him from Africa. When the Queen looked at this man she was terrified and the beauty of her face was changed. She became livid, and fainting she fell backwards. The King, seeing this, cried aloud, smote one hand upon the other, and tore out his hair. One of his physicians immediately ran for a herb, which he placed in her mouth, and she stood up again. The King and all his host therefore rejoiced.

43. The King went forth thence with all his army, and crossed the sea in large ships. They were on the sea fifty-two days. One night the King, raising his eyes, saw a very large fish come up from the sea; its eyes were like two great torches. The King immediately drew his bow and shot the fish, and, through its struggling, it sank three of the King's vessels. The King was very grieved on account of this, and wept bitterly. Soon after this a storm arose and carried the King's ships to the Salt Sea, where many of his men died, on account of which stench emanated from it. Alexander then cried to God, and God sent a wind which carried the King's ships to the dry land, the land of Alfariq (אלפריק), a land fruitful and fat. The King encamped here for three months. When the King saw the juice of the fruits he passed word to his army not to eat the fruit of this land, because they were too rich and dangerous to eat. But there were some who did not listen to the King, and ate of the fruits. On account of this about 3000 of them died.

44. The King then said: "Prepare to go forth from this land, lest it be to you a stumbling-block and a hindrance." They accordingly went forth from that land, and came to the

land of Togirah (תוגירה), and the king of Togirah (תוגירה) went out to meet Alexander with a large army, and they arrayed themselves for war. Many were slain on both sides, but Alexander was ultimately victorious, and the king of Togirah fled away into a cave. This was told Alexander, and he forthwith commanded his men to kindle wood at the mouth of the cave, so that the smoke ascended in the cave, and the king of Togirah died. Alexander then pursued the army, and he smote them until there were but few left. On these Alexander had pity, and sent them away in peace.

45. The King then journeyed thence and came to the land of Igoli (יגולי), and, having crossed the water by means of rafts, he came to the land of Jobilah (or Havilah, יובילה, חוילה, where it was customary for women to wear breeches, but not for men. When a woman bears, and has lain for two months in bed, she goes out and her husband confines himself for four months. When Alexander heard this he was astonished, and sent a messenger to the king of Jobilah, saying: "Come, let us see each other." The messengers returned to Alexander, and said to him: "Thus says thy servant the king of Jobilah: Behold, I am to seclude myself for twenty-nine days more, because my wife has born a son, and I may not go out until my time is fulfilled, viz. four months. I will then come to thee." When Alexander heard this he was much amused, and scoffed at the king, and he said to his princes and his servants: "Prepare yourselves and come with me to the king, who is lying in bed." Alexander accordingly went to the king, and found him in bed. The queen waited upon him, and served him with food and drink and all kinds of dainties. Alexander, on seeing the king, laughed, and said: "During the time that thou liest in bed, who reigns instead of thee, who judges, who sits upon thy throne instead of thee?" "My chosen dog sits upon my throne with an interpreter at his side, and before him the people come to obtain justice." "But is it right," said Alexander, "for a dog to sit on the throne

of thy kingdom?" "This is the glory of the kingdom," the king replied, "that a dog should sit upon the throne and people should obtain justice from him." "I entreat thee," said Alexander, "to show me the dog which reigns instead of thee." "I am not allowed," answered the king, "to go out of this bed until the four months are fulfilled, and, were I to go out before the time, the people would appoint another king in my stead, and thrust me from the kingdom." Alexander then said to the king: "Tell me now whether, during the six months of conception, thou goes to thy wife, as it is the usual thing, or not?" The king replied: "Herein lies the power of the king, that whenever man and wife come together during the six months of conception, their eyelashes fall off, and the messengers of the king go forth every day searching to see whether any man and woman during that time have come together, and the presence or absence of their eyelashes prove this to them. They bring the culprits before the king, and burn them in the fire, and their ashes they send in all the king's provinces; but the king, after two months, may go to his wife once a week, and, on the day of his coronation, they make him swear that, after the two months, he will not go to his wife more than once a week!" "What does the king do," said Alexander, "when the six months have expired?" "It is a custom and a law of the country," said the king, "that all the people then bring him a present, each according to his means—one brings a horse, another a beast—and the king gives a banquet lasting three days, after which each one returns to his own home." At this Alexander said: "From the day I went forth from my kingdom, Egypt, I have not seen a custom so peculiar."

46. The King departed thence with his whole army, and journeyed in the wilderness nine days. On raising their eyes they saw smoke ascending to the very heart of the heavens, and a fire burning in every direction, in the midst of the thick smoke. The King then said to a hundred of his men: "Go and see this great sight." They accordingly ascended to

the top of the mountain, which was very high; but they could not reach the place of the smoke, and of the fire which was burning in every direction, on account of the heat. They there heard the sounds of woe and lamentation, as the voices of men crying, "Woe, woe!" When these men returned and told the King, he said: "Hasten and go up the mount a second time, and ask what this great noise is." They went up to the top of the mountain and cried aloud, saying: "What is this great noise?" They shouted the same question two or three times, and there was no reply; but after a good hour there appeared to them a form similar to that of a lion. Its hands and feet, however, were like those of men. "Why have you ascended here?" he said. To which they replied: "King Alexander has sent us to inquire what this great noise is?" The lion then said: "I shall not tell you until the King himself comes to me; and then, perhaps, I shall tell him whatever he asks of me." The soldiers thereupon descended, and told the King to go to the top of the mountain; but his servants said: "If we have found favour in thy eyes, O lord the King, do not go up; for it does not appear to us advisable for thee to go alone to the lion." But the King replied: "If you are desirous of showing me honour, do not say that; for it is not an honour to the King to appear afraid of anything. Now take heed, if I am detained for more than three hours on the mount, hasten ye up to me." This, however, displeased the warriors. The King went to the top of the mountain, when the lion came up immediately to him, and seizing him by the hair, cast him to the ground. The King raised a very loud cry, for the lion vomited pitch upon the King. When his warriors heard him, they hastened to the top of the mount, where they found the King between life and death. When they carried him down from the mountain, and the people saw him, they raised their voices and wept bitterly. All his physicians came to him and applied their arts and sciences, but they were of no avail. When they saw that, the lament for him was very great, and they remained

with him nine days, during which time the King neither opened his eyes nor his mouth. But on the tenth night a serpent came to the King's camp, with a very large herb in its mouth. When the people saw it, they tried to kill it, but an old man among the crowd, named Afiliis (or Apiliis, אפיליים), exclaimed: "Take care of your lives, that ye do not attempt to kill the serpent." The people, therefore, let it go where it wished. The old men and the sages went after it to see what it would do. It placed the herb which it held in its mouth on the King, and the King forthwith opened his eyes, and having sneezed three times he stood up upon his feet, and all the people rejoiced and shouted aloud with joy, so that the earth resounded with their shouting. The King then made a large banquet to all his princes and servants, and distributed presents to each one of them, according to his rank. [A. His warriors asked him how it had come about, and he told them what had happened to him on the top of the mountain. They replied: "Did we not warn thee not to risk it, but thou didst not hearken unto our voices."]

47. After these things a message was sent from Egypt to King Alexander as follows: "Thus say the men of Egypt: We are not able to govern the kingdom without thee. Since thou hast departed, every passer-by scoffs at us, and the kings of east and west wage war against us. We are left like unto orphans without parents, and like unto widows. We have no one to guide us, nor do we know what to do; therefore, if thou wilt return it will be better for us, but if not, then know that we shall appoint a king over us, who will go before us and obtain us rest from our enemies, for we are unable to keep ourselves free any longer from the oppression of other kings." The King then took counsel with his sages and philosophers, and they advised him to return to his native land, the land of Egypt; but he replied to them: "Again I will not hearken to your advice to return to Egypt, for I have already sworn that I shall not return until I am not

able to find a place where to turn; then I shall return with all my host." But said his philosophers: "What wilt thou do to Egypt if they appoint a new king over themselves?" At this the King called Ṭikusa (טיכוסא) (or Ṭibusa, טיבוסא), his nephew, and taking a royal crown and placing it upon the head of Ṭikusa, made him King of Egypt until he himself should return. He then sent him to Egypt with ten mighty men, for it was not advisable to give him very many horses, lest he should be swallowed up among the people and lest they should seize him by the way. The King then commanded Ṭikusa, saying: "When thou arrivest in peace at the land of Egypt, execute justice and right according to all that my mother teaches thee, and do not transgress her word either in trivial or important matters; and whoever rebels against thy word, do thou write it down until I return in peace." Ṭikusa then went forth from the King, and journeyed secretly with horses and asses just as spies and merchants travel from city to city. After two years' journey they came to the land of Egypt. They then brought forward the King's seal and his crown, which the people recognized. They therefore made Ṭikusa king over them.

48. The king Alexander now commanded his army, saying: "Prepare your implements of war and make chariots." They fulfilled the order of the King, and made 190 chariots of iron, in addition to those they had previously. Then, taking his standard, the King journeyed on in front of his army until he, together with his army, came to a very wide lake. In this brook they found large fishes, in the ears of which were things like golden earrings. Having caught the fishes, they boiled them and ate them, and many of his men died. The King was very grieved at this, and said: "Did you not have anything else to eat except these fishes?" While he was speaking a strange-looking man suddenly appeared before him from the lake. His head was like an eagle's, his ears were as long as an ass's ears, his hands like a man's, and his feet like a lion's; he had a tail like that of a horse. The King commanded his men

to seize him. But the man heard it, and casting some stones from the brook in front of these men, they were not able to catch him. The King then ran after him in order to catch him. When the man saw the King he prostrated himself to the ground and fell before his feet. The King then said: "Why didst thou cast stones before my warriors, and didst not do so before me?" "Because," said he, "I saw an angel of God standing at thy right hand, by which I knew that thou wast a king. I therefore showed honour to royalty, that thou mightest have compassion upon me and upon my children." "Hast thou children?" said the King, "and where are they?" "The fishes," said he, "which thy men have eaten, are my children." "If this is so," said the King, "what shall I do for thee, since thy children are already eaten?" "Do thou command thy men," said he, "to restore to me the rings which were in their ears, and then thou shalt see what I will do." The King therefore commanded the earrings of the fishes to be brought before him. This being done, the King said to the man: "Take them." The man took them, and cast them very high in the air nine times; at the tenth time he suddenly sprang in the midst of the water, and remained there a good hour, while the King and all the people were standing by the side of the lake, watching to see what would happen; after the hour the man ascended from the brook, and his wife after him. They then gathered the scales which had come off the fish, and the woman took them and carried them across the lake. She then took a herb and placed it on the scales, and she threw them afterwards into the water. The King [B. then sent messengers to look for the scales, but] they could not find out what had become of them. The woman and her husband also returned to the lake, and were not seen again.

49. The King then journeyed on to the land of Qalila (קלילא) (or Qalilin, קלילין), where only tall, old men were to be seen. They had black hair and their teeth were

small (sharp), nor was the King able to understand their language. The King then said: "Why should I quarrel with a people whose language I do not understand?" He therefore went forth from that land, but the men of Qalila pursued him. King Alexander looked behind him, and saw a great army following them, and the men of Qalila slew about 30,000 of Alexander's men. The King then said: "Is this how the men of Qalila reward me?" and he swore that he would not quit that land until he had destroyed the whole of Qalila. On the second day Alexander said to his men: "Prepare ye the implements of war, and I shall avenge my people on the men of Qalila." They then laid siege to their residence, 'Iyuna (עיונה) (or 'Arimah, ערימה). For five days they were battling against the town, without being able to capture it. On the sixth day the King himself dug some ditches and broke down the wall. In the night, however, the inhabitants of 'Iyuna rebuilt their wall, so that the joy of Alexander was turned into lamentation. But he again broke down the wall, and entering with his warriors, they slew all the men that were in the city, and taking their spoil they divided it by lot. Whilst they were thus engaged they quite suddenly beheld a tremendous army of fighting women from 'Iyuna pursuing them in order to fight with them. When it was told Alexander, he replied: "Why, I have not seen a single woman in the whole of this land." "We must see what we shall do," said his men. "But can you entertain the idea," said Alexander, "of fighting with women? Wait, however, until you see what they intend doing." The army accordingly stood on the alert, but the women fell upon them as a bereaved bear, and effected a great slaughter among Alexander's army. They fought with them for eight days, until the strength of Alexander's army was weakened. When Alexander saw that his army was being beaten, he cried aloud, and said to his men: "O ye men of Macedon, what will the peoples and nations which you have conquered say. They will say that 'they have been ultimately conquered by women.'"

The men of Alexander then strengthened themselves, and smote the women until not a trace of them remained, except an old woman whom they were not able to kill. Having seized her, they found round her neck a magical bag. The King commanded the bag to be cut; they cut it, and found therein nine stalks of garlic, nine grains of pepper, nine chips of stones, nine heads of serpents, and nine heads of fishes, called feliflan (פליפלן) (or felifli, פליפלי), in the language of Ishmael (Arabic), and ṣemiliya (צמיליא) in the language of Macedonia (מוקדוניא). The King commanded them to be cast into the fire. When this was done, the woman raised a loud cry, and lifting up her voice she wept. "Why dost thou weep?" said the King; but they could not understand her reply. His servants then said: "Let us bind her with chains of iron." With the King's permission they did so. They then placed some food and drink before her. Having eaten sufficient for fifty men and drank very much, the woman, strengthening herself, broke the chains as if they were threads of flax, and smote 180 men with them. She then ran away, just as a hind runs after its lovers. The warriors ran after her, but were not able to overtake her. They then harnessed the chariot, but they were not able to overtake her. She ran into a brook, and not knowing what became of her, the men returned to the King and related all that had happened. The King had the river searched for eight days, but not a trace of her could be found. They then searched the clothes of the women whom they had killed, and found under the clothes of each of them two heads of serpents. Having burned them, they took all the spoil and divided it between them.

50. The King journeyed thence, and came to the land of Amriṣa (אמריש) (or Abomarisa, אבומריש), which was very barren, with nothing growing therein. The men were very fat; their hair was as white as snow, but the hair of the women was as red as blood. Their food consisted only of nuts, which grew upon trees in the midst of the

water. These nuts were as sweet as honey and black as pitch, and melted after they were eaten.

51. The King then journeyed on with all his army to the land of Lapos (לפוש) (or Lakis, לכיש), which was full of pools of oily water. They were only able to pass through the land by means of ships. The King therefore ordered 300 ships to be made, in which he crossed the water, but a very strong wind blew up, and cast the King and his army, together with his ships, on the other side of the land of Lapos, which brought them beyond the land of the rivers of Kus (כוש), which is near the Ten Tribes.

52. The King then came to the river which surrounds the land of the Tribes, but was not able to approach them, because huge stones were being thrown up by the river during all the week-days until Sabbath eve. The King therefore encamped there, with all his host, until Sabbath eve, when the stones were no longer thrown, and, passing across the water with his army, he encamped upon the water until he saw how he was placed. He then sent two messengers to the people of that land to inquire and to ascertain to what people they belonged. "We are," said they, "the people of God, who went forth from our land in the time of Sannaḥerib, king of Assyria." When the messengers returned and told the King, he was greatly rejoiced, and sent Menaḥem the scribe to the Jews to ask them whether they would give him permission to enter their land with all his army. As soon as Menaḥem came to the Jews and spoke to them in Hebrew, they asked him: "Art thou a Jew?" "Yes," he replied. They then waxed very angry with him, and said: "Why wert thou not afraid of the Lord thy God, to do this evil, and profane the holy Sabbath. Know that thou shalt surely die" At this Menaḥem replied: "Do not be angry, for the fear of the King is upon me. I was compelled to cross the water on the Sabbath, for if I had not done so I should have remained alone, and would have endangered my life on account of wild beasts, and the Law says, 'Take care

and guard thy life.' Our sages, of blessed memory, have also said: 'That man should perform God's commandments and live by them, but not die through them.'" "Thou speakest falsely," said they, "for there are no wild beasts in the whole of this land, for our sons tend to our flocks, and no wild beast hurts them either by day or by night. Now go forth from this land, for thou deservest to die, because thou hast profaned the Sabbath in journeying more than 2000 cubits." When Menahem heard this he was very grieved, and, coming to the King, was asked why he looked so sad. And Menahem related all that had happened. The King was very much perplexed at it, and sent several honoured princes to the Jews, but they refused to talk with them until they circumcised themselves. When they told this to the King, he commanded them to do so, which they did.

53. The King himself then went to the Jews, and found them all encamped in tents dyed with all sorts of colours. On going to one of these tents he found there an old man with a scroll in his hand. The King greeted him, but he did not reply. The King then said: "I am circumcised, just as thou art, and am a king, the son of a king." When the old man heard this he rose up, asked him into his tent, and paid him great honour. "Why," said the King, "did you not assemble to fight with me? Did you see that I have a great army, as numerous as the sand on the shores of the sea: why are you not afraid of me?" "How many men, then, does your army consist of?" answered the old man. "I do not know the exact strength of my army," said the King. And the old man said: "We are not afraid of you, for the Lord will be avenged of us. Five of us shall pursue five hundred, and one hundred of us will pursue a myriad, and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword." "But how do you maintain yourselves, and what is your work?" "There are ten tribes of us," replied the old man, "five of which go out to war against our surrounding nations in the South once in ten years, where we capture the spoil

and maintain ourselves therewith. At the end of these ten years the other five tribes go to the North, capture the spoil, and we maintain ourselves with it during the whole of the ten years; then going to the East and to the West, this we continually repeat." The King then said: "And is this your piety and goodness, that you behave in this manner towards the nations?" "From the very day," he replied, "that other nations refused to accept the Law, God permitted it." "What do you do during the week-days?" said the King. "During the week," replied the old man, "we occupy ourselves with study day and night, and on the Sabbath we enjoy ourselves with all kinds of food until noon, from which time we study the Law." The King then said to the old man: "If I have found favour in thy sight, speak now in the hearing of thy people, and give me permission to cross their land." "I will do as thou hast said," said the old man. He then sounded the trumpet, and an army as numerous as the sand upon the seashore assembled before him. The old man then told them the wish of the King, but they answered: "We cannot do this, to allow unclean people to cross our land." When the King heard this he was grieved in his heart. He remained there until the end of the second Sabbath, and then set sail with all his host.

54. They then prepared to go to the land of Ṣinoria (צינוריא) (or Ṣidonia, צידוניא); for the King had heard that there the manna descends. So they journeyed in the wilderness seventy-five days, and crossing the water, they came to the land of Ṣidon (צדון), where they found very lofty hills, and upon them something similar to white snow. The King and his warriors then went to the top of the mountain, and found there something similar to manna. After the King tasted it, he was sick and vomited his food, on account of the sweetness of the manna. A very tall man of about twelve cubits in height then approached the King, and said: "What ails thee that thou art perturbed?" "I was ill on account of the sweetness of the manna." "But does there not grow by

the side of the manna a very bitter herb? mix this herb with the manna, and it will not injure thee." The King did so, and it then tasted like honey to him. The King and his men then gathered some manna and herb, and bringing it to the camp, they ate it, and it pleased them very much.

55. The King encamped, with all his army, in the land of Ṣidonia (צידוניא) for thirty days, for he thought the land very healthy. It happened on one night that he saw two stars fighting with each other. One of them conquered the other and cast it to the earth, through which an earthquake was caused. The King, being very terrified at this, called his wise men and astrologers, and told them what he had seen. When they heard this they [B. trembled very much and] smote their hands upon each other; they were very grieved, and cried in a loud voice. The King said to them: "What has happened that you are so grieved?" They answered and said: "O our Lord the King, we are trembling because we understand that thy end has come; for no man can see the fight of the stars, except a king, at the end of his days." The King, on hearing this, wept bitterly, and said: "Let the Creator do what is right in His eyes."

56. It came to pass after these things that the King was angered against Apiq (or Afiq, אפיק), the butler, so that Afiq took some poison and placed it in the King's cup and in his food. When the poison entered the King's stomach, he became ill, and his appearance was changed through grief and pain. Then, calling his servants, he said: "Bring me a feather which I shall place in my throat; perhaps I may be able to vomit the food." Afiq accordingly hastened away, and taking a feather, dipped it in poison, and placed it in the King's mouth, so that his pain and suffering increased. When the King saw that his end had come he called his wise men and warriors to him, and said to them: "Hear me, O my people; you know of all the troubles which you have encountered on your journeys. Now, strengthen yourselves, take courage, and be men of valour; you have subdued peoples as numerous as the sand of the

sea, and they hate us because we have vanquished them beneath the soles of our feet. Behold, I am going the way of all the earth, and now act kindly and truthfully to my mother, and strengthen the kingdom in her hands, and transfer the kingdom from my nephew Ṭikusa (טיכוסה), and place the royal crown upon my mother." The King then called Tomlaya, Ṣabil, Polysius, and Agmani, the chiefs of his army, and said to them: "You have always behaved towards me in a kindly and truthful manner, and you have left your father and mother and your inheritance; now divide the kingdom among yourselves, and do you strengthen the kingdom in the hands of my mother; do not rebel against her word, for she is a valiant woman; and after my death, take up my bones, and carry them to the land of Egypt, and bury them among the graves of the kings, and mourn over them seventy days: do ye divide my treasures, my gold, and my precious stones into two divisions; one is to be given to my mother, and the other consecrated to the temple of Ḍigonia (דיגוניא), the Egyptian god; and the other silver divide among yourselves." When he had finished his command, he gathered up his feet in his bed, and he died in great suffering, for the poison broke all his bones.

57. His armies mourned for him seventy days. When the days of mourning were at an end, they took Alexander's body, cut it up into pieces, and boiling it, took his bones and placed them in roeskin to bring them to Egypt. They [B. The Macedonians] returned after three years to Egypt, and they came to Macedonia (מוקדונייא), to the King's mother (Gloptria גלופטריאה), Cleopatra, and they brought all the treasures and jewels and placed the royal crown upon her head. After this she reigned fifteen years, during which time the Queen acted justly and truthfully. She entrusted the kingdom to the princes [A. Tolmiya, Ṣabil, Polysius, and Agmani. The Queen did not bury the bones of Alexander, but placed them in her treasure-house, and gave orders that they should be buried next to her

after her death. The Queen died at the age of eighty-nine years, and they buried her in the burial-place of the kings, placing Alexander's bones next to her. The kingdom was then given to the four chiefs, who ruled the land with justice and mercy. They took all the treasures which Alexander had gathered and deposited them in the temple of Digonia], and they erected an immense temple, the like of which has never before existed in Egypt.

FINIS.

# Art. XX.—*Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China.*

By G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S.

## PART I. Prehistoric Period:

Being Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of the India extra-Gangem.

### 1. *Introduction.*

Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura
Che la diritta via era smarrita.

Dante: *Inferno*, i, 1.

Having been for years past engaged in researches on the early history of Siām and its border countries, I had, as a matter of course, to go into their ancient geography—a hitherto unexplored field—and this naturally led me to a study of the documents that the Western geographers of antiquity left us, more especially Ptolemy, who gives us the first collection of anything like authentic data on the countries in question. Thus it came to pass that I found myself hopelessly entangled in the "selva selvaggia, ed aspra e forte" of Ptolemy's geography of India extra-Gangem. I must confess that the results attending my first attempts at interpreting this portion of the work of the great Alexandrian were far from encouraging. This was, however, to be expected, seeing that even master hands like those of Klaproth, Cunningham, Yule, Lassen, and others, whilst meeting with fair success in identifying Ptolemy's names of places west of the meridian of the Ganges, had failed to evolve the slightest order out of the chaos of his trans-Gangetic geography, and to locate with certainty even a single one of the numerous cities he names beyond the outskirts of the Gulf of Bengal. The more eastern portion of Ptolemy's geography came, therefore,

to be looked upon as utterly unreliable, if not fantastic; and the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached, and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character.

But when I noticed the wide difference of opinion existing among Ptolemy's expounders and commentators as to the identification of his names of cities, gulfs, and even regions (some going so far as to connect his **Magnus Sinus** with the Gulf of Bengal, his coast of **Sinai** with that of the Malayan Peninsula, **Kattigara** with Kesho in Tonkin, and even with Kottawaringin in Borneo, **Serika** with the Peguan coast, and so forth), I at once realized the impossibility of reaching any definite goal by following paths so widely diverging; and I confess that I began then to ask myself whether—granted that Ptolemy had muddled—his commentators and would-be elucidators had not, despite their zeal and learning and evident good-faith, often made confusion worse confounded.

The reason why Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography should have given rise to so much controversy is plain enough: it is to be found in the methods of treatment it received—at times far too theoretical on one side, and far too empiric on the other; but always, and invariably, too scholastically uniform and systematic. Thus the most faithful of Ptolemy's votaries, the sincerest of his admirers, ever missed the goal, despite the deep learning and indefatigable research they brought to bear on the arduous subject: some in unsuccessful attempts to find out a general formula of correction applicable to the whole of his *habitabilis*, and others in the vain endeavour of making his geographical nomenclature fit in in modern maps by simply connecting the names he gives with places designated by similar appellations in the latter.

As regards the first method, if susceptible of fairly successful application to the countries lying west of the Indus, it becomes utterly unfit for the more eastern portion of the *habitabilis*, where Ptolemy's measurement errors are far from being constant and uniform as might be anticipated, the position of places here depending on much more imperfect data; whereby it ensues that the amount of error must be detected and determined in almost every particular instance if anything like approximation is to be arrived at. Now this can only be done by a careful selection and individuation of the principal stations of Ptolemy's system; the ratio of error in intermediate points between the base stations thus established will then be reduced to a minimum, so as to allow, in the majority of cases, of a satisfactory identification of the same.

I purposely say in the majority, and not in the totality of cases, because, in spite of the rectification thus effected of Ptolemy's positions of his geographical elements, some of the latter will yet prove refractory to identification, owing partly to our still deficient geographical knowledge of some parts of Further India; and more—nay, principally—to our lack of reliable historical data on the past of the same regions, which often prevents us from tracing modern names of places back to the designation they bore in Ptolemy's time, so as to recognize them in his lists.

This is, indeed, the greatest drawback in a study of the subject under consideration; for many towns, marts, etc., which had existed, and even flourished, at that period, and were recorded by our eminent geographer, have now disappeared from the face of the earth, as well as from the memory of man; while others have changed several times their names, each change being often into a different language, according to the race of people under whose sway they successively fell, and are now unrecognizable under their modern appellations. To this must be added the transformation that names of places have undergone in the mouths of travellers speaking different tongues, especially at that remote period when geographical science was still in its infancy; not to speak

of the alterations caused in their spelling as originally adopted in the work of our author, by its passing through the ordeal of a legion of copyists, often innocent of geographical knowledge; so that the wonder is rather—after all these difficulties have been considered—that any of Ptolemy's names of places could now stand the test of identification at all.

Yet I trust to be able to show in the sequel that, despite so many drawbacks, Ptolemy's geography of the India extra-Gangem is still capable of fairly accurate interpretation, provided it is carried on on the lines mentioned above; and that, once the amount of error as to his fundamental stations has been determined, it is possible to push the work with equal success outside the limits of that field, even up to the scarcely as yet known regions of Western China and Central Asia. It will then appear how great was Ptolemy's knowledge of these remote countries at so early a time as his, and how careful his handling of the data he had at his disposal; as well as how little he deserved the strictures passed upon him and his work by commentators who did not know how to avail themselves of the precious materials accumulated by him.

With regard to the second method of interpreting Ptolemy's geography, its shortcomings are too evident to need pointing out here. Its inevitable failure with respect to India was well exemplified at the hands of Lassen, who thought that all that was needed was to compare the ancient and modern names of places to connect the two. Proceeding on sounder critical principles, Cunningham and Yule far better succeeded in interpreting Ptolemy's data, and gave us the most reliable explanation of his geography of India which we now possess. Yet McCrindle, while acknowledging that Colonel Yule's map of ancient India "is undoubtedly by far the best that has been yet [1885] produced," has to avow that "the result is far from encouraging."

As a matter of fact, it will be seen that Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography, when treated according to the method

laid down in the present paper, presents perhaps fewer difficulties than the cis-Gangetic portion. The only real hard crux I met with, after having succeeded in identifying some of Ptolemy's principal stations of Indo-China, was the determination of the amount of his shortening of the Malay Peninsula and of the lower portion of the Cochin-Chinese headland in favour of the Arakan-Burmese and Tonkinese coasts respectively.

On the other hand, the amount of error in Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes in the northern portion of Indo-China could be so neatly determined, that its rectification enabled me to extend the work far out of the limits originally contemplated, which included nothing beyond the outskirts of Southern Indo-China and Malay Peninsula, a region of which I can speak with some personal knowledge. If success led me further than I intended, and carried me on to China and Central Asia, countries to the knowledge of which I cannot and do not make the slightest claim or pretence, I wish it to be distinctly understood, ere I proceed, that I do not consider that extra portion of my work by any means complete; and if I gave it a place in my map and in the present sketch, it was in order to show the correctness of the plan on which I have worked out Ptolemy's geography of Indo-China, even when tested on a much larger scale. Hence I did not concern myself with it beyond what had relation with trade routes in Ptolemy's time, a subject on which I lay great stress, as I think it by far the most important gain to geographical science resulting from this study, and an entirely novel discovery most likely to alter the opinions generally held hitherto as to the easternmost limits of the knowledge of the world possessed by the ancients, and of their trade relations.

This is all I could do under the unfavourable circumstances in which I am placed, of living in a far-away country out of reach of any well-stocked library containing the literature that has reference to the countries in question. Therefore, I gladly leave it to scholars versed in the lore

of China and Central Asia to complete the investigation and fill in the blanks I have left. For the same reason I have had no access to any of the standard works bearing on Ptolemy's geography, and have had to carry on all my calculations of rectification of Ptolemy's geographical co-ordinates of positions on the base of the figures supplied in McCrindle's "Ancient India as described by Ptolemy," 1885 edition—a work embodying, as far as I can judge, nearly all that is known on the subject up to the present date, and which I have followed throughout as far as the portion of Ptolemy's geography treated on here is concerned. In the course of my labours I detected two misprints in it which somewhat led me astray at first, but which I have since corrected. The first regards the longitude of **Parisara**, which is given as 179° on page 225, a mistake for 149°; and the other the longitude of the mouth of the river **Aspithra** (page 244), printed as 170°, whereas it should be 173° or 175°. I trust I have not fallen a victim to other possible misprints in that book, in the determination of the position of some other of Ptolemy's stations. Should, however, this prove to be the case, I would ask the indulgence of the reader, on the score that I had no means at my disposal to verify all such figures as I have taken from McCrindle's book.

With these premises and reservations, I shall now proceed to explain as summarily as possible the method adopted in my inquiry, and the means through which I arrived at the solution of most of the intricate problems connected with the subject under consideration.

I first took up the study of Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography, in so far as had relation with the Gulf of Siām and the Malay Peninsula, as early as 1887; but I soon found out the inapplicability here of the formulas proposed for the correction of Ptolemy's co-ordinates of positions, and the inadmissibility of the few identifications ventured upon by various authorities up to that date of Ptolemy's places in these regions; with the sole exception of **Zabai**, connected by Yule with Campā, without, however,

attempting to definitely locate its position with any degree of precision. This prevented me from forming any estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error in longitude and latitude at that point, so the latter could not be used as a base station for the purpose I intended. I had, in fact, by that time found out that no advance was possible in this direction unless one of Ptolemy's stations at least could be identified, and located with sufficient accuracy on the Gulf of Siām or the Cochin-Chinese coast, so as to give an exact idea of Ptolemy's amount of error in these far-away regions, and to furnish a clue to the detection and rectification of the errors in neighbouring stations.

So far, the most easterly point in Ptolemy's system that could be fixed upon with any degree of precision, was the delta of the Ganges, which was therefore considered as the *ne plus ultra* of all possible correct interpretation of ancient classic geography. As I was at the time—despite the most assiduous efforts—unable to discover any reliable base-point beyond that, I had to give up Ptolemy in utter discouragement, for I well saw that nothing could be done until such a point was found out. With this object in view, I, more unremittingly than ever, continued my study and collection of old records concerning these countries, confident that, should I arrive at establishing what were the principal marts and emporiums of trade that existed on these coasts in Ptolemy's time, and under what names, I would most likely, unless Ptolemy's names of localities were nothing but mere chimerical fancies, be able to recognize some one of them in his lists, whether in its genuine or modified garb. I need not tell how glad I was when some years afterwards — not a few though — my exertions were rewarded, and by the end of 1895 I was able to identify, with absolute certainty, Ptolemy's **Akadra** and **Pithonobaste** with the Bay of Ko: Tron or Ka-Dran (the *Kadranj* of the Arab navigators of the ninth century), corresponding to the present Hatīen on the Kambojan coast of the Gulf of Siām; and Pantaimeas (French spelling) or Panthāi-māś ("golden-walled citadel") near by, the

initial point from which Hindū civilization spread out over Kamboja, as I shall show in the sequel, and of which the present Hatīen and Ko: Tron bay were the port, the most remarkable emporium of trade on the Gulf of Siām from the highest antiquity up to the beginning of the last century. This successful piece of work soon led me to the identification of **Samarade, Zabai, Aganagara, Takola,** and other principal stations of Ptolemy on the coast of the Malay Peninsula and Cochin-China. I became then aware of a new and important feature of Ptolemy's geography of these countries, namely, that it discloses to us the positions of the outposts occupied at that early time by Southern Indian colonists who were then just at the outset of the exploits by which their civilization was subsequently spread all over the Malay Peninsula, Siām, Kamboja, Campā, and the Malay Archipelago in general; and thus we are supplied with the solution of an ethnological mystery that could not hitherto be penetrated.

The other important feature that I discovered afterwards was that of the overland routes that Western traders followed at that early period, most of which were hitherto not only unknown, but hardly even dreamed of. The rest of the task proved comparatively easy, and I need not weary the reader any further with the *récit* of my personal experiences in this matter, beyond adding that the ultimate result of all of them was this preliminary essay, with the map that accompanies it. Neither of these, as yet so incomplete and imperfect, would I dare to send to the press were I not confident that, even in their present humble and uncouth form, they may prove interesting and useful to lovers of Oriental research. This is the only reason that induced me to decide on their immediate publication, rather than to wait for a more favourable opportunity when leisure and less deficiency of means of study would have permitted me to considerably improve them.

## 2. *Calculations.*

Though the process of rectification of Ptolemy's measurement errors—on the co-ordinates of his fundamental stations and on the intermediate places between two successive co-ordinates taken as base-lines—is sufficiently shown in the map hereto appended, a brief exposition of the method of calculation followed for the determination of the error at the principal stations will perhaps render the process clearer and more readily understood. We shall then begin at **Akadra**, the starting-point, which in our case proved the true key to the mystery that shrouded Ptolemy's trans-Gangetic geography. The longitude adopted for this harbour in the present study is 104° 21′ E. Greenwich, which corresponds to the actual anchorage of ships during the south-west monsoon in front of Hatīen.

The other base meridian worked upon in conjunction with **Akadra** is that passing through the centre of the Gangetic delta and the median mouth of the Ganges called **Kamberikhon** by our author, and supposed to correspond to the Barabangā estuary, for which the longitude adopted here is 89° 30′ E.[1] Recently Rylands, in his elucidation of Ptolemy's geography—a book which deserves recognition,[2] and from which I have derived useful hints as to the graphical method of treating Ptolemy's geography, although unable to accept his formula of reduction or his estimate of the true equivalent of Ptolemy's 180° as fit for my purpose—assigned long. 90° E. to **Kamberikhon**, which is evidently too much east of the centre of the delta. A glance at a map of Bengal will convince one of this. The longitude adopted by me for **Kamberikhon**, not only corresponding as nearly as possible to the centre of the delta, but also sensibly coinciding with the axis of the lower course of the Barabangā, must evidently lie within

[1] All longitudes referred to in the present sketch are computed from the meridian of Greenwich.

[2] "The Geography of Ptolemy elucidated," by T. G. Rylands. (Dublin, 1893.)

a few minutes of the true one as intended by Ptolemy. The calculation then proceeds as follows:—

LONGITUDE.—*Base* **Akadra—Kamberikhon.**

| | | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Kamberikhon.** | Long. | 146° 30′ E. | 89° 30′ |
| **Akadra.** | „ | 167° | 104° 21′ |
| | Diff. | 20° 30′ | 14° 51′ |

whence we obtain a formula of correction for Ptolemy's longitudes between **Kamberikhon** and **Akadra**:

$$\frac{14^\circ\ 51'}{20^\circ\ 30'} = 0{\cdot}725 \times \text{Ptol. long. } (a).$$

---

*Determination of the longitude of* **Aganagara.**

A. By formula ($a$) from **Kamberikhon.**

**Kamberikhon.** Ptol. long. 146° 30′
**Aganagara.** „ „ 169°

Diff. 22° 30′ × 0·725 ($a$) = 16° 18′
True long. **Kamberikhon** + 89° 30′
Corrected long. **Aganagara** 105° 48′

B. By formula ($a$) from **Akadra.**

**Aganagara.** Ptol. long. 169°
**Akadra.** „ „ 167°

Diff. 2° × 0·725 ($a$) = 1° 27′
True long. **Akadra** + 104° 21′
Corrected long. **Aganagara** 105° 48′

which is the exact longitude of Hanoi.

LATITUDES.

As regards latitudes, let us, by way of trial, now determine a mean between those of **Kamberikhon** and **Akadra**. The true latitude assumed for the present for **Kamberikhon** is 22° 24′ N., corresponding to that of the

village called Byracally on the maps, which may be **Kamberikhon** itself, and if not, must be not very far from the mark; considering that nearly eighteen centuries have elapsed from the time of collection of Ptolemy's data, and that at that period the delta could not be so far advanced southwards as at present. The figure assumed here will be, however, checked in due course; as we shall see, the error in latitude between the parallels of **Kamberikhon** and **Akadra** is far from being uniformly distributed. We have, then—

| | | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Kamberikhon.** | Lat. | 18° 40′ | 22° 24′ N. |
| **Akadra** (Hatīen). | ,, | 4° 45′ | 10° 22′ |
| | Diff. | 13° 55′ | 12° 2′ |

whence a formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between **Kamberikhon** and **Akadra** $= \frac{12° \ 2'}{13° \ 55'} = 0{\cdot}8647$.

Applying this by way of trial to the determination of the latitude of **Aganagara**, we obtain—

**Aganagara.** Ptol. lat. 16° 20′ N.
**Akadra.** ,, ,, 4° 45′

Diff. 11° 35′ × 0·8647 = 10° 1′
True latitude **Akadra** + 10° 22′
Corrected latitude of **Aganagara** 20° 23′

Now the true latitude of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) is 21° 2′, whereby we see that there is an error in the result of the above calculation of 39′ less. This we shall be able to account for hereafter, and show that it is due to the excessive lengthening by Ptolemy of the coast of Arakan and Pegu between Chittagong and Cape Negrais; and, correspondingly, of the Tonkinese coast, whence the comparatively southern position resulting for **Aganagara**. But having made certain that the latter is really Hanoi, both by the approximation obtained in the determination of its geographic co-ordinates and by every other indication,

as shall be shown in due course, we must correct the error and adopt its true latitude of 21° 2′, so as to be able to use it as another base-point in the calculations that follow.

The next step is to find the relation of Ptolemy's and true latitudes between **Akadra** and **Aganagara**. This stands as follows:—

| | | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi). | Lat. | 16° 20′ | 21° 2′ |
| **Akadra** (Hatīen). | „ | 4° 45′ | 10° 22′ |
| | Diff. | 11° 35′ | 10° 40′ |

whence the correction for Ptolemy's latitudes between the above two stations $= \frac{10° 40′}{11° 35′} = 0{\cdot}92$ $(\phi)$.

Ptolemy's equator deduced from this formula of correction would correspond to 5° 58′ true North Latitude. This, we may observe, closely agrees with the result that could be obtained from Ceylon, where Ptolemy's equator passes through **Nubartha** (Barberyn), the true latitude of which is 6° 30′ N.; and will do for our purpose, as shall be proved by subsequent researches.

That neither the error of latitude between the parallels of **Akadra** and **Aganagara**, nor that in longitude between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Kamberikhon**, is uniform, is proved by the displacement of Cape **Temala** (Negrais) too far east and south. This better results from the following calculations:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Akadra** (Hatīen). | Ptol. long. | 167° 0′ E. |
| Cape **Temala** (Negrais). | „ „ | 157° 20′ |
| | Diff. | 9° 40′ |

Applying to this the formula of correction $(a)$ found above for longitudes, we have: $9° 40′ \times 0{\cdot}725 = 7°$. Subtracting this result from the true longitude of **Akadra** (Hatīen), we obtain $104° 21′ - 7° = 97° 21′$ for the longitude of Cape **Temala** (Negrais). The true longitude of the latter, at Diamond Point, adopted in the present inquiry

is 94° 22′ E.; whence we see that Ptolemy's displacement of this cape is about 3° too far East.

Its displacement in latitude is shown by the following:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Cape Temala.** | Ptol. lat. | 8° 0′ |
| **Akadra** (Hatīen). | „ „ | 4° 45′ |
| | Diff. | 3° 15′ |

Applying to this the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes found above ($\phi$), we obtain—

| | |
|---|---|
| 3° 15′ × 0·92 = | 2° 59′ |
| True lat. **Akadra** (Hatīen) + | 10° 22′ |
| Corrected lat. **Cape Temala** (Negrais) | 13° 21′ |

The true latitude for this cape adopted in the present study being 16° N., it follows that Ptolemy's displacement of the same was nearly 3° further south than its true position. We see then that he lengthened the coast of Arakan and Pegu as far as Cape Negrais at the expense of the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, which thereby becomes represented shorter than it really is; and that therefore the latitudes given by him for stations north of the parallel of Cape Negrais (**Temala**) must be corrected to a greater extent than those of the places situated to the south of the same parallel.

Before, however, attempting to find what the new formula of correction should be, let us see whether the same rule applies to the coast of Tonkin, and in general all over the intermediate regions. In order to do this, let us prolong the parallel of Cape **Temala** (Negrais)—the latitude of which is 8° N. Ptol.=16° N. true as shown above—as far as the Annamite coast. We see then that it intersects the latter a little below Turān (Tourane of French maps) and the homonymous bay, noted from the earliest time as a much frequented port on that coast, and which I have identified with Ptolemy's **Throana**. The latitude he assigns to **Throana** being 8° 30′ N., namely, just a little above the parallel now under consideration, we obtain thus a confirmation that the said parallel, marking the 8° of North

Latitude in Ptolemy's system, actually corresponds to the 16th parallel of true latitude in our maps. The consequence is that the coast of Tonkin and northern Annam has undergone at Ptolemy's hands the same lengthening at the expense of the southern as the corresponding coast on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bengal. A single formula of correction will then do for Ptolemy's latitudes of all places situated further north than his 8th parallel or our 16th parallel of North Latitude. This formula can be easily deduced from a comparison of the latitude of Cape **Temala** (Negrais) with that of **Aganagara** (Hanoi), as follows:—

| | | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi). | Lat. | 16° 20′ | 21° 1′ |
| Cape **Temala** (Negrais). | ,, | 8° 0′ | 16° 0′ |
| | Diff. | 8° 20′ | 5° 1′ |

whence $\frac{5° \ 1'}{8° \ 20'} = 0{\cdot}6$ (λ).

This formula of correction, when tested all over the geographical field under consideration, was found to apply to all places situated by Ptolemy above his 8th parallel, even as far up as Mongolia and Central Asia. From it we may deduce the correct latitude for **Kamberikhon**, as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Kamberikhon.** | Ptol. lat. | 18° 40′ N. |
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi). | ,, ,, | 16° 20′ |
| | Diff. 2° 20′ × 0·6 (λ) = | 1° 24′ |
| | True lat. **Aganagara** (Hanoi) + | 21° 1′ |
| | Corrected lat. of **Kamberikhon** | 22° 25′ |

But a more correct result would be obtained from the latitude of Cape **Temala** (Negrais) taken as a base, thus:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Kamberikhon.** | Ptol. lat. | 18° 40′ N. |
| Cape **Temala** (Negrais). | ,, ,, | 8° 0′ |
| | Diff. 10° 40′ × 0·6 (λ) = | 6° 24′ |
| | True lat. Cape **Temala** (Negrais) + | 16° 0′ |
| | Corrected lat. of **Kamberikhon** | 22° 24′ |

which checks the figure assumed for the latitude of the latter place at the outset of our calculations.

*Identification of* **Solana.**—As a test for our formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes north of the parallel of Cape **Temala** (Negrais), let us look up the meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) in our map; we will find Ptolemy's **Solana**, for which he gives—

Long. 169° 0′ E. (same as **Aganagara**).
Lat. 37° 30′ N.

Reducing the latter according to formula (λ), we get 33° 43′ corrected North Latitude, which, on the meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi = 105° 48′ true E. Long.), brings us within 2′ or 3′ of Si-ho or Si-ho-hien, near the Si-niu river in Shen-si. This Si-ho, we may then reasonably conclude, is Ptolemy's **Solana**, a fact confirmed, moreover, by the similarity of name.

*Identification of* **Sera Metropolis.**—But supposing this to be a mere haphazard coincidence, let us test formulas (*a*) and (λ) together for the position of **Sera Metropolis.** The co-ordinates given by Ptolemy for the latter are—

LONGITUDE.

| | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|
| **Sera Metropolis** | 177° E. | — |
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi) | 169° | 105° 48′ E. |
| Diff. | 8° | |

By formula (*a*) 8° × 0·725 = + 5° 48′
Corrected long. of **Sera Metropolis** 111° 36′

LATITUDE.

| | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|
| **Sera Metropolis** | 38° 35′ N. | — |
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi) | 16° 20′ | 21° 1′ N. |
| Diff. | 22° 15′ | |

By formula (λ) 22° 15′ × 0·6 = + 13° 21′
Corrected lat. of **Sera Metropolis** 34° 22°

The resulting position for **Sera Metropolis** is therefore:

LONG. 111° 36′ E. LAT. 34° 22′ N.

This position, when looked for on a map of China, will be seen to fall a little to the south-west of Honan-fu in Honan, and therefore sensibly correctly near the site of where stood LOH-YANG which, it is well known, was the capital of China previous to and during the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–221), namely, exactly at the time that Ptolemy collected his data. I would not go so far as to say that the position here obtained is quite correct to a minute; I do not find Loh-yang marked in the maps of China lying at my disposal, and therefore cannot judge of its exact position; but all works on China agree in saying it lays somewhere to the west of the present Honan-fu. Hence the position just found must be correct within less than half a degree of either longitude or latitude. Such a surprising approximation will be obtained for the majority of the places named by Ptolemy in the region situated northwards of the parallel of Cape **Temala** (Negrais), after the above formulas of correction have been applied; and by this means they may be identified in nearly every instance.

The longitudes, however, present some complications in this field, owing to several slight errors affecting the intermediate regions between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Kamberikhon**. Such errors, nevertheless, are found, as in the case of latitude errors between **Aganagara** and **Akadra**, to compensate themselves to such an extent as not to sensibly alter the proportion of the whole. I shall explain this by an example. For instance in latitude, we find the position of **Akadra** correct enough respecting **Aganagara** and **Kamberikhon**; and yet the intermediate latitudes are not correct, because there is an error between the parallels of **Kamberikhon** and **Aganagara**, and that of **Akadra**. Yet this does not affect the position of **Akadra** in relation to the two former places. This shows that **Akadra**, **Kamberikhon**, and **Aganagara** must have been fundamental stations for

which Ptolemy obtained reliable data deduced from accurate observation; whilst Cape **Temala** and other intermediate places were merely secondary points which he determined simply on the base of road and sailing distance as reported by travellers. **Sera Metropolis** and other important inland towns, which we shall meet with afterwards, must have been also as many fundamental stations.

In the same manner, as regards longitudes, we find an identical proportion between **Kamberikhon, Akadra, Aganagara,** and **Sera Metropolis**; while we detect errors between **Kamberikhon** and Cape **Temala** (Negrais); the latter and Cape **Takola** (Takôpa); this and **Balongka** and **Akadra**; and we find the whole coast-line of Cochin-China and Annam as far as Hanoi displaced in longitude. Yet these errors compensate themselves so far as not to cause any sensible disproportion in the distances between the fundamental stations named above. This phenomenon confirms the fact resulting from the previous examination of the latitudes; that is, that **Kamberikhon, Akadra,** and **Aganagara** are Ptolemy's fundamental stations in Indo-China.

In order to more clearly prove this, I shall now show that the proportion mentioned above exists almost unaltered up to the extreme limits of the geographical zone considered in the present study and represented in the accompanying map.

*Identification of Ptolemy's "Stone Tower."*—As far as longitudes are concerned, the proportion alluded to has already been shown to exist as far as **Sera Metropolis**, lying on Ptolemy's 177° meridian of eastern longitude = 111° 36′ E. of Greenwich, and therefore pretty near to the easternmost limit of the *habitabilis*. It remains, then, to show that the same proportion exists up to the westernmost limit of our field, and this I will do by applying the test to the meridian of Ptolemy's so-called "Stone Tower,"

which is also that of his **Kanagora** (identified with Kanauj or Kanoje, in India). The result is as follows :—

LONGITUDE.

| | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi) | 169° E. | 105° 48′ E. |
| **Lithinos Pyrgos** ("Stone Tower") | 135° | |
| Diff. | 34° | |

to which, applying formula (*a*), 34° × 0·725 = 24° 39′

Remains long. of **Lithinos Pyrgos** 81° 9′

As the meridian of **Lithinos Pyrgos** is the same as that of **Kanagora** (Kanoje), for which the true long. E. of Greenwich is about 79° 50′, we see that the error is only about 1° 19′ on the whole distance Hanoi—Kanoje, including some 26° degrees of longitude. But, as we shall soon see, the **Lithinos Pyrgos** is—who would ever have suspected it? —ILCHI, ILITSI, or KHOTEN, the true longitude of which is 80° E., a yet closer approach to our calculated result.

If the **Lithinos Pyrgos** be really Khoten, this ought to be proved by a close coincidence in latitude as well; and this is exactly what I am now going to show.

LATITUDE.

| | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|
| **Aganagara** (Hanoi) | 16° 20′ N. | 21° 1′ N. |
| **Lithinos Pyrgos** | 43° 0′ | — |
| Diff. | 26° 40′ | |

to which, applying formula (λ), 26° 40′ × 0·6 = + 16° 0

whence, corrected lat. of **Lithinos Pyrgos** 37° 1′

Now, this is, within one single minute, the latitude of Khoten, given by the latest authorities as 37° N.

This surprising exactness at once reveals to us that the **Lithinos Pyrgos**, or so-called "Stone Tower," must have been one of Ptolemy's fundamental stations carefully established by observation, whether astronomical or otherwise. A perusal of the first book of his geography shows, in fact, the pains he took in rectifying Marinos' estimate of

the distance from the passage of the Euphrates to the "Stone Tower" (**Lithinos Pyrgos**), and from the latter to **Sera Metropolis**. This proves that both the latter belonged to his list of fundamental stations. On the strength of Ptolemy's assumption that the "Stone Tower" was situated near the parallel of **Byzantium** (real lat. 41° N.), and of the coincidence in meaning between it and Tāshkand (real. lat. 42° 58′), most authors hitherto identified it with the latter place; though Heeren and Rawlinson located it much more eastward—the former near Ush, and the latter at Tāsh-Kurghān (true lat. 37° 46′ N.), which are places situated much nearer to Khoten than the far-away Tāshkand. Indeed, the intersection of the meridian of Ush with the parallel of Tāsh-Kurghān would fall only a few miles to the north-west of Khoten, our identification.

It is easy to show that Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" could not be situated so far west as Tāshkand. Let us take, in fact, his longitude of **Marakanda** (Samarkand), which he gives as 112°, the real one being about 68° E. Greenwich, and let us observe that the same longitude is assigned by him to the central mouth of the Indus. The average longitude of the mouths of the Indus named by him is 112°; the real one would be about 67° 15′, that is, within 45′ of the meridian of Samarkand. This proves Ptolemy's estimate of the position in longitude of **Marakanda** with respect to the central mouth of the Indus so surprisingly correct, as to dispel any doubt that might be entertained on this score. This point settled, we see that Ptolemy assigns long. 135° to his "Stone Tower," that is, he places it 23° further east than **Marakanda**. Now the real longitude of Samarkand being about 68°, and that of Tāshkand 69°, we see at once the impossibility of identifying the latter place with the **Lithinos Pyrgos**, despite the coincidence of meaning in the two names.

Calculating the 23° of Ptolemy's longitude on the base of the longitudes of the central mouth (**Kariphron**) of the Indus (Ptol. long. 112° = real long. 67° 15′) and of the central mouth of the Ganges (Ptol. long. 146° 30′ = real long. 89° 30′), we obtain 14° 50′ as an equivalent of

Ptolemy's 23°, which added to 67° 15′, the longitude of **Kariphron**, gives us 82° 5′ as the corrected longitude of the "Stone Tower."

This result is within 56′ of that obtained at the outset from **Aganagara** and **Kamberikhon**, i.e. 81° 9′. Both point out with sufficient approximation where Ptolemy's "Stone Tower" should be looked for. In calculations I have adopted Khoten, and its meridian, 80° real long. as equivalent to 135° Ptol., the longitude of his "Stone Tower"; and thus corrected his error in excess in the reckoning of its distance from Samarkand. This rectification will serve also to correct his distance errors on the stations between the Indus and Kanoje, and between the latter place and the Ganges.

Though we have shown the accuracy of our formula (λ) in the rectification of the latitudes assigned by Ptolemy to places north of his 8th parallel (Cape **Temala**), and the proportion existing in latitude all over that zone, it will be found, as a result, that most places west of the Ganges will yet prove to be, after that formula has been applied, somewhat north of their true position. This is due to a local error made by our geographer in the delineation of the course of the Ganges, to which he attributed a direction much more northerly than it really is, thus causing a displacement towards the north-east of all towns situated on its banks and in the neighbourhood. I have shown and corrected this error in the map only for those towns lying on trade routes between the Ganges and Tibet; as the small space available would not allow of extending the correction to all those represented in that portion of the map. What strikes one more than anything else in the examination of Ptolemy's geography north of his parallel of **Temala**, is the proportion maintained all over the field in his latitudes. Surely these must have been determined by astronomical observation, or by accurate computation from the length of the sun-shadow and other means. More lacking in accuracy are, as might be expected, his longitudes. The stations at which a high degree of approximation has been attained in this respect are few and far between, and the longitudes

of the intervening places had thus to be reckoned on the uncertain base of the estimated road distance travelled. This is the cause that while we find sufficient proportion maintained between the longitudes of Ptolemy's fundamental stations from the "Stone Tower" to **Sera**, we detect local errors in the intervening region, which must be corrected if the identification of the places included within its limits is to be arrived at with any degree of success. For this purpose the map has been divided into vertical zones by base meridian-lines (in red), between which Ptolemy's error in longitude was carefully determined and corrected by a particular formula for each zone. A double set of scales shows how the general error was determined between the fundamental stations and apportioned among the secondary ones.

The process will appear clearly enough on the map, and needs no further explanation here. The following is a list of the base meridian-lines adopted, and of the corrections to be applied to the places lying within each particular zone determined by them.

| | Ptol. long. | Diff. | Real long. | Diff. | Correction applied. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Meridian of the "Stone Tower" (Khoten) and **Kanagora** (Kanoje)[1] ... | 135° — | | 80° — | | |
| | | 11° 30′ | | 9° 30′ | 0·826 (δ) |
| (2) Meridian of **Kamberikhon** ... ... ... | 146° 30′ | | 89° 30′ | | |
| | | 10° 50′ | | 4° 52′ | 0·45 (γ) |
| (3) Meridian of Cape **Temala** (Negrais) ... ... | 157° 20′ | | 94° 22′ | | |
| | | 1° 20′ | | 3° 57′ | 2·9625 (β) |
| (4) Meridian of Cape **Takola** (Takôpa) ... ... | 158° 40′ | | 98° 19′ | | |
| | | 3° 20′ | | 0° 53′ | |
| (5) Meridian of **Balongka** (Chump'hŏn) ... ... | 162° — | | 99° 12′ | | |
| | | 5° — | | 5° 9′ | |
| (6) Meridian of **Akadra** (Hatīen) ... ... ... | 167° — | | 104° 21′ | | 0·725 (α) |
| | | 2° — | | 1° 27′ | |
| (7) Meridian of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) ... ... | 169° — | | 105° 48′ | | |
| For localities east of **Aganagara** (Hanoi) ... | — | — | — | — | |

[1] The meridian of Kanoje (79° 50′ E. Greenwich, true) was adopted in the map.

The correction between the Cape **Takola** and **Balongka** meridians was required only locally for some places on the Gulf of Siām, and so was that between the **Balongka** and **Akadra** meridians. The corrections involved here were operated graphically, and represented on the map. The same may be said of similar corrections in the Gulf of Martaban, on the coast north of Cape Negrais, and on the Cochin-Chinese and Annamese coasts, in each of which cases the course that Ptolemy's coast-line would assume, were the local error left unrectified, is duly shown in red outline. Northwards of the Gulf of Siām, the intermediate errors between the meridians of **Akadra** and **Takola** are so slight as not to need any special correction different from that given by formula (*a*), by which the real longitude of **Takola** was originally determined. Hence the correction indicated by this formula was indistinctly applied to all positions in the zone between those two meridians lying northwards and southwards of the Gulf of Siām, even down as far as Sumatra. It may thus be seen that all longitudes of Ptolemy's places lying eastward of the meridian of Cape **Takola** or Takôpa (Cape Papra), that is, eastwards of long. 158° 40′ Ptol.=98° 19′ E. Greenwich, can be fairly corrected by that single formula. The most grave error is that made by Ptolemy between Capes **Temala** and **Takola**, in assigning them a difference in longitude of 1° 20′ only, against 3° 57′ real. This proved at first a great drawback to the identification of their true position. But as soon as I had made sure as to the real latitude of Cape **Temala** and fixed its position, I obtained the correct longitude of Cape **Takola** from the base-point, **Akadra**, by a simple calculation, as follows :—

| | | Ptolemy's. | True. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Akadra** (Hatīen). | Long. | 167° 0′ | 104° 21′ E. |
| Cape **Takola** (Takôpa). | ,, | 158° 40′ | |
| | Diff. | 8° 20′ | |

By formula (*a*) 8° 20′ × 0·725 = 6° 2′

remains, correct long. of Cape **Takola** 98° 19′

This result is correct within three minutes of the longitude of Cape Papra or Cape Takôpa, on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, just above Junkceylon Island. This cape, which I found confirmed by a calculation of latitude, was beyond any possible doubt Ptolemy's Cape **Takola**, is really in long. 98° 16′; but I thought it was unnecessary to make the slight correction of 3′, as being of no consequence whatever on the results of this inquiry.

Having now dealt with the region situated to the north of the parallel of Cape **Temala**, and shown how Ptolemy's positions of places therein were rectified, it remains to speak of the region southwards of that parallel. The rules given in the upper zone for longitudes apply also here, with the exception of the islands in the Gulf of Bengal, for which there seems to be hardly any rule or order, but which will be briefly dealt with in the sequel. It remains, then, to explain the corrections that latitudes need in this lower zone. In it we find sufficient proportion south of the parallel of **Akadra**; hence, all this section is easily corrected by reference to **Akadra** and **Aganagara** as base-points, that is, by formula ($\phi$). The only anomaly lies between the parallels of **Akadra** and Cape **Temala**, due, as we have seen, to the shortening of the southern coast of Annam and western coast of the Malay Peninsula between those two parallels. This is easily corrected, however, by dividing the interval between the parallel of **Akadra** (Hatīen), lat. 4° 45′ Ptol. = 10° 22′ N. true, and that of Cape **Temala** (Negrais), lat. 8° Ptol. = 16° N. true, in proportion to their difference in latitude: lat. 3° 15′ Ptol. = lat. 5° 38′ true, whence the formula of correction for Ptolemy's latitudes in this section—

$$\frac{5^\circ\ 38'}{3^\circ\ 15'} = 1{\cdot}733\ (\kappa),$$

which will restore to the western coast of the Malayan Peninsula and to the eastern coast of Cochin-China the length they had lost under Ptolemy's manipulation, and make them at once recognizable. The above correction is not sufficient, however, for the upper portion of the Gulf of Siām, the

coast of which, Ptolemy thought, was running parallel to the equator, wherefore he neglected to show its deep incavation northwards. As a result of this, **Pagrasa** and **Samarade** are displaced right into the middle of the Gulf. This purely local error, due entirely to lack of accurate information as to the latitude of those towns, must be corrected as shown in the map; and one will then at once recognize in **Pagrasa** and **Samarade** the towns of KRAT (Kraṣ or Krāṣa) and ŚYĀMA-RASHṬRA (or Sāma-raṭṭhē), better known as *Srī Vijaya Rājadhānī*, the most ancient capital of lower Siām.

Formula ($\kappa$) will furnish us with a satisfactory proof of its accuracy when tested in the determination of the position in latitude of **Berabai**. The difference in latitude between the latter place and **Akadra** is:

$$6° - 4° 45' = 1° 15' \text{ Ptol.}$$

This multiplied by ($\kappa$) becomes $1° 15' \times 1{\cdot}733 = 2° 10'$, which, added to the true latitude of **Akadra**, gives us—

$$10° 22' + 2° 10' = 12° 32' \text{ true N. lat.},$$

which is, within 5', the latitude of MERGUI (real latitude 12° 27'). This place becomes, therefore, unmistakably identical with Ptolemy's **Berabai**; and the close similarity between the two names confirms that identity.

*The Islands.*—It remains now to broach the most difficult subject of the islands, one perhaps that will never be satisfactorily solved, at least so far as the islands in the Gulf of Bengal are concerned. With regard to those east and west of Sumatra, and to the latter island itself, I believe there is reason to be satisfied that they, as will be shown by a look at the map, have been successfully identified. But as to the former, there is hardly anything that can guide us in forming an estimate of the amount of Ptolemy's error. However, I made an attempt at their identification on the assumption that Ptolemy reckoned their position in reference to the coast of Coromandel and Ceylon; this seems natural, as the ships trading between those coasts and Further India would touch at them on their way before reaching either

the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra. I therefore tried to fix them in longitude by dividing the space between Ceylon and the meridian of Cape **Takola** in proportion to their difference of longitudes as given by Ptolemy. Their latitude was established: for the northern ones, in relation to the difference of latitudes between the River **Maisolos** (Godāvarī) and **Poduke** (Pondichery); and for the southern, in reference to the latitude of places in Ceylon.

With regard to the three groups of islands to the west of Sumatra, the same process was adopted only so far as it was necessary to establish their longitudes; the latitudes having been left to follow the law of all other places situated south of the parallel of **Akadra**.

Of course, all these islands were very little known in Ptolemy's time; hence the great error in estimating their position.

*Identification of Ptolemy's places on the Chinese Coast.*— I may now conclude this review of the methods of identification pursued with a few words in explanation of the reason why I decided to swing the farther coast-line of Ptolemy's **Magnus Sinus** round the Lui-chau peninsula taken as a pivot, until it came in juxtaposition with the coast of China, instead of allowing it to remain in the traditional position assigned to it by our geographer, and from which none of his commentators and elucidators ever dared to remove it. Evidently I must have arguments for justifying this desecration of the work of our eminently classic geographer. As a matter of fact, my justification rests upon but one single argument, sufficient though, I think, to meet all criticism; and this is, that when the farthest coast of the **Magnus Sinus** is mapped down in the traditional position, *but with its latitudes uniformly corrected according to the formula for places lying northwards of the parallel of* **Temala**, and then projected upwards as shown in the map, all its gulfs, rivers, and towns will be found to coincide, or nearly so, with gulfs, rivers, and towns of similar names on the coast of China. When the names are not similar in pronunciation, the meaning conveyed

by the two names in each case is identical. This ought to convince us sufficiently that the coast of China was meant here by Ptolemy and no other. But how was he led to make it turn southwards? Certainly out of homage to the belief, so firmly and generally grounded among his contemporaries, that the coast of **Sinai** turned south, and then running parallel to the equator joined the coast of Africa at Cape **Prason**. Impressed with this belief, he mapped all distances from **Aspithra** onward in a southerly instead of in a north-easterly direction in order to fulfil the dictum of the philosophers of his time, and thus obtain an eastern limit to his *habitabilis* and to his **Green Sea**.

That this must have been what actually happened with him, is plainly shown by a look at our map. As regards the reason why I selected Lui-chau as a pivot on which to swing Ptolemy's coast of **Sinai** upwards, it is because I discovered that this was really Ptolemy's **Aspithra**. *Ho-p'o* (in Chinese) or *Hiêp-p'ô* (in Annamite pronunciation) was, in fact, the ancient name of Lui-chau and of the whole of the homonymous peninsula, as I will show in the illustrative notes of the next section; and any tyro in philology will see that *Ho-p'o* and **Aspithra** are mere transliterations the one of the other. This striking identification of Ptolemy's extreme station to the east of the Tonkin Gulf—his **Magnus Sinus**—enables us to know exactly where the distortion of his coast of **Sinai** commences, and thus to correct it by bending the coast-line back to its true position as shown in the map.

With this the rectification of the main features of Ptolemy's geography of Further India is complete; and it will now appear how it would have been next to impossible to identify any of his stations in that region without having previously restored the principal among them to their true position. The errors and displacements detected not being uniform all over that zone, the uselessness and impossibility of a general formula that may serve as a panacea for so many different evils, becomes at once apparent. The reason of our success lies, therefore, in

having broken off for once with the old system of treating Ptolemy's work as if it had been the result of a regular trigonometrical survey of the regions in question, in which the only defect was bad mapping due to errors of projection and errors of scale by having underestimated the length of equatorial degrees and misplaced his prime meridian and equator.

It is to be hoped that with the above explanations and the map that accompanies them, our process of elucidation of this portion of Ptolemy's geography will be easily understood, and recognized to be the only practicable and correct one, at least in its main lines. Of course it would be too much to expect intermediate stations to fit in exactly in the place they should occupy; but it will be seen that the majority of them come within a degree or so of their true position; a result, I think, that ought to satisfy the most exigent and pedantic of Ptolemy's critics.

The map was drawn on the plane method, and not according to Mercator's system, the chief object being, not to preserve the real shape of islands and continents, but to render the numerous graphical corrections to Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes easier of application and the more clearly understood. Thanks to the introduction of coloured outlines to represent Ptolemy's geographical features, and of particular contrivances to show the position of his stations as resulting from his data, and the direction in which the corresponding real stations are to be found when there is an error in the former, it is hoped that a clear graphical representation of what Ptolemy's geography is in comparison with what it ought to be, has thus been presented which will enable the reader to form at a glance a judgment and estimate of the differences between the two. For those who desire to verify the position of Ptolemy's stations as laid down in my map, I append tables giving the names and co-ordinates of each as transmitted to us by the great Alexandrian geographer, together with their positions corrected from calculation, and the actual stations corresponding to them whenever they could be identified.

## Art. XXI.—*Note on the Van Inscriptions.* By K. J. Basmadjian.

### The word 𒀀𒇷𒌋𒁹 𒌋𒀀 (A-LI-E).

Since the commencement of Cuneiform studies in Europe attention has been paid to Armenian or Vannic inscriptions; and, as is well known, it was the unfortunate Schulz who first copied and collected the inscriptions of Van. These copies, full of faults, were those on which scholars commenced their Vannic studies. After Mordtmann, Robert, and F. Lenormant, Professor Sayce deciphered and published as far as possible, his own and his predecessor's researches.

Professor Sayce has rendered a great service to science by comparing the copies made by Schulz with those of Layard, Deyrolle, and others. Later on he corrected some mistakes in consequence of the observations of D. H. Müller and S. Guyard. The latter had remarked amongst other things on the decipherment of the word 𒀀𒇷𒌋𒁹 𒌋𒀀 (A-LI-E), which Professor Sayce read A-da-E; but the meaning of this word remains the same as it was at the beginning of the discoveries, that is to say, "he says." At the commencement of almost all kinds of inscriptions, whether Assyro-Babylonian or Susan, whether Median or Akhaemenian, there is a general formula, such as 𒀀𒇷𒌋𒁹 𒌋𒀀 𒁹 X . . . amongst the Assyro-Babylonians, 𒌋𒁹𒌋𒀀 𒁹 X . . . amongst the Susans and Medes, 𒁹 𒀀 𒀀 𒌋𒀀 𒁹 X . . .

amongst the Akhaemenians, etc. This formula does not exist in Armenian inscriptions; but inasmuch as we find amongst the Assyro-Babylonians the personal pronoun *anaku* used at the end of sentences, and some scholars affirm that the Urardho-Nairians have borrowed their system of writing from the Assyrians, we arrive at this conclusion, that the word A-LI-E of Armenian inscriptions has the same value as the personal pronoun *anaku* of the Assyro-Babylonians, the *u* of the Susans and Medes, and the *adam* of the Akhaemenians, which signify '*I.*' Then we must translate this passage: [illegible] X [illegible] X ([illegible] *Argištiš, alie, ḥaubi* [illegible] X, [illegible] X) = "I, Argistis, have conquered the country of X, the town of X," as we found: [illegible] X [illegible] X [illegible] X (*Anaku,* [illegible] X, *akšud mat* X, *alu* X). In support of this opinion we here give some examples, comparing the Vannic formulae with that of the Babylonians.

| VANNIC. | BABYLONIAN. |
|---|---|
| I. | I. |
| *Menuani Išpuinieḥi,* | *Hammurabi.* |
| *erilaš*[1] *taraie,* | *šar dannu,* |
| *erilaš alsuini,* | *šar Babilu,* |
| *erilaš ebanaue*[2] *Biaina(u)e,* | *šar muštešmi* |
| *alusi paumri*[3] *Dhušpae.* | *kibratim arbaim* |
| *Menuaš Išpu(i)niḥiniš,* | . . . . . |
| A-LI-E, . . . [4] | A-NA-KU. |
| (Establishment?) of Menuas, of Ispuinis, the powerful king, the great king, king of the country of the Biaina, prince of Tuspa. I, Menuas, of Ispuinis, . | I, Hammurabi, the powerful king, the king of Babylonia, the king who has made himself obeyed in the four regions. |

| REMARKS. |
| --- |
| tury, ruled North China? |
| n epics. From **Khaurana** = Chara-nor |

# TABLE X.

## Ptolemy's Names of Regions, Peoples, &c. Tribes.

| Ptolemy's Names. | | Corresponding Territory on Modern Maps. | Identifications. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. SCYTHIA BEYOND THE IMAOS | | | | |
| Scythai | In the northern parts | = Eastern Turkestan and part of Northern T[illegible] | | |
| Imaeoi Scythai | Below the preceding | Kingdom | | |
| Otii | After the preceding | Districts of Hamakia, Pidikan, and Aksu | Hippophagi of classical authors | |
| N LAND | Below the territory of | The country about Lake Lob, | From Asmaia = Hamakia (see No. 1) | |
| Scythai | In the territory below | The country below Khoten and Lake Lob, | (The Khitai, or Khitai, from later on, in | |
| A LAND | | by Ptolemy? | | |
| Imaeoi Scythai | Below Akkora land, | Northern Tibet about lakes Chaka-nor and T[illegible] | Probably the Kiuen and Northern Kiuen-lun of | |
| | | | lake (see No. 31). | |
| II. SERIKE | To the east of Scythia | = Inner Mongolia. | | From Khataian = Chata-nor |
| | On slopes and summ[illegible] | Country north of the desert of Gobi | | (Huns, or Hiung-nu?) |
| Tribes | Above the preceding | Territory east of Hami and about | | Conquer Kokbun, |
| | Between the Asmiraia | Territory north of Hami [Barkul] | | |
| | Below the Syrmatai | Territory south of Hami, down | | From Damas = Hami |
| Pitidai | Territory | Territory south of Sole lake, | | From Pisla or Pi[illegible] |
| | Drive the | Territory between Tsai-tsang | | From Sirkhetai |
| | Further | Outer Mongolia | | From Khi[illegible] |
| IA COUNTRY | Below | Country of the Ortous, or Ordos | | From |
| | | Country of the Eleuths, from | | |
| | | Country about the northern | | |
| | | Northern Mongol, below | | |
| | | [illegible] | | |
| | | District of Kuch[illegible] | | |
| | | District of Turfan in Kwei-chow | | |
| | | Western Tibesan, south of King- | | |
| | | Eastern Tibesan and northern T[illegible] | | |
| | | District of Pe'ch or Pa'ch, | | |
| | | Tenkit, about Hami and Aratur | | |
| | | Upper Hsi-ning valley, Leang | | |
| | | Hsing-kh river | | |
| | | Sifan and the upper portion of its | | |
| | | Coasts of Arasan, Tenkit, and of the | | |
| ighogal Aithiopes | Flits-eating Aithi | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | Province between Kwangsi and Kwei-chow | Probably Miao-tsze tribes of northern | |
| | | Kwngsi. Somastikai = hot water pe | Le. "the three Miaos," superiors of | |
| | | the present Miao-tsze? | | |
| | | Territory to the north-west of Canton | | |
| | | Li-gu's district, now province of Lieh-kwang | | |
| | | Southern Kwang-tung province | | |
| | | Coast of China, and Formosa or Aithiopia | | |
| IV. EASTERN INDIA | | | | |
| | Have the towns of | Sutt, Ulterior Tibet, upper Sutlej river | | Sangoni from Gang- |
| | Below the preceding | Gandak valley | | |
| | Occupy the country | Bengal | | |
| | Between Imaia and | | | |
| | Below the preceding | | | |
| | | | | |
| or Besatai | To the north | Silhet and Kachar | | People of Silhet and |
| | to produce | | | |
| | sandalwood | | | |
| | Beyond the | Coast of Chittagong | | |
| | to the Tuk | = ARAKAN | | |
| V. ARGYRA | The country | | | |
| VI. BURMA AND GOLD COUNTRY | Xaxet joins | Irawadi valley | | Ptolemy's "Gold Country" [illegible] |
| | A race of | | | |
| | pan-complexioned | Western and Lower Burma | | |
| | of Khryse Khers | = GULF OF MARTABAN | | |
| VII. BARABAIC GULF | From Cape Tamala to | Pegu and Martaban districts | | |
| | Consisted on the Sarabai | | | |
| VIII. THE GOLDEN CHERSONESE | (Xaxet Xaxetsee) | = THE MALAY PENINSULA | | |

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11.

*ni Argištiḫi,*
*raie,*
*suini,*
*anaue Biainaue,*
*alusi paumri Dhušpa.*
*Sarduriš*, A-LI-E, . . . [5]

*Nabukudurru*
*šar Babilu, . . .*
*paliḫ Bel Beli, . .*
*abal kini ša Nabupal*
*šar Babilu,*
A-NA-KU.

(Establishment?) of Sarduris, of Argistis, the powerful king, the great king, the king of the country of the Biaina, the prince of Tuspa. I, Sarduris, . . .

I, Nabuchodorosor, kin
Babylon, . . . worshipper
the God of gods, . . . elde
son of Nabupalasar, king
Babylon.

The repetition of the word king in the examples above is not foreign to other inscriptions used first person of the personal pronoun (I). Thus it at the commencement of the great Susan insc belonging to Sutruk-Nakhuntē, which is also the which bears the most striking resemblance to th system.

VANNIC.

*Sardurini Argištiḫi,*
*erilaš taraie,*
*erilaš alsuini,*
*erilaš ebanaue Biainaue,*
*alusi paumri Čušpa.*
*Sarduriš*, A-LI-E, . . .

SUSAN

*U Sutruk-Nahhun*
*luduš*
*an'in šušinak*
*gik libak*
*gik šunkik anzan Šuš*
*an'in šušinak . . .*
*U Sutruk-Nahhunte*

Idem.

"I am Sutruk-Nakhun
son of Halludus, the Su
king, the powerful lord,
lord who rules over the pl
of Susa. Susan king . . .
am Sutruk-Nakhunte . . .'

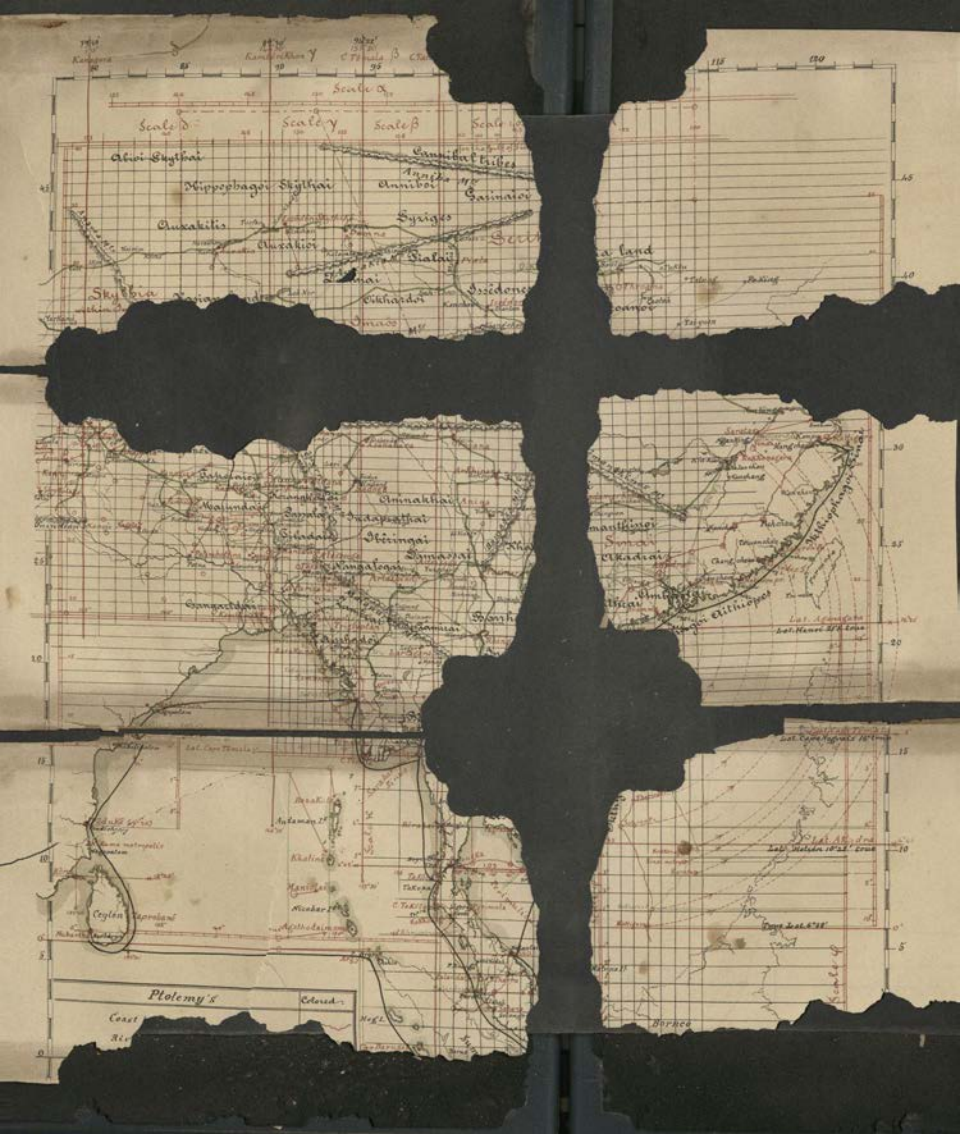
at the formula "Edicit X re
ng the Akhaemenians, we will repl
of the Akhaemenians commences wit
and if we do not know the commence
ty of the Urardhians, we know by the insc
th-Pileser I (1123 B.C.[7]), that the king
xisted during the reign of this king, consequently
lae used by the Akhaemenians cannot have been
ed by the Urardhians. (2nd) As we have shown
ove, the first person of the personal pronoun always exists
mongst the Assyro-Babylonians, the Susans, the Medes,
nd even the Akhaemenians; if the last-named employ the
rmula "edicit X rex," it is the continuation of the formula
ego X rex." Then it follows that there existed a word
ngst the Urardho-Nairians designating the first person
is pronoun, and, consulting all the Vannic inscriptions,
not find a word which fits in better than A-LI-E,
s always preceded by expressions in the first person.
we have consulted all the Vannic inscriptions, and
e found the word A-LI-E mentioned seventy-eight
sentences of the first person, and only three times[8]
of the third person, which are doubtless errors
ibes.

## Notes.

*erilaš*, the ideogram of the "king" (𒌋𒌋), according
the recent discovery of my learned Professor of
riology at the École des Hautes Études, the
. P. Scheil, in his "Inscription vannique de
Melasgert" in the Rec. trav. Egypt. et Ass., xviii.

Instead of 𒀀, because we also find 𒀀 *e-ba-ni*, 𒀀 *e-ba-na*,
𒀀 *e-ba-ni-na-u-e*.

We find in the inscription of Melasgert, as Professor
Scheil has shown, 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *Dhu-uš-pa-a pa-a dup-ri* instead
of 𒁹𒁹𒁹 *Dhušpa* 𒁹𒁹𒁹, which is a special form for this


Scale α
Scale β
Scale γ
Scale δ
Scale ε
Alioi Skythai
Hippophagoi Skythai
Auxakitis
Auxakioi
Annibal tribes
Annibi
Gazinaioi
Syriges
Skythia
Ommaos
Ommakhai
Indaprasthai
Oberingai
Damassai
Ganga
Ceylon
Taprobani
Ptolemy's
Colored
Coast
Borneo
Lat. Cape Comorin
Lat. Agangaba
Lat. Akadra
Akadrai
Ambrai
Aithiopes
Khalinai
Manilai
Nicobar Is.
Andaman Is.
Sumatra
Java
Scale

| No. of Station | Name of Ptolemy's Stations. | Ptolemy's | Latitude. Formula of correction applied. | Latitude. Rectified position, N. | Approximate positions to modern Names. | Latitude N. | Longitude E. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [illegible] Skythike | 139° — | | 40° 33' | Pekhan | 39° 55' | 43° 7' | |
| | [illegible] | 140° — | | 42° 7' | Rasht | 37° 20' | 49° 40' | |
| | [illegible]rta | 140° — | | 42° 34' | Chaou-sar lake, west or | 37° 11' | 47° 41' | On route from Ourchee to R'hasa. |
| | [illegible]ambara | 140° — | | 39° 7' | | 36° 41' | 47° 41' | On route from Tassuji to R'hasa. |
| | Eiseon | 140° — | | 39° 7' | Shahrudh | 36° 25' | 54° 57' | |
| | Selenopolis | 140° — | | 39° 49' | Dayut, east of R'hasa | 35° 30' | 49° 41' | |
| | Sadagra | 141° 30' | | 41° 13' | Khojahan, or Pashi-Zanda | 35° 12' | 51° 13' | |
| | Mandistis or Mandana | 141° 30' | | 39° 49' | Hashing | 35° 6' | 49° 49' | |
| | Aisanaga | 142° — | | 39° 7' | Kangharuk | 34° 41' | 51° 49' | |
| | Tosalat, metropolis | 142° — | | 39° 49' | Pyrahpoor ? (or some place be | 34° 41' | 51° 49' | |
| | Tagrus | 142° 30' | | 39° 49' | Silliar (Silliah) | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Parisare | 142° — | | 41° 7' | Some place on the Sarwek ri | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | The Sohara of the Middle Ages. |
| | Tetrapyrgos or Trilingon | 144° — | | 41° 7' | Sulliman, a little to the S. W | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | SARESKERIN | 146° 30' | | 41° 7' | Hills east of Chilingong ? | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Pentapolis | 146° — | | 39° 49' | Bandaligh (where) | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Evetaleia (river mouth) | 147° — | | 41° 7' | Chilingong, or some place | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Bochaire, a port | 147° 30' | | 41° 34' | West river, behind Kerend | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | | | | 39° 49' | Arduan, ancient capital | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Tokosanna river (mouth) | 148° — | | 39° 34' | Kalashur (Arduan river) at | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Sinchra | 148° 30' | | 41° 27' | Tumbi-sare (Kamel), or S | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Saiba river (mouth) | 148° 30' | | 41° 42' | Aang river, or some place a | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Saila | 148° 30' | | 41° — | Sendiway (Sendiwa) | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Berakana | 149° 30' | | 41° 34' | Gez (or else Pusehtuh, th | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Tomala river (mouth) | 150° 30' | | 41° 12' | Sawala river at Diamond h | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | Tomala city | 150° 30' | | 41° 56' | Sila-saye (Sangila ?), or vi | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |
| | CAPE [beyond] TIMALA | 150° 30' | | 40° — | Cape Negrais (Cape Sangil | 34° 32' | 50° 49' | |

Note.—All stations printed in capitals belong

## TABLE II

Stations between the Meridi[an] 137° 30' Ptol. = 94° 22' E. Greenwich [illegible] (longitude 158° 49' Ptol. = 98° [illegible]ich, true).

| No. of Station | Name of Ptolemy's Stations. | Ptolemy's | Latitude. Formula of correction applied. | Latitude. Rectified position, N. | Approximate positions to modern Names. | Latitude N. | Longitude E. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Arimatha | 138° 30' | | 34° 49' | Tehrahi, above Rann (Sa | 36° 25' | 52° 43' | The Mare of Ortous mounts. |
| | Maiaura or Maiabara, metropolis | 138° — | | 34° 42' | Prome | 18° 49' | 95° 14' | From Maurya or Mayora, the dynasty reigning at Prome. |
| | Sabara | 139° 30' | | 34° 28' | Sariem (Thee-dong, Sariu | 37° 49' | 52° 43' | The local correction here consisted in shifting from platform westward of a quantity equal to the displacement of Cape Timala eastwards (= 4 about 2° long.). |
| | Bautaga, a mart | 139° — | | 34° 42' | Tehrahi (Saahkaseeh, or t | 36° 25' | 52° 43' | |
| | Bautaga (river mouth) | 139° — | | 34° 28' | Sabrina river (mouth) | 37° 49' | 52° 43' | |

TAB

...tions West of the Meridian of **Kamberkhan** (...' 30" E. of Greenwich, true).

| No. of Index. | Name of Pehlevi's Station. | Longitude. Pehlevi's. | Latitude. Pehlevi's. | Formula of correction applied. | Rectified position. N. | | Observations. | Approximate position of the ... in modern ... Name. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Asaxiis | 142° ... | 42° 42' | (A) + 0·5 | 41° 1' | | Hamshen | Hatsikut | |
| 2 | LITHINOS PYRGOS (Pass Town) | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 1' | | Khotsa or Ilchi | Khotsa | |
| 3 | Sotia | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 42° 15' | | Childer Ghel lake (eastern arm) | Childer Ghel lake | |
| 4 | Sapeira | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 42° 15' | | Arsar place to the east of Jalinga | — | |
| 5 | Sinnea | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 42° 1' | | Thonk-Jalinga? | — | |
| 6 | Heerta | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 57' | | Thonk-Jalinga, N.W. of Kalvan-dhe | Thok Jalinga | |
| 7 | Khappha | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 54' | | Kalvandhe-ghel lake (name to the S. of) | Tirmo-gorl | |
| 8 | Gesa | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 19' | | Tangseng, Shighl, or Dolu? | — | |
| 9 | MARDARA | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 21' | | Gushgik (written also Gushu and Gushgik) | Tangseng | |
| 10 | Pasaxia | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 43' | | Gar, or river in its neighbourhood | Garbig | |
| 11 | Kasta | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 42° — | | Hayik or Haikey (or Kargin)? | Gar | |
| 12 | Sarsaphranaxia | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 41° 32' | | Sevik? | Hevik | |
| 13 | SANNARA | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 42' | | Sevingar (Kadrakar, or Sakrakar) | Sevik | |
| 14 | Pereskra | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 44' | | Pakrayal, on Bulgan, below Sevingar | Sevingar | |
| 15 | Sambalaka (?) | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 19' | | Sambal, to the east of Hevik | Sakrabal | |
| 16 | SAMARDA | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 37' | | Kilsyrtskaya (Kasagar) | Sambal | |
| 17 | Sagala | 139° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 34' | | Sikaka or Sagaka (Gaska or Asaka) | Kasagi | |
| 18 | Kasagrae | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 34' | | Saska (or Chirambala) | Gaska | |
| 19 | Sambalaka (II) | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 44' | | Khatsanoola, a city of the Massilæ on the Gaschik river | Chaskhala | |
| 20 | Saraita | 140° 30' | 42° ... | | 39° 32' | | Gorbika or other place on Lake Gaschik | Satsikang | |
| 21 | Pallacothra | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 34' | | Pitalgatsy (Pitsa) | Gorbika | |
| 22 | Kassida | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 44' | | Skaska, below Sisgatsa (S. and N.) | Pitsa | |
| 23 | Sisasgara | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 44' | | Tanaskaka, or Pasaskha (S. and N.) | Tiaska | |
| 24 | Ezrygasa | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 34' | | Gorskia, or perhaps Gorskgatsy (?) | Sasa | |
| 25 | Kendata | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 19' | | Khatsang on Nagal | Gundalgar | |
| 26 | Tamalitea | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 7' | | Kayasal; if not, Tanskia? (Tanskia) | Khaleby | |
| 27 | Athanagoras | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 19' | | Gisargrae on the Tiska gr. (Gisa) | Kajasthal | |
| 28 | Sanga Regia | 140° ... | 42° ... | | 39° 19' | | At Jasuva or somewhat to the west | Gisargrae | |
| | | | | | | | | Jasua | |

Note.—All stations printed in capitals belong to the base meridian, which is the ... table is that of the "Roman ...

| | PTOLONY'S STATIONS. | Ptolemy's. | Approximate positions in modern maps. Name. | Long. E. Greenw. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ... ... ... ... ... | 170° — | | | |
| | ... ... ... ... ... | 174° 40′ | | | |
| | or Rhesakla ... ... ... ... | 167° 40′ | | | |
| | ... ... ... ... ... | 171° 20 | | | |
| | ... ... ... ... ... | 174° — | | | |
| | Sera, metropolis ... ... ... ... | 177° — | | | |
| 105 | Solana ... ... ... ... ... | 169° — | | | |
| 106 | Ursthenai ... ... ... ... | 170° — | | | |
| 107 | Rhadamarkotta ... ... ... ... | 172° — | | | |
| 108 | Kimara ... ... ... ... ... | 170° — | | | |
| 109 | Sipitheris or Sitteberis ... ... ... ... | 170° — | | | |
| 110 | Agimatha ... ... ... ... | 170° 40 | | | |
| 111 | Tomara ... ... ... ... ... | 172° — | | | |
| 112 | End Great Gulf towards Sinai ... ... | 173° | | | |
| 113 | Serus river (mouth) ... ... ... ... | 171° | | | |
| 114 | AGANAGARA ... ... ... ... ... | 169° | | | |
| 115 | Sinde ... ... ... ... ... | 167° | | | |
| 116 | Dorias river (mouth) ... ... ... | 168° | | | |
| 117 | Pagrasa ... ... ... ... ... | 167° | | | |
| 118 | Kattatha, metropolis ... ... ... ... | 167° | | | |
| 119 | Dosaza river (mouth) ... ... ... ... | 167° | | | |
| 120 | Thinaza ... ... ... ... ... | 167° — | | | |
| 121 | Belonga, metropolis ... ... ... ... | 167° 20 | | | |
| 122 | Thagora ... ... ... ... ... ... | 168° — | | | |
| 123 | Zabai ... ... ... ... ... ... | 168° 40 | | | |
| 124 | Great Cape, where the Great Gulf (Magnus Sinus) begins ... ... ... ... | 169° 30 | | | |
| 125 | Satyrus islands, centre ... ... ... ... | 171° — | | | |
| 126 | Iabadios island, { western limit ... ... lying between { eastern limit ... ... | 167° — 168° — | | | |
| 127 | Argyre, its capital, in the extreme west of it | — | | | |
| 128 | Akadra ... ... ... ... ... ... | 178° 20 | | | |
| 129 | Aspithra river (mouth) ... ... ... ... | 174° — | | | |
| 130 | Aspithra, town ... ... ... ... ... | 178° — | | | |
| | COAST OF SINAI. | | | | |
| 131 | Brahma ... ... ... ... ... | 177° — | | | |
| 132 | Ambastæ river (mouth) ... ... ... | 176° — | | | |
| 133 | Rhabana ... ... ... ... ... | 177° — | | | |
| 134 | Saines river (mouth) ... ... ... ... | 176° 20 | | | |
| 135 | Southern Cape ... ... ... ... ... | 178° 15 | | | |
| 136 | Wild Beast Gulf (head of) ... ... ... ... | 176° — | | | |
| 137 | Cape of Satyrs ... ... ... ... ... | 178° — | | | |
| 138 | Kottiaris river (mouth) ... ... ... ... | 177° 20 | | | |
| | Kottigara, port of Sinai ... ... ... ... | 177° — | | | |
| | ...nagara ... ... ... ... ... | 179° 30 | | | |
| | ... ... ... ... ... ... | 180° 30 | | | |
| | Thinai, metropolis ... ... ... | 180° 40 | | | |

| Name. | Long. E. Greenw. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Ding-ha ... ... | 106° 15′ | |
| Bastu ... ... | 109° 25 | |
| Tsing-yuen ... | 104° 40′ | |
| Fung-tsiang ... | 107° 40′ | |
| Si-ngan-fu ... | 109° 15′ | |
| Honan-fu ... | 112° 45′ | Loh-yang is somewhat to the west of this position. |
| Si-ho-hien ... | 105° 40′ | A transliteration of *Si-hsiang?* |
| Tung-liang ... | 106° 30′ | |
| Shihchin ... ... | 108° 48′ | |
| Hingt ... ... | 105° 35′ | |
| Ta'-ching ... | 106° 10′ | The same position being given for both these towns, there may be an error. |
| Ning-ming ... | 107° 14′ | |
| Tai-ping ... ... | 107° 2 | |
| Kin-chan ... ... | 108° 4 | |
| Si-yu river (mouth) | 108° 2 | |
| Hanoi ... ... | 105° 5 | Ia-noi seems to be an Annamite transliteration of the Sanskrit Agra-nagara. |
| Sontay ... ... | 105° | |
| Hai-p'hong estuary (mouth) | 106° | |
| Pin-khe ... ... | 105° | |
| Haidinh ... ... | 102° | |
| Dahan river ... | 107° | |
| Tourane ... ... | 108° | e displacement of the outline of this coast in longitude has been graphically rectified in the map. |
| Canh-vanh Cha-ban | 109° | |
| Nhatrang bay ... | 109° | |
| Baria ... ... | 107° | |
| Ba-dong ... ... | 106° 3 | |
| — | 107° 1 | |
| — | — | |
| — | — | |
| — | — | |
| Shan-king ... | 112° 2 | S.W. point of Sumatra. |
| Pakhoi ... ... | 109° | |
| Lai-chau ... | 110° — | Ho-p'o (in Chinese) and Hiép-p'o (in Annamese) = Aspithra. |
| — | 112° 30 | |
| — | 113° 50 | Rhabana may be also a transliteration of *Ha-mau* = "Boiea Tigris," the name of the principal embouchure of the Canton river. |
| Canton ... ... | — | |
| — | — | |
| — | — | |
| Amoy ... ... | — | Serus is probably a transliteration of *Si-po.* |
| — | — | |
| Hangchau river (mouth) ... | — | |
| Kan-pu ... ... | — | |
| Kin-kiang ... | — | |
| Suchau ... ... | — | Kokkonagara is a transliteration of Kin-kiang Cf. Selela, i.e. Suchau, on the Ta-kiang, N. 30°. Saletha and Sarata may, however, represent *Su-ma(n)a*, a probable Sanskrit transliteration of Su-chau. |
| Nanking ... ... | — | |

| . of ter. | Name of Ptolemy's Stations. | Longitude. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ptolemy's. | Formula of correction applied. |
| 163 | **Anniba**, whose extremities lie in ... ... | { 153° — 171° — | ($\gamma$) = 0·45 ($\alpha$) = 0· |
| 164 | **Auxakia**, of which the extremities lie in ... | { 149° — 165° — | ($\gamma$) = ($\alpha$) = 0 |
| 165 | **Kasia** { western portion... ... ... ... eastern portion .. ... ... ... | { 152° — 162° — { 171° — | ($\gamma$) = 0 ($\alpha$) = 0 ,, |
| 166 | **Asmiraia** ... ... ... ... ... | { 167° — 174° — | ,, ,, |
| 167 | **Thagoron**, mount ... ... ... ... | 170° — | |
| 168 | **Emodos** and **Serika** ... ... ... ... | { 153° — 165° — | ($\gamma$) ($\alpha$) = |
| 169 | **Ottorokorrha** ... ... ... ... ... | { 169° — 176° — | ,, ,, |
| 170 | **Bepyrrhos** ... ... ... ... ... | { 148° — 154° — | ($\gamma$) = 0·45 ,, |
| 171 | **Maiandros** ... ... ... ... ... | { 152° — 160° — | ,, ($\alpha$) = 0·725 |
| 172 | **Damassa** or **Dobassa** ... ... ... ... | { 162° — 166° — | ,, ,, |
| 173 | **Semanthinos** ... ... ... ... ... | { 170° — 180° — | ,, ,, |

name of a town; therefore we can read by re-uniting them, *padupri*, or better *paumri*.

[4] Cf. Schulz, xiii, xiv, and xv, 4–10; Sayce, xx.

[5] Cf. Mühlbach (Monatsb. Verh. Gesellschaft. Erd. zu Berlin, 1840, pp. 70–75, ll. 32–34); Sayce, L.

[6] Transcription and translation of my illustrious Professor of Assyriology at the Collège de France, M. J. Oppert.

According to the Inscription of Bavian; but, according to M. Oppert, this character has not been verified, and must be near to 1230 B.C.

[8] Cf. Schulz, xvi, xl, and xli.

## Art. XXII.—*Buddha's Quotation of a Gāthā by Sanatkumāra.*

By Georg Bühler.

In the introduction to his edition and translation of the Madhura Sutta (J.R.A.S. 1894, p. 341 ff.) Mr. R. Chalmers calls attention to the Gāthā concerning the pre-eminence of the Kṣatriyas, which the Buddha quotes at the end of the Ambaṭṭha Sutta and elsewhere with great approval, and attributes to the Bramhā Sanaṃkumāra, the Sanatkumāra of the Brahmanical literature, who is described both as a teacher of the Yogaśāstra and as one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, or as identical with Skanda. Mr. Chalmers thinks that the verse can hardly be a concoction of the Buddhists, as the exposure of such a forgery would have been inevitable. On the other hand, he believes that with the growing pretensions of the Brahmans such an utterance might have easily dropped out of the official recensions of the Brahmanical texts. But he expresses the hope that the verse may be discovered in Sanskrit, to the credit both of the Buddha and of the Brahmans.

The quotation struck me very much, when I read the Gāthā soon after the publication of the Dīgha Nikāya, and it struck me, like Mr. Chalmers, that it very probably might be a translation or adaptation of some Sanskrit verse. For it seemed to me unlikely that a Buddhist forger would attribute his own sentiments to a not very prominent demi-god or sage like Sanatkumāra. I have since been looking for the verse in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, where, as well as in other post-Vedic works, Sanatkumāra's name occurs.

The search has not been altogether barren of result. For I have found in the Mahābhārata, iii, chapter 185 (Bombay

edition),[1] a legend according to which Sanatkumāra stands up for royal supremacy, and declares a king to be best among all men and equal to the gods.

The story says that the sage Atri went to a horse-sacrifice, offered by King Vainya, and being anxious to obtain money, praised him with the following verse (13[b], 14[a]):—

"Blessed art thou, O king, and lord on earth; thou art the foremost protector of men! The crowds of the sages praise thee; thou alone art versed in the sacred law!"

This laudation greatly incensed the sage Gautama, who scolded Atri in the most approved theological style, and told him that Mahendra, the lord of created beings, alone held the first place in this world. Atri retorted that the king was the *vidhātā*, 'the supreme ruler of all,' and just like Indra. The dispute continued, and, growing loud, came to the ears of the other Munis who had assembled on the occasion of the sacrifice. After learning its cause, the sages ran to Sanatkumāra and asked him to settle the doubtful question. His decision was as follows, vv. 25–31:—

25. "The *Brahma* joined with the *Kṣatram*, and the *Kṣatram* joined with the *Brahma*, united, destroy all foes, just like fire and wind the forests."

26. "The king is indeed famed as Dharma (Yama) and as the lord of created beings, as Śakra (Indra) and Śukra, as Dhātṛ and Bṛhaspati."

27. "Who ought not to worship him who is exalted by such titles as lord of created beings (*prajāpati*), the greatly resplendent (*virāj*), emperor (*samrāj*), saviour of the earth (*kṣatriya*),[2] lord of the earth (*bhūpati*), and protector of men?"

28. "The king is also called the primeval cause (*purāyoni*), the victor in battle (*yudhājit*), the fearless one (*abhiyāḥ*),[3] the joyful one, Bhava, the guide to heaven, the swiftly victorious (*sahajit*), Viṣṇu."

[1] In Pratapchandra Ray's translation the chapter is numbered 184.

[2] In accordance with a popular derivation, *kṣāṃ trāyata iti kṣatriyaḥ*.

[3] Or, if *abhiyāḥ* be derived, not from *abhiyas*, but from *abhi-yā*, 'the assailant' or 'the watchman' (Nīlakaṇṭha).

29. "The origin of truth (*satyayoni*), acquainted with the past (*purāvid*), and the promoter of truth and law. Afraid of sin, the sages placed power in the Kṣatra." [1]

30. "As in heaven among the gods the Sun drives away the darkness by his brilliancy, even so the king completely removes sin on earth.

31. "Hence the pre-eminence (*pradhānatva*) of the king (is) in accordance with the authoritative teaching of the Śāstras; the second thesis is established, whereby it has been declared that the king (is supreme on earth)."

The end is, of course, that King Vainya, highly delighted with the decision, loads Atri with rich gifts, adding as his reason (v. 33)—"Because, O Brahman-sage, thou first didst call me the most excellent (*jyāyāṃsam*) among men in this (world), equal to all gods, and the best (*śreṣṭham*), therefore I will give," etc.

It is evident that a close affinity exists between the sentiments uttered by Sanatkumāra in this story, and the import of the Gāthā, which the Buddha is said to have declared to be "well sung, not ill sung" by the Bramhā Sanaṃkumāra. A Sanskrit version of the words—

*khattiyo seṭṭho jane tasmiṃ ye gottapaṭisārino |*
*vijjācaraṇasampanno so seṭṭho devamānuse ||*

"The kṣatriya is best among those men who record their Gotras; endowed with learning and virtue, he is best among gods and men"—might appropriately have found its place in Sanatkumāra's summing-up. It is, therefore, quite imaginable that such an equivalent may actually have occurred in some recension of the legend, known to the founder of Buddhism or to the early Buddhist authors. But it is also possible to assume, that the Gāthā is a Buddhist composition which briefly summarizes Sanatkumāra's views. Whichever of the two solutions may be preferred, the parallel passage of the Mahābhārata proves at any rate

[1] According to Baudhāyana, Dh. Sū. i, 18, 2, Brahma (the supreme self) gave this attribute to the Kṣatriyas.

that the Buddha's appeal to Sanatkumāra is not unfounded. Sanatkumāra's decision that the king holds the first place on earth, agrees with various passages of the Smṛti and the Śruti, which, contrary to the habitual self-exaltation of the Brahmans in their school-literature, admit the facts as they existed in the normal Hindu States.

Thus Gautama, in naming the two props of moral order in the world (Dh. Sū., viii, 1), places the king before the learned Brahman. Similarly the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Kāṭhaka[1] repeatedly acknowledge the precedence of the *kṣatra* or of a *mahārāja*. But there is no passage so emphatic on the subject as the story of the Mahābhārata, just discussed. It must, however, be noted that the Buddha goes somewhat beyond the point which Sanatkumāra declares to be established. The Brahmanical sage asserts the general pre-eminence of an anointed king; the Buddhist claims it for the whole military class, no doubt quite in accordance with the actual facts, but strictly speaking against the meaning of his authority. He would, of course, have been able to defend himself with the double use of the word *khattiya-kṣatriya*, which applies both specially to a ruling king and to a member of the dominant and military class in general. Another point, which strikes one particularly in connection with this quotation, is that it for once admits that a Brahmanical post-Vedic text does speak the truth. The legend in the Saṃyutta Nikāya, vol. i, p. 153 (Féer), according to which Sanaṃkumāra appeared to the Buddha on the bank of the Sappinī, near Rājagṛha, in order to reveal the Gāthā, seems to be intended to veil the fact that it is a quotation from a Brahmanical source.

[1] See Weber, "Indische Studien," vol. x, pp. 9, 26, 29, 30.

ART. XXIII.—*Some Early Babylonian Contracts or Legal Documents.* By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

THE large number of documents of a private nature found in Assyria and Babylonia makes it a fairly easy task to find out something about the every-day life of the people of those interesting districts, not only during later times, when the kings of the "later empire" ruled, but also during the period of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi (identified with Amraphel) belonged (2300 B.C. and the three succeeding centuries). As the recently published second part of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets* contains some very good inscriptions of this period, I have translated a few which will probably prove to be not uninteresting for such as study the manners, customs, laws, etc., of the ancient Semites.

Probably the most valuable text of the fifty-three published in the book is BU. 91-5-9, 296 (plate xxi). This inscription is a reaping contract, and the strange names which the contracting parties bear will probably receive due attention from philologists. What is also very noteworthy, however, is the style of the writing, which, in many cases, resembles the forms in use in Assyria— for Bab. or , Assyr. ; for Bab. , Assyr. ; for Bab. or (late) , Assyr. ;  for Bab. , Assyr. , "son";  for Bab. , Assyr. , etc. —in fact, one would say that the writing of this tablet was the predecessor of that used by the scribes of Tiglath-pileser I, 1120 B.C.

1. Bu. 91–5–9, 296.

Šiššet îmeri šei$^{m}$ ša
Ištar-ki-til-la mâr Te-ḫi-ib-til-la
3. Ki-bî-ia mâr Pa-li-ia
Ur-ḫi-ia mâr It-ḫi-ib-šarru û
I-ri-še-en-ni mâr It-ḫi-bu-si a-na
6. šalšet îmeri êḳli a-na e-zi-ti û
a-na na-še-e il-ku-u.
A-du-u Ištar-ki-til-la bal-tu
9. Ki-bi-ia, Ur-ḫi-ia, û
I-ri-še-en-ni šalšet îmeri êḳlē
i-zi-it i-na-aš-ši û i-na ma-ag-ra-at-ti
12. i-na-an-ti-in. Šum-ma Ki-bi-ia
šum-ma Ur-ḫi-ia û I-ri-še-en-ni
šalšet îmeri êḳli la i-zi-it
15. la i-na-aš-ši û la i-na ma-ag-ra-at-ti
la i-na-an-ti-in-nu (left-hand edge) û šei$^{m}$ ḫa-li-iḳ
išten ma-na kaspi išten ma-na ḫuraṣi
18. a-na Ištar-ki-til-la u-ma-al-lu-u
An-nu-u a-na an-ni-i$^{m}$
ma-ḫi-iṣ bu-ti.
21. Maḫar Aḫ-li-te-šub mâr Ta-i-še-en-ni
maḫar U-ku-ya mâr Gi-eš-ḫa-a-a
Edge. maḫar Še-el-lu mâr Pi-an-ti-ia (*or* Wa-an-ti-ia)
24. maḫar Ku-uš-šu mâr Ḫu-lu-uḳ-ḳa
maḫar Du-ra-ar-te-šub
Rev. mâr Gi-el-te-šub
27. maḫar Aḫ-li-ba-bu D.P. ḫa-za-an-nu
mâr Nu-ba-na-ni
maḫar Zi-ni mâr Ki-an-ni-bu dup-šar-ru$^{m}$

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30. Kunuk Zi-ni dup-šar-ru$^{m}$
Kunuk Ku-uš-šu. Kunuk U-ku-ya
Kunuk Du-ra-ar-te-šub. Kunuk Aḫ-li-te-šub
33. Kunuk Še-el-lu.

Left-hand edge.
Kunuk Aḫ-li-ba-bu D.P. ḫa-za-an-nu.

*Translation.*

6 homers grain of
Ištar-kitilla son of Teḫib-tilla.
Kibîa son of Palîa,
Urḫîa son of Itḫib-šarru, and
Irišenni son of Itḫibusi, for
3 homers, the field to reap and
to carry in, they have taken.
As long as Ištar-kitilla lives
Kibîa, Urḫîa, and
Irišenni 3 homers (from) the fields
will reap, will carry in, and in the barn
will place. If Kibîa,
if Urḫîa and Irišenni
the 3 homers of the field do not reap
do not carry in, and in the barn
do not place, and the wheat is destroyed,
1 mana of silver, 1 mana of gold
to Ištar-kitilla they shall fill.
One for the other
strikes the responsibility.
Before Aḫlitešub, son of Taišenni;
before Ukuya, son of Gešḫâa;
before Šellu, son of Piantîa (or Wantîa);
before Kuššu, son Ḫulukka;
before Durartešub
son of Giltešub;
before Aḫlibabu, the governor,
son of Nubanni;
before Zini, son of Kiannibu,[1] scribe.

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Seal of Zini, the scribe.
Seal of Kuššu. Seal of Ukuya.
Seal of Durartešub. Seal of Aḫlitešub.
Seal of Šellu.
Seal of Aḫlibabu, the governor.

[1] Or Ki-Nibu.

*Free Rendering.*

"(A field of) 6 homers of grain, belonging to Ištar-kitilla son of Teḫib-tilla. Kibîa son of Palîa, Urḫîa son of Itḫib-šarru, and Irîšenni son of Itḫibusi have taken 3 homers of the field to reap and to carry in. As long as Ištar-kitilla lives, Kibîa, Urḫîa, and Irišenni shall reap, carry in, and place in the barn the three homers of the field. If Kibîa, Urḫîa, and Irišenni do not reap, carry in, and place in the barn the 3 homers of the field, and the grain is destroyed, they shall pay one mana of silver or one mana of gold to Ištar-kitilla. Each takes the responsibility for the other."

[Here follow the names, and the impressions of the cylinder-seals, of seven witnesses.]

In the above transaction it is probable that the amount mentioned, 6 homers, represents the quantity of grain needed to sow the field, not the amount to be reaped from it. It is noteworthy that the present text agrees with the Assyrian contracts in the use of the *îmeru* or homer in calculating the extent of a field, the Babylonians using, on the other hand, a formula in which the grain was differently referred to, in connection with the *ammatu rabîtu* or "great cubit."

It is perhaps due to the foreign pronunciation of the contracting parties that *ana eziti* occurs in l. 6 for *ana eṣidi*, *izit* for *iṣidu* in ll. 11 and 14, and *inantin* and *inantinnu* in ll. 12 and 16 for *inandinu* or *inaddinu*, though in this last case the root intended may be *natānu* and not *nadānu*.

Of the original home of these foreigners there is hardly any question—they came from the north and north-west of Assyria. The names Aḫli-tešub (ll. 21 and 32) and Durar-tešub (ll. 25 and 32) son of Gel-tešub (l. 26), recall the names Kili-Tešub, ruler of Comagene, son of Kali-Tešub, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I (about 1120 B.C.), likewise Šadi-Tešub, son of Ḫattu-ḫi,[1] king of the city Urraḫinaš in

[1] As the character *ḫi* ( ) has the value of *šar*, there is just the possibility that *Ḫattu-šar* may be the true reading, suggesting a comparison with the name Khita-sira of the Egyptian inscriptions.

the same district, mentioned by the same Assyrian ruler. It is not impossible that the Gel-tešub of line 26 is another form of the name Kili-Tešub spoken of by Tiglath-pileser I.

The name Irišenni, in lines 5, 10, and 13, is almost certainly the same name as Erisinni, the Vannite, mentioned by Aššur-bani-apli, and the use of *s* for *š* seems to show a change in the pronunciation of these sibilants between 2000 and 650 B.C. A similar name to Irišenni is Taišenni in line 21. The name Gešḫâa in l. 21 is apparently gentilic, "he of Gešḫu," a town or district which I am unable to identify. The names Aḫli-tešub and Aḫli-babu (ll. 21, 27, 32, and 34) suggest comparison with the name Aḫlib-šir or Aḫlib-šir, on the cylinder-seal V.A. 518 of the Berlin Museum, concerning which see Hommel in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Feb. 1897, p. 80.

## 2.

The following text shows the nature of the Babylonian contracts concerning the hiring of fields, and is interesting as referring to the territory known as *ugar Amurrî*, "the Amorite tract," which is also referred to farther on (Bu. 91-5-9, 367). The text of Bu. 88-5-12, 179 is published by Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, No. 74.

### Bu. 88-5-12, 179.

(1) 9 GAN eḳlu šer'i (2) ugar Amurrî (3) i-ta mârê Šamaš-na-ṣi-ir (4) û i-ta mârê Šamaš-na-ṣi-ir-ma (5) rês-su ištin Ku-ut-ni-e (6) rêš-šu šanû êḳil Il-šu-ba-ni mâr Ilu-lu-lim (7) 5 GAN êḳli ugar šer'i ugaru ṭâ-bu (8) i-ta Id-da-tum iššaku (9) û i-ta Ku-ub(?)-bu-rum mâr Ibku-Nin-saḫ (?) (10) rês-su ištin nam-kar Šar-rum-Šamaš (11) rês-su šanû êḳil Ša-ad-A-a mârat Arad-Sin (12) êḳil

La-ma-ṣa-ni û Ta-ri-ba-tum (13)  a-ḫ a-at Arad-Sin (14) û mârā-ti-šu (15) itti La-ma-ṣa-ni û Ta-ri-ba-tum (16) be-li-it êḳli (17) a-na ga-bi-e Sa-ar-îlu iššaku (18) Marduk-mu-ša-lim (19) mâr U-tul-Ištar a-bi ummani (?) (20) a-na ir-ri-šu-tim a-na bilti (21) a-na šanat (22) ušêṣî (23) ana ûm êburi êḳlu bi-i šu-ul-bi-šu (24) i-ša-ad-da-du-u-ma (25) 10 GAN E 6 ŠE-GUR GIŠ-BAR Šamaš (26) bilti êḳli i-na bâb Mal-gi-a îmaddadu. (27) I-na libbi bilti êḳli-ši-na ištin šiḳli kaspi ma-aḫ-ra.

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(28) Maḫar Arad-Sin mâr Sin-i-din-nam; (29) maḫar A-bu-'-kar mâr Sin-i-din-[nam]; (30) maḫar Arad-Ul-maš-ši-tum, (31) E-ri-eš-tu (D.P.), mârê E-tel-pî- . . .; (32) maḫar Sin-iš-me-a-ni mâr Sin-i-din-nam; (33) maḫar Šu-mu-um-li-ṣi mâr . . . .

(Here two seal-impressions.)

(34) ITU BARA-ZAG-GARA UDU ESSE(?)-KAM (35) MU Am-mi-za-du-[ga] LUGAL-E' (36) EŠ KI . . . DU-NI MAĠA (37) ĠAR-SAGA IDA ĠALA A-NI-MEŠ A-BI (?).

*Translation.*

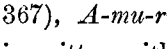
9 GAN, a field of corn of the Amorite district, beside (the field of) the sons of Šamaš-naṣir, and beside (the other field of) the sons of Šamaš-naṣir, its first end (the field of) Kutnē, its second end the field of Il-šu-bani, son of Ilu-lulim. 5 GAN, a field of the grain district, a good district, beside (the field of) Iddatum, the prefect, and beside (the field of) Kubburum, son of Ibku-Nin-saḫ (?), its first end the property of Šarrum-Šamaš, its second end the field of Sad-Aa, daughter of Arad-Sin. (These) field(s)

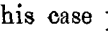
of Lamaṣani and Taribatu$^{m}$—sun-devotees, sisters of Arad-Sin—and of his daughters, Marduk-mušalim, son of Utul-Ištar, father of the tribe (?), has hired, by command of Sar-ilu, the prefect, from Lamaṣani and Taribatu$^{m}$, owners of the field, for planting, for produce, for a year. At harvest-time, according to its extent, they shall restore (it), and (on) each 10 GAN, 6 measures of grain, the due of the sungod, (from) the produce of the field, they shall measure in the gate of Malgia. (The women) have received 1 shekel of silver, the produce of their field.

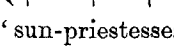
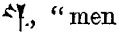
---

Before Arad-Sin, son of Sin-idinnam; before Abu-'aḳar, son of Sin-idin[nam]; before Arad-Ulmaššitum (and) Êrešti, children of Etel-pi- . . . .; before Sin-išmeani, son of Sin-idinnam; before Šumu$^{m}$-liṣi, son of . . . .

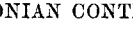
Month Nisan, day 3rd, year when Ammi-zaduga the king Eš . . . . supreme, the mountain of the Tigris (?) . . . .

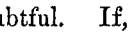
The "Amorite district" is, in this text, indicated by the characters  A-GAR MAR-TU = Assyr. *ugaru Amurrū*, the latter word written, in the next example (Bu. 91–5–9, 367), *A-mu-ru-u$^{m}$*. In Bu. 91–5–9, 2463, l. 21, the word is written with the *r* doubled (*A-mur-ru-u$^{m}$*).

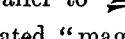
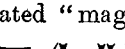
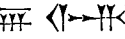
*Iššaku* (8) is written with the characters  , the Akkadian word *patesi*, in this case probably the chief man of the district, naturally possessing much less power than such rulers as the chiefs (*patesi*) of Lagaš, Nippuru, etc.

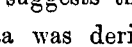
The group  apparently means "sun-devotees" or "sun-priestesses"[1] (Meissner). They seem to have been a rather numerous class, and had chiefs or directors (  , "men of the sun-devotees,"

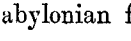
[1] In some texts, however, they seem to be rather too numerous for "priestesses."

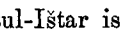
Bu. 91-5-9, 2175A, l. 37) and a scribe (  , ib., 38), with another official (ib., 39). The derivation of is doubtful. If, however, it be for , it will present a parallel to , one of the groups for *kalû*, a word translated "magian" by Delitzsch.

*Sar-îlu* (  , l. 16) recalls the fact that the word for Israelite on the Kurkh monolith is Sir'ilâa or Ser'ilâa, and suggests that this may be the old form from which Sir'ilâa was derived, in which case *Sar-îlu* would be the old Babylonian form of the name Israel.

*Utul-Ištar abi ummani* (?) (  ). The name Utul-Ištar is fairly certain, but the reading of the last three characters is doubtful, and the translation "father of the tribe" also. The same name occurs, with the same title, in Bu. 88-5-12, 215 (Meissner, 4), followed by the plural sign (  ); and as this text refers to the sale of "fair Gutian slaves," the question naturally arises whether  ( ), *abi ummāni*, "father of people," may not be equivalent to "slave-owner."

*Ana šanat* (l. 21). The Akkadian  , "year 1st," is explained in W.A.I., v, 1[illegible]*a*, as *šanat*, "a year." Probably, as there is a preposition (*ana*), we ought to transcribe *šatti* instead of *šanat*.

Malgia (  , l. 26) seems to be the name of a place, perhaps part of the city of Sippara.

The name  (l. 29), which has been read *Abupia*$^{m}$, is apparently really Abu-'aḳar, "the father is honoured." Names containing the latter element (*'aḳar*) are rather common, and we find the compounds *Dada-'aḳar* ("Hadad is honoured"), Bu. 88-5-12, 43, l. 4; *Aḫu*$^{m}$-*'aḳar* ("the brother is honoured"), as well as the above,

which is also found with the mimmation attached to the first element (*Abu*$^{m}$-*'aḳar*). The fem. 'Aḳartu$^{m}$ ("the honoured one") also occurs (Bu. 88-5-12, 43, l. 47).

3.

The following short inscription from *Cuneiform Texts* also makes reference to the Amorite district, and has some interesting names:—

Bu. 91-5-9, 367.

| | |
|---|---|
| Irbet gan êšrâa-ḫamšet šar êḳli | 4 gan 25 šar, a field |
| i-na ta-pi-ir-ti$^{m}$ | in the district |
| ša A-mu-ru-u$^{m}$ | of the Amorites, |
| ita Be-li-ia | beside (the field of) Bêlîa |
| û Ḳa-ra-šu-mi-ia | and Ḳarašumîa |
| zitti A-sa-li-ia | the property of Asalîa |
| i-ti Il-šu-i-bi-šu | from Il-šu-ibišu |
| mâr Be-li-ia | son of Bêlîa |
| Ku-ya-tu$^{m}$ | Kuyatu$^{m}$ |
| mârat A-sa-li-ia | daughter of Asalîa |
| û-še-ṣi | has brought forth |
| û-la i-ta-ar | He shall not take action |
| Il-šu-i-bi-šu | Il-šu-ibišu |
| a-na Ku-ya-tu$^{m}$ | against Kuyatu$^{m}$ |
| û-la e-ra-ga-am | shall not make claim. |
| Nîš (D.P.) Šamaš, (D.P.) A-a (D.P.) Marduk, û Su-mu-la-ila it-ma | The spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Merodach, and Sumu-la-îla they have invoked. |
| Maḫar Li-bi-it-Ištar | Before Libit-Ištar; |
| maḫar Bur-nu-nu | before Bur-nunu; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Mar-tu-ba-ni | before Martu-bani; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Rammānu-ri-me-ni | before Rammanu-rêmeni; |
| maḫar I-da-du-u$^{m}$ | before Idadu$^{m}$; |

| | |
|---|---|
| maḫar Na-ap-sa-nu-u$^{m}$ | before Napsanu$^{m}$; |
| maḫar Ta-ku-um-ma-tu$^{m}$ | before Takummatu$^{m}$; |
| maḫar Be-li-zu-nu | before Bêlizunu; |
| maḫar Da-šu-ru-u$^{m}$ | before Dašuru$^{m}$; |
| maḫar Sin-ri-me-ni | before Sin-rêmeni; |
| maḫar Be-li-su (?)-nu | before Bêlisunu; |
| maḫar La-ma-zi | before Lamazi; |
| maḫar (D.P.) A-a-ši-ti | before Aa-šiti; |
| maḫar Ḫu-šu-tu$^{m}$ | before Hušutu$^{m}$; |
| maḫar (D.P.) INNANNA-AMA-MU | before Ištar-ummi-ia. |

The following seems to be the most probable free rendering of this document:—

"Kuyatu$^{m}$, daughter of Asalîa, has caused 4 *gan* 25 *sar*, a field in the district of the Amorites, beside the field of Bêlîa and Ḳara-šumîa, the property of Asalîa, to be recovered from Il-šu-ibišu, son of Bêlîa. He shall not take action. Il-šu-ibišu shall not make claim against Kuyatu$^{m}$."

The contracting parties were probably all of Amorite origin, and it may be conjectured that Ḳara-šumîa, Asalîa, and Kuyatu$^{m}$, are Amorite names. The witnesses seem to be mixed, Babylonian names occurring with some that are probably Amorite.

4.

The following refers to a claim upon certain property, also, apparently, in the "Amorite district," brought against the woman Kuyatu$^{m}$ who is mentioned in the above:—

BU. 91-5-9, 2463.

| | |
|---|---|
| A-na êḳli bêti altapiri, ârdi | To field, house, female (and) male slave |
| û kirî gišimmari muttabili(?) | and plantation of productive datepalms |

| | |
|---|---|
| i-ta Bi-zi-za-na | beside (the field of) Bizizana |
| û iš-ka-ri-im ša (D.P.) Šamaš | and the stable of the Sungod |
| Be-li-zu-nu û Na-ap-sa-nu-u$^{m}$ | Bêlizunu and Napsanu$^{m}$ |
| û Ma-ta-tu$^{m}$ mârat I-zi-id-ri-e | and Matatu$^{m}$ daughter of Izi-idrē |
| a-na Ku-ya-tu$^{m}$ û Su-mu-ra-' | against Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra' |
| mârē A-za-li-ia | children of Azalîa |
| ir-gu-mu-u-ma | laid claim and |
| dayanē i-na bêt (D.P.) Šamaš | the judges in the temple of the Sungod |
| ru-gu-mi-šu-nu i-zu-ḫu | rejected their claim |
| u-ul i-tu-ru-ma | They shall not take action, and |
| a-na w-ar-ki-at u-mi | at a future time |
| a-na êḳli bêti altapiri, ardi û kirî | to field, house, female (and) male slave and plantation |
| ša Ku-ya-tu$^{m}$ û Su-mu-ra-' | of Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra' |
| Be-li-zu-nu, Na-ap-sa-nu-u$^{m}$ | Bêlizunu, Napsanu$^{m}$. |
| û Ma-ta-tu$^{m}$ mârat I-zi-id-ri-e | and Matatu$^{m}$ daughter of Izi-idrē— |
| iš-tu zi-ka-ri-i$^{m}$ | from male |
| a-di zi-ni-iš-tu$^{m}$ | to female |
| mârē A-mur-ru-u$^{m}$ | the children of the Amorite |
| a-na Ku-ya-tu$^{m}$ û Su-mu-ra-' | against Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra' |
| u-ul e-ra-ga-mu. | shall not make claim. |
| Di-in bêt (D.P.) Šamaš i-na bêt šamši. | Judgment of the temple of the Sungod in the temple of the sun. |
| Nîš (D.P.) Šamaš, (D.P.) A-a, (D.P.) Marduk | The spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Merodach, |
| û Za-bi-u$^{m}$ it-ma | and Zabiu$^{m}$ they have invoked. |
| I-bi-Sin mâr Na-bi-i-li-šu; | Ibi-Sin, son of Nabi-îli-šu; |
| Iš-me- (D.P.) Rammānu; | Išme-Rammānu; |
| (D.P.) Šamši-ia; | Šamšîa; |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nu-ur-i-li-šu ; | Nûr-îli-šu ; |
| dayanē. | judges. |
| Maḫar Nu-nu-êreš ; | Before Nunu-êreš ; |
| maḫar Zi-iḳ-zi-ḳu ; | before Ziḳziḳu ; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Nin-saḫ-ba-ni ; | before Ninsaḫ-bani ; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Rammānu-ri-me-ni ; | before Rammanu-rêmeni ; |
| maḫar Il-šu-ba-ni ; | before Il-šu-bani ; |
| maḫar Bu-la-lu$^{m}$. | before Bulalu$^{m}$. |
| Araḫ Isin (D.P.) Rammāni, | Month of the festival of Rimmon, |
| šanat Dûr-Ka-ni-lu (D.S.). | year of Dûr-Kanilu. |

*Free Rendering.*

"Bêlizunu, Napsanu$^{m}$, and Matatu$^{m}$, daughter of Izi-idrē, laid claim, against Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra', children of Azalîa, to field, house, female slave, male slave, and plantation of productive datepalms beside (the field of) Bizizana and the stable of the Sungod, and the judges of the temple of the Sungod rejected their claim. They shall not take action, and at no future time shall Bêlizunu, Napsanu$^{m}$, and Matatu$^{m}$, daughter of Izi-idrē—(nor) the children of the Amorite, from male to female—lay claim, against Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra', to field, house, female slave, male slave, and plantation of Kuyatu$^{m}$ and Sumu-ra'.

"Judgment of the house of the Sungod in the temple of the sun.

"They have invoked the spirit of Šamaš, Aa, Marduk, and Zabiu$^{m}$ (the king)."

It will be noticed that the names of the litigants, Bêlizunu, Napsanu$^{m}$, and Kuyatu$^{m}$ appear in No. 3, Bêlizunu and Napsanu$^{m}$ as witnesses and Kuyatu$^{m}$ as contracting party. The name of the father of Kuyatu$^{m}$ appears here as Azalîa, instead of Asalîa, as in No. 3. All the people mentioned, except the judges and some of the witnesses, appear to have belonged to the Amorite district, and were therefore probably of Amorite race.

5.

In the following document Sin-êribam lays claim, before the judges, to the house of Sumu-râ', apparently the person against whom, along with Kuyatu$^{m}$, an action was brought by Bêlizunu, Napsanu$^{m}$, and Matatu$^{m}$, as related in the foregoing text.

Bu. 91-5-9, 387.

*Transcription.*

A-na bêt Su-mu-ra-a-'
ša îta bêt Ni-id-nu-ša
3. û îta bêt (D.P.) Al-la-tu$^{m}$
Sin-e-ri-ba-a$^{m}$
mâr Upê (D.S.)-ra-bi
6. ip-ku-ur-ma
a-na da-ya-nu-ni i-li-ku-ma
da-ya-nu di-na$^{m}$ u-ša-ḫi-zu-su-nu-ti-ma
9. Sin-e-ri-ba-a$^{m}$ ar-na$^{m}$
i-mi-du- šu-ma
ku-nu-ka$^{m}$ ša la ra-ga-mi
12. u-še-zi-bu-šu
U-ul i-ta-ar-ma
Sin-e-ri-ba-a$^{m}$
15. a-na bêt Su-mu-ra-a-'
u-ul i-ra-ga-mu
Nîš (D.P.) Šamaš, Za-bi-u$^{m}$, û Sippar (D.S.)
18. Maḫar Ya-'-ku-ub-îlu
maḫar Na-bi-i-li-šu
mârē Li-bi-it-Ištar
21. maḫar Ur- (D.P.) Šu-pu-la rabu
mâr Ur-ra-na-da
maḫar (D.P.) Šamaš-idinna$^{m}$, mâr I-li-ka-ga-mil (?)
24. maḫar Sin-be-el-i-li mâr Nu-ur-Sin
maḫar Be-li-na-ṣir mâr Sin-ga-mil

maḫar En-ne-nu-u$^{m}$, mâr Za-na-tu$^{m}$
maḫar Arad-za mâr I-li-ib-ku-an-ni
maḫar I-na-šu (?)- (D.P.) ? Šamaš, mâr I-li-i-din-na$^{m}$
maḫar Sin-tab-ba-ši, dayanu
mâr Še-ru-u$^{m}$-i-li; maḫar A-ba-tu$^{m}$ dup-šarru
maḫar Ša-ma-ya mâr Ur- (D.P.) Nannara
maḫar Mu-na-wi-ru-u$^{m}$ mâr Sin-e-ri-ba (?)

*Translation.*

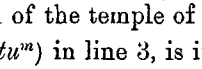
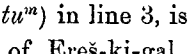
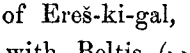
To the house of Sumu-râ'
which is beside the house of Nidnu-ša
and beside the house of (the goddess) Allatu$^{m}$,
Sin-êriba$^{m}$,
son of Upê-rabi
laid claim, and
to the judges they went, and
the judge caused them to receive the judgment, and
Sin-êriba$^{m}$ the sin
he placed upon him and
a document that could not be quashed
he caused him to leave.
He shall not reclaim and
Sin-êriba$^{m}$
for the house of Sumu-râ'
he shall not bring action.
(They have invoked) the spirit of Šamaš, Zabiu$^{m}$, and Sippar.
Before Ya'kub-îlu,
before Nabi-îli-šu,
sons of Libit-Ištar;
before Ur-Šupula, the scribe,
son of Urra-nada;
before Šamaš-idinna$^{m}$, son of Ili-ka-gamil;
before Sin-bêl-îli, son of Nûr-Sin;
before Beli-naṣir, son of Sin-gamil;
before Ennenu$^{m}$, son of Zanatu$^{m}$;

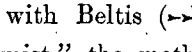
27. before Arad-za, son of Ili-ibku-anni;
before Ina-šu-Samaš, son of Ili-idinna$^{m}$;
before Sin-tabbaši, the judge,
30. son of Šeru$^{m}$-îli; before Abatu$^{m}$, the scribe;
before Šamaya, son of Ur-Nannara;
before Munawiru$^{m}$, son of Sin-êriba.

*Free Rendering.*

"Sin-êriba$^{m}$, son of Upê-rabi, laid claim to the house of Samu-râ', which is beside the house of Nidnu-ša and beside the house of Allat; and they went before the judges, and the judges pronounced judgment. And as for Sin-êriba$^{m}$, they declared him to be in the wrong, and made him deliver a document which could not be proceeded against. He shall not bring action, and Sin-êriba$^{m}$ shall not (again) lay claim to the house of Sumu-râ'.

"They have invoked the spirit of Šamaš, Zabiu$^{m}$ (the king), and the city of Sippara."

The mention of the temple of Allatu$^{m}$ (  , *bêt Al-la-tu$^{m}$*) in line 3, is interesting. Allatu$^{m}$ was the Semitic name of Ereš-ki-gal, the queen of Hades, who is identified also with Beltis (  ), "the lady of the realm of mist," the mother of the evil spirits called Namtar, whom the god Bel loved (W.A.I., v, 1, I, ll. 5–7). She was the consort of Bel (  ).

The plural  , *da-ya-nu-ni*, "judges," in line 7, is noteworthy. Cf. *awatunu* in l. 9 of Bu. 91–5–9, 338.

By "document" in l. 11, a sealed tablet is meant. The word is *kunuka$^{m}$* (acc.) from the root *kanāku*, "to seal."

6.

The following short text is interesting on account of its reference to two very frequent customs in Babylonia, namely, adoption and giving in marriage.

BU. 91-5-9, 394.

| *Transcription.* | *Translation.* |
|---|---|
| Ka-ra-na-tu$^{m}$ | Karanatu$^{m}$ |
| mârat Nu-ur-Sin | (is) daughter of Nûr-Sin |
| 3. i-na ma-ri-šu û ma-ar-ti-šu | with his sons and his daughters. |
| mi-im-ma ma-ma-an | Anything any-one |
| e-li Ka-ra-na-tu$^{m}$ | against Karanatu$^{m}$ |
| 6. mârat Nu-ur-Sin | daughter of Nûr-Sin |
| u-la i-šu | has not. |
| Da-mi-iḳ-tu$^{m}$ | Damiḳtu$^{m}$ |
| 9. âḫat-sa ša Ka-ra-na-tu$^{m}$ | (is) sister of Karanatu$^{m}$. |
| A-na mu-ti-im | To a husband |
| i-na-di-ši | he will give her. |
| 12. Maḫar Ê-a-i-din-nam | Before Êa-idinnam, |
| mâr Zi-ki-la-ya | son of Zikilaya; |
| Maḫar Zi-du (?)-šu-na-ra-at | Before Zidu(?)-šu-narat, |
| 15. mâr I-li-iš-ti-ši (?) | son of Ili-ištiši (?); |
| Maḫar U-bar-ru-u$^{m}$ mâr Sin-tab-ba-pi-ki | Before Ubarru$^{m}$, son of Sin-tabba-piki; |
| Maḫar Ib-ku-ša mâr Ku-na-tu$^{m}$ | Before Ibku-ša, son of Kunatu$^{m}$; |
| 18. Maḫar Sin-be-la-ab-li | Before Sin-bêl-âbli, |
| mâr Be-la-nu-u$^{m}$ | son of Bêlanu$^{m}$. |

*Free Rendering.*

"Karanatu$^{m}$ is daughter of Nûr-Sin, with his sons and his daughter. No one has anything against Karanatu$^{m}$, daughter of Nûr-Sin. Damiḳtu$^{m}$ is sister of Karanatu$^{m}$. He (Nûr-Sin) will give her to a husband."

The best commentary on the above is probably the text which follows, which is practically a marriage contract.

The second name in l. 16 is probably really *Sin-tabba-'adi* (with 𒀀 for 𒄀 at the end).

## 7.

The following text is a wedding contract:—

Bu. 91-5-9, 366.

| | |
|---|---|
| A-na-(D.P.) A-a-uz-ni | Ana-Aa-uzni |
| mârat Sa-li-ma-tu$^{m}$ | (is) daughter of Salimatu$^{m}$ |
| 3. Sa-li-ma-tu$^{m}$ | Salimatu$^{m}$ |
| u-li-il-ši-ma | has endowed her and |
| a-na aš-šu-ti$^{m}$ | to wifeship |
| 6. û mu-tu-ti$^{m}$ | and husbandship |
| a-na Be-el-šu-nu | to Bêl-šunu |
| mâr Ne-me-lu$^{m}$ i-di-ši | son of Nemelu$^{m}$ has given her. |
| 9. A-na-(D.P.) A-a-uz-ni | Ana-Aa-uzni |
| el-li-it ma-ma-an | is pure—anyone |
| mi-im-ma e-li A-na-(D.P.) A-a-uz-ni | anything against Ana-Aa-uzni |
| 12. u-la i-šu. | has not. |
| Nîš (D.P.) Šamaš, (D.P.) Marduk | The spirit of Šamaš, Merodach, |
| û Su-mu-la-îla | and Sumu-la-îla (they have invoked). |
| 15. Ša a-wa-at duppi anni-i$^{m}$ | Who the words of this tablet |
| û-na-ka-ru | changes (shall pay the penalty). |
| Maḫar Li-bi-it-Ištar; | Before Libit-Ištar; |
| 18. maḫar Bur-nu-nu | before Bur-nunu; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Mar-tu-ba-ni | before Martu-bani; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Rammānu-ri-me-ni | before Rammānu-rêmeni; |
| 21. maḫar Ni-da-du-u$^{m}$ | before Nidadu$^{m}$; |
| maḫar (D.P.) Šamaš-e-mu-ki | before Šamaš-emuki; |
| maḫar Im-gur-ru-u$^{m}$ | before Imgurru$^{m}$; |

| | |
|---|---|
| 24. maḫar Sin-i-ki-ša-a$^{m}$ | before Sin-ikiša$^{m}$; |
| maḫar Be-li-zu-nu | before Bêlizunu; |
| maḫar (D.P.) A-a-ši-ti | before Aa-šiti; |
| 27. maḫar La-ma-zi | before Lamazi; |
| maḫar Ḫu-na-bi-ia | before Ḫunabîa; |
| maḫar Be-ta-ni | before Betani; |
| 30. maḫar Amat-(D.P.) Šamaš | before Amat-Šamaš; |
| maḫar Na-ab-ri-tu$^{m}$ | before Nabritu$^{m}$; |
| maḫar Ša-ad-(D.P.) A-a. | before Šad-Aa. |

*Free Rendering.*

"Ana-Aa-uzni is daughter of Salimatu$^{m}$. Salimatu$^{m}$ has endowed her and given her in marriage to Bêl-šunu, son of Nemelu$^{m}$. Ana-Aa-uzni is a virgin—no one has anything against Ana-Aa-uzni."

This text, though short, forms a very good complement to the foregoing, which refers to adoption, and contains a promise to give the girl, when grown up, in marriage.

The meaning of the word *ulil* is fixed by the tablet 81–7–1, 98, col. ii, ll. 16–18[1]: *Kima inib kirî, ana šâši lalē ulalli-ši*—"Like the fruit of a plantation, to this (woman) abundance I will dower to her." *Ulil* is evidently the aorist and *ulâlli* the present or future pu'ul of *lâlu*, apparently from the Akkadian *lala*, from which the noun *lalē* is taken.

*Ellit* in l. 10, is the 3rd pers. fem. permansive kal. of *êlēlu*, "to be bright," "pure."

## 8 and 9.

The next is a marriage contract in which a man weds two sisters. This document is preserved in two examples (A and B), one for each wife. Both are in the British Museum.

[1] *Recent Discoveries in the Realm of Assyriology*, p. 32.

## A.

The marriage contract delivered to Taram-Sagila.

Bu. 91–5–9, 2176A.

1. Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
2. û Il-ta-ni
3. mârat Sin-abu-šu
4. Arad- (D.P.) Šamaš a-na aš-šu-ti$^{m}$
5. û mu-tu-ti$^{m}$ i-ḫu-zi-na-ti
6. Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
7. û Il-ta-ni
8. a-na Arad- (D.P.) Šamaš mu-ti-ši-na
9. u-ul mu-ti at-ta
10. i-ga-bi-ma iš-tu AN(?)-ZAG(?)-GAR-KI
11. i-na-du-ni-ši-na-ti
12. û Arad- (D.P.) Šamaš a-na Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
13. û Il-ta-ni aš-ša-ti-šu
14. u-ul aš-ša-ti at-ti
15. i-ga-bi-ma, i-na bi-ti$^{m}$
16. û u-ne-a-ti$^{m}$ i-te-li
17. û Il-ta-ni
18. ši-bi Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
19. i-mi-zi-i
20. (D.P.) kussâ-ša a-na bêt i-li-ša
21. i-na-ši, zi-ni Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
22. Il-ta-ni i-zi-ni
23. sa-la-mi-ša i-sa-lim
24. ku-nu-ki-ša u-ul i-bi-te
25. maš-šu-še i-te-en-ma u(?)-te-ga(?)-ši(?)
26. Maḫar E-ri-ba-am, mâr Pî-ša-a-bi;
27. Du-lu-ḳu, mâr Zi-zu-na-wa-ra;
28. Sin-ma-gir, mâr E-nu-lu$^{m}$;
29. Ib-na-tu$^{m}$, mâr Nu-ur-a-bi;
30. Ê-a-ra-bi, mâr Upē (D.S.) -še-mi;
31. Sin-ša-mu-uḫ, mâr Nu-ur-Sin;
32. U-tuk(?)-ki-la, mâr Sin-ga-mil;

33. Mi-ni- (D.P.) Rammānu, mâr Ê-ri-ib-Sin;
34. (D.P.) Šamaš-ri-iš, mâr I-li-be-li;
35. A-pil-i-li-šu, mâr Sin-ba-la.

*Translation.*

1. Taram-Sagila
2. and Iltani
3. daughter of Sin-abu-šu
4. Arad-Šamaš to wifehood
5. and husbandhood has taken them.
6. (If) Taram-Sagila
7. and Iltani
8. to Arad-Šamaš, their husband,
9. Thou art not my husband
10. say, then from the tower (?)
11. he may throw them
12. and (if) Arad-Šamaš to Taram-Sagila
13. and Iltani, his wives,
14. Thou art not my wife,
15. say, from house
16. and goods she shall depart.
17. And Iltani
18. the parents (?) of Taram-Sagila
19. shall recognize,
20. her seat to the house of her god
21. she shall take, the food of Taram-Sagila
22. Iltani shall prepare,
23. her welfare she shall care for,
24. her tablet she shall not destroy.
25. her meal (?) she shall grind (?), and shall obey (?) her (?).
26. Before Eribam, son of Pî-ša-abi;
27. Duluḳu, son of Zizu-nawara;
28. Sin-magir, son of E[illegible]ulu$^{m}$;
29. Ibnatu$^{m}$, child of Nûr-abi;
30. Ea-rabi, son of Upê-šemî;
31. Sin-šamuḫ, son of Nûr-Sin;

32. Utukkila, son of Sin-gamil;
33. Mini-Rammānu, son of Erib-Sin;
34. Šamaš-riš, son of Ili-beli;
35. Apil-îli-šu, son of Sin-bala.

*Free Rendering.*

"Arad-Šamaš has taken in marriage Taram-Sagila and Iltani, daughter of Sin-abu-šu. (If) Taram-Sagila and Iltani say to Arad-Šamaš, their husband, 'Thou art not (our) husband,' he may throw them down from the tower; and (if) Arad-Šamaš say to Taram-Sagila or Iltani, his wives, 'Thou art not my wife,' she shall depart from house and goods. And Iltani shall recognize (?) the parents (?) of Taram-Sagila, shall carry her seat to the house of her god; Iltani shall prepare the food of Taram-Sagila, shall be well inclined towards her, shall not destroy her (marriage) contract, shall grind (?) her meal (?) and shall obey (?) her (?)."

B.

The marriage contract drawn up for Iltani.

Bu. 88–5–12, 21 (Meisser, No. 89).

Il-ta-ni a-ḫa-at
Ta-ra-am-Sag-ila
Itti (D.P.) Ut-ta-tu$^{m}$ a-bi-ši-na
Arad- (D.P.) Šamaš mâr I-li-en-nam
a-na aš-šu-tim i-ḫu-zi-na-ti
Il-ta-ni aḫat-sa
zi-ni-ša i-zi-in
sa-la-a-mi-ša i-sa-li-im
(D.P.) kussî-ša a-na bêt (D.P.) Marduk
i-na-aš-ši-e
mârê ma-la a-wa-al-du

12. û i-wa-la-du mârê-ši-na-ma
A-na Il-ta-ni a-ḫa-ti-ša
u-ul a-ḫa-ṭi aṭ-[ti]
15. i-ga-bi-[i-ša]
. . ma-ri . . . . .

*Rev.*

aṭ-[ta i-ga-bi-] i-[šu]
18. u-ga-la-ab-ši-i-ma
a-na kaspi i-na-di-iš [-ši]
û Arad (D.P.) Šamaš a-na aš-ša-ti-šu
21. u-ul aš-ša-tu-ya . . . . .
i-ga-bi-i-ma ištin ma-na kaspi
imaddad (NI-LA(L)-E).

---

24. Maḫar Ê-ri-ba-am mâr Pî-ša (?)-a-bi (?)
maḫar Sin-a-bu-šu mâr Ḫu- . . . . .
maḫar Sin-ma-gir mâr Na- . . . . .
27. maḫar Zi-ia -tu$^{m}$ mâr Man- . . . . .
maḫar Bu-ri-ia mâr Ib-ni- (D.P.) . . . . .
maḫar Sin-ša-mu-uḫ
30. mâr Nu-ur-Sin.
maḫar Šamaš-balaṭu- . . . . .
mâr Nu-ur- . . . . .
33. maḫar Nu-ur-Šamaš mâr Li- . . . . .
maḫar E-li-lum mâr Za-am . . . . .
Maḫar Li-bi-it-Sin mâr I-zur (?) . . . . .
36. Maḫar A-ḫu-ḫi-bu-um.

Left-hand edge:

Û ši-na a-na Arad- (D.P.) Šamaš mu-ti-ši-na
u-ul mu-ut-ni at-ta i-ḳa-bi-i-ma
39. i-ḫa-šu-ši-na-ma a-na nâri i-na-du-ši-na-ti.

*Translation.*

1. Iltani (is) sister of
2. Taram-Sagila.
3. From Uttatu$^{m}$, their father
4. Arad-Šamaš, son of Ili-ennam
5. to wifehood has taken them.
6. Iltani, her sister,
7. her food (?) shall prepare (?),
8. her welfare shall care for,
9. her seat to the temple of Merodaeh
10. shall carry.
11. The children, as many as have been born
12. and they shall bear, are their children
13. (If) to Iltani, her sister,
14. thou art not my sister
15. she say to [her]
16. . . . . .

*Rev.*

1. (art) th[ou, she say to him]
2. he may shave her and
3. for silver may sell [her].
4. And Arad-Šamaš, (if) to his wives
5. Not my wives (are) [ye]
6. he say, 1 maneh of silver
7. he shall measure.
8. Before Eribam, son of Pî-ša-abi;
9. before Sin-abu-šu, son of Ḫu- .
10. before Sin-magir, son of Na- . .
11. before Zîatu$^{m}$, son of Man- . .
12. before Buria, son of Ibni- . . .
13. before Sin-šamuḫ,
14. son of Nûr-Sin;
15. before Šamaš-balaṭu- . . . .
16. son of Nûr- . . . .
17. before Nûr-Šamaš, son of Li- .

18. before Ēlilu$^{m}$, son of Zam- . . . . . ;
19. before Libit-Sin, son of Izur(?)- . . . . . ;
20. before Aḫu-ḫibu$^{m}$.
21. And they, (if) to Arad-Šamaš, their husband,
22. not our husband (art) thou, they say,
23. he may strangle (?) them and throw them into the river.

*Free Rendering.*

"Iltani is sister of Taram-Sagila. Arad-Šamaš, son of Ili-ennam, has taken them in marriage from Uttatu$^{m}$, their father. Iltani, her sister, shall prepare her food, shall be well inclined towards her, (and) shall carry her seat to the temple of Merodach. The children, as many as have been born, and they shall bear, are their children. (If Taram-Sagila) say to Iltani, her sister, 'Thou art not my sister,' (then) . . . . . [If Iltani say to Arad-Šamaš, her husband], 'Thou [art not my husband],' he may shave (her head), and sell her for silver. And (if) Arad-Šamaš say to his wives, '[Ye] are not my wives,' he shall pay one mana of silver."

The interest of the above texts is undeniable, for the position of the two women is very well revealed in them. It would seem that there was first a kind of adoption of Iltani as daughter of Uttatu$^{m}$ and sister of Taram-Sagila, and, having thus been raised in position so as to be somewhat equal in rank, she could become the second wife of Arad-Šamaš, to wait upon her elder sister.

The phrase *Iltani šibi Taram-Sagila imiz̄i*, Bu. 91–5–9, 2176A, ll. 17–19, is very uncertain as to meaning. As the word *šibi* seems to mean something like "parents," I have thus translated it, comparing Bu. 91–5–9, 381: *Kaspa ula nilkî, ula igabbû—maḫar šibi-šu-ma ilkê.* "'We have not received the money,' they shall not say—he (i.e. the person actually receiving the money) received it also before his *šibi*." *Šibi* is therefore possibly the plural of *šību*,

'elder." With regard to the verb, the meaning given o it is based upon the fact that Iltani really became the adopted sister of Taram-Sagila.

*Zini Taram-Sagila izini* (A, ll. 21, 22) and *zini-ša izin* (B, l. 7) are possibly for *ṣêni Taram-Sagila iṣḗni*, "she shall provide the provisions of Taram-Sagila," and *ṣêni-ša iṣên*, "she shall provide her provisions" (i.e. "prepare her food"). Cf. Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 556 (*ḳuṭrinna ṣênu*, "to provide the incense").

ART. XXIV.—*The Birthplace of Gautama Buddha.* By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., Judge of Gorakhpur.

ALTHOUGH the Indian and English newspapers have already published slight notices of the recent discovery of Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden,[1] and the new Aśoka inscriptions will in due course be edited in the official publications of the Archaeological Survey, I think that the Society will be glad to see the actual words of the Lumbini Garden inscription, and some notes, based on local knowledge, concerning the most important archaeological discovery which has been made in India for many years.

It would be ungracious and useless to dwell upon the errors committed by Sir Alexander Cunningham and his assistants in their attempts to fix the site of Kapilavastu. The correction of Cunningham's fundamental errors in determining the routes of the Chinese pilgrims between Kanauj and Vaisāli is being gradually accomplished. Cunningham placed those routes much too far to the south, and he can be proved wrong in almost every one of his identifications of important sites within the limits above named. Hiuen Tsiang never visited Ayodhya.

The sites identified by Cunningham with Sāketam, Kauśāmbi, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Kuśanagara, as well as many others, can be proved without doubt not to be the places they have been supposed to be. In a recent monograph I demonstrated by topographical arguments that Kasiā in the Gorakhpur District cannot possibly be Kuśanagara, the

[1] Dr. Bühler's notices are quoted later on.

scene of the death of Gautama.[1] The correctness of that demonstration has been fully confirmed by the discovery of Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden. We know now that Kuśanagara also must be looked for in Nepāl.[2]

I have no time at present to undertake the heavy task of working out the correct routes of the Chinese pilgrims between Kanauj and Vaisāli, and of clearing away the jungle of error with which the discussion is encumbered.

The above brief observations have been made merely with the purpose of drawing the reader's attention to the fact that all the hitherto current identifications of the famous sites referred to are wrong. The certain identification of the site of Kapilavastu involves the correct identification, at no distant date, of all the places which are important in the early history of Buddhism, and the satisfactory determination of the routes taken by the Chinese pilgrims.[3]

The identification of Kapilavastu was determined by the discovery in March, 1895, of the Aśoka pillar at Niglīva, and the associated *stūpa* of Konāgamana, or Kanaka Muni, Buddha. Niglīva is a small Nepalese village in the Tarāi, or lowlands below the hills, in Tahsīl Taulehvā of Zilla Butwal, about thirty-eight miles north-west of the Uskā Bazar Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and about twelve miles from the Chilliā Police Station in the Basti District.

"The new Aśoka edict reads:—'When the god-beloved king Piyadasi had been anointed 14 years, he increased the *stūpa* of Buddha Konākamana for the second time; and when he had been anointed . . . . years, he

[1] "The Remains near Kasiā, in the Gorakhpur District, the reputed site of Kuçanagara or Kuçinārā, the scene of Buddha's Death." By Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., Fellow of the University of Allahabad. 4to, pp. 26. (Allahabad: Government Press, 1896.)

[2] I have a suspicion concerning the real site which I am unwilling to publish until an opportunity occurs to verify its validity.

[3] Lan-mo, or Rāmagrāma, will probably be found in the Nepalese Tarāi, a few miles west of the Gaudak River, near the village of Dharmaulī, in longitude about 83° 53′ East, north of the village of Bahuwār in the Gorakhpur District, where, according to information received by Dr. Hoey, another stone pillar exists. The locality is malarious and difficult of access.

himself came and worshipped it, (and) he caused it to obtain . . . . .'

"The chief point of interest which the inscription offers is the mention of the Buddha Konākamana, who, of course, is the same as the Konāgamana of the Ceylonese Buddhists. . . . . A short distance from the western embankment of the lake on which the edict pillar stands are vast brick ruins, stretching far away for about half a mile in the direction of the snow-clad hills of Nepāl. Amongst the heaps of ruins, the *stūpa* of Konāgamana's *nirvāṇa* is clearly discernible, the base of its hemispherical dome being about 101 feet in diameter, and its present height still 30 feet. The terrace, or procession path, is 9 feet wide, with a height of 14 feet from the ground. On all sides are ruined monasteries, fallen columns, and broken sculptures."[1]

When Dr. Führer's report, just quoted, was issued, Dr. Waddell, in a letter published in the *Englishman* newspaper of Calcutta, dated June 1, 1896, pointed out that Kapilavastu must, in accordance with the indications given by the pilgrims, lie within a few miles distance of Niglīva, and concludes his letter with the remark—"Altogether, we seem to be on the verge of one of the most important Indian archaeological finds of the century."

In December, 1896, Dr. Führer returned to Niglīva in order to verify the site of Kapilavastu, and thence went eastward to see the Rumindeī pillar near Bhagwānpur, of which he had heard in the previous year.[2]

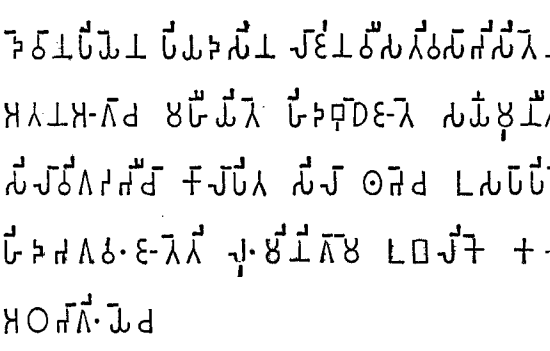
The Nepalese authorities were induced to excavate this pillar, of which only about nine feet were above ground. The excavation was carried about twelve feet further down,

[1] Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-West Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending June 30, 1895. By Dr. A. Führer, dated July 16, 1895. Printed at the Thomason College Press, Roorkee.

[2] Dr. Hoey, I.C.S., who has recently visited the spot, assures me that the local pronunciation of the name is Rumin (*or* Rummin) deī, not Romindeī. I knew of the existence of this pillar a dozen years ago, when I was Magistrate of Bastī. Mr. Duncan Ricketts, manager of the Dulhā Estate, on the border, whose residence is only about five miles from the pillar, then sent me rubbings of the mediaeval scribblings on the exposed part of the pillar. I saw that those writings were of no interest, and thought no more of the matter.

and some three feet below the surface of the ground was found the inscription of Aśoka. Mr. Ricketts had the good fortune to be present while the inscription was being unearthed. Dr. Führer arrived a little later.

The pillar, which is of polished sandstone, is split vertically down the middle, probably by lightning, and the top is broken off. The inscription is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, and was probably buried before his time. The pillar rests on a masonry foundation. The inscription is in four and a half lines of beautifully incised and well-preserved characters, averaging about thirty millimetres, or a little over an inch, in height. Dr. Führer has kindly supplied me, for publication, with a perfect facsimile, of which the following is a reproduction[1]:—



Hofrath Dr. Bühler's transcription is as follows:—

1. *Devāna-piyena Piyadasina lājina-vīsativasābhisitēna*
2. *atana āgācha. mahīyite hida-Budhe-jāte Sakyamunī-ti*
3. *silā-vigaḍabhī-cā kālāpita silāthabhe-ca usapāpite*
4. *hida-bhagavaṁ-jāte-ti Lumminigāme ubalike-kaṭe*
5. *aṭhabhāgiye ca*[.][2]

[1] [As the letters are throughout unmistakable, it has been thought better not to delay this article till our next issue in order to have a plate made of Dr. Führer's facsimile.—Ed.]

[2] This transliteration is printed in Dr. Bühler's German paper published in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy for January, 1897. A brief account of the discovery in English was communicated by Dr. Bühler to the *Athenæum* (March 6, 1897), and reprinted in the April number of this Journal.

The main purport of the record is that King Piyadasi, beloved of the Devas, when anointed twenty years (i.e. in the twenty-first year of his reign) came to this spot, and worshipped, saying: "Here was Buddha Sākyamuni born," and caused a stone pillar to be erected testifying: "Here in the Lummini village was the Honourable One born."[1]

Thus have been set at rest all doubts as to the exact site of the traditional birthplace of Gautama Buddha in "the Lumbini garden." The ruins of the four *stūpas* seen by Hiuen Tsiang are still visible.

Dr. W. Hoey, I.C.S., Magistrate of Gorakhpur, and Mr. Walter Lupton, I.C.S., Joint-Magistrate, paid a hasty visit to Rummindeī in May, 1897, and had the good fortune to discover that the small shrine close to the pillar contains a statue of Māyā giving birth to the Buddha. The Brahman in charge was very unwilling to permit the image to be seen, but some persuasion and rupees overcame his scruples. The image is of nearly life-size, and the infant is represented, according to the legend, as emerging from the right side of his mother, and being received by attendants. Dr. Hoey was not able to see whether or not the image was inscribed. Several examples of sculptured representations of the birth of Gautama are known in collections from Gāndhāra, but I do not know of any example in India proper.

When Dr. Führer wished to excavate some of the ruins at and near Kapilavastu, he was put off by the local Nepalese authorities with the excuse that owing to the scarcity of food this year it would not be prudent to assemble large bodies of workmen. I have since learned that as soon as Dr. Führer's back was turned, the Nepalese Governor caused considerable excavations to be made round the Niglīva pillar in the hope of discovering treasure. A building in the neighbourhood, containing many rooms, was unearthed, which may be a monastery.

[1] [Perhaps after "worshipped" one should go on—"and put up there a stone pillar with a stone horse on it (to celebrate the fact) that the Buddha, the Sakya Sage, was born there, and reduced the land-tax on the Lummini village to a one-eighth share (on the ground) that the Honourable One was born there." See M. Barth's paper in the *Journal des Savants*, 1897.—Ed.]

Nothing will persuade the Nepalese that Englishmen, digging among old ruins, can really want anything but treasure. All our protestations of interest in ancient history, and so forth, though they may be listened to with politeness, are regarded as mere lies to cover the real object of the explorers. The intense jealousy with which the Nepalese Government has always guarded its territory against explorations by Europeans is well known. This jealousy, based on political considerations, is alone enough to cause the greatest difficulty in procuring genuine assistance from the Nepalese Darbār in unearthing the buried secrets of Kapilavastu. If Dr. Führer returns to Niglīva next year he will probably be met with some fresh and ingenious excuse, and will be prevented from doing anything of importance, unless he is armed with very strong credentials. It is most unfortunate that Kapilavastu, Kuśanagara, and all the intermediate sites so important for the history of Buddhism, should be in the territory of so jealous a government as that of Nepāl. But the fact is so, and the difficulty must be faced. If any serious scientific examination of the vast ruins of Kapilavastu is to be accomplished, a very determined effort must be made through the Government of India to move the Nepalese Government.

I warn all who are interested in the great discovery of Buddha's birthplace that every obstacle to exploration may very likely be raised, both by the Darbār at Kaṭhmāndū and by the local Nepalese officials. The Central Government of Nepal is quite capable of making itself obeyed by distant subordinates, and they will not venture on the slightest relaxation of the jealous exclusion of Europeans unless they receive very distinct and positive orders from headquarters.

My practical suggestion is, that the Asiatic Societies should at once combine in addressing urgent representations to the Government of India for application of the needful diplomatic pressure on the Government of Nepāl. The pressure necessary to induce the Government of India to move can probably be best applied through the Secretary

of State. The International Congress of Orientalists, in September, should help the Asiatic Societies in moving the Indian Government to take the desired action. It must be remembered that the Nepalese authorities do not care a fig for learned societies, and that the only chance of effective exploration of Kapilavastu lies in obtaining definite orders from the Central Government of Nepāl through the Government of India.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1. Dimāpur.

102, *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea,*
*London,* S.W.

Sir,—A good many years ago one of our members drew my attention to a description of remains at Dimāpur,[1] like those described in Dr. Burton-Brown's paper in your April number (perhaps, in part, the same), and asked me to look out for the like in Western India: this I did, and found pillars of masonry and plaster-work in two places—gates of the Musalman citadels of Bijapur and Sholapur, where they supported chains stretched across the approaches. I think that the chain may still be in use, at least at Sholapur. These pillars were of Dr. Burton-Brown's mushroom-headed type. I have never seen anything like his Y-shaped type in stone. It seems possible, as he suggests, that the form of these mushroom pillars may be due to the influence of Musalman art, though their use be changed in the service of another purpose. It might be worth while to examine the pillars closely for the remains of staples, or chafe-marks of ropes passed round the stalk of the mushroom; and perhaps some Musalman building in Upper India may show the form a little nearer to Dimāpur than the Deccan is.

The fort of Raigarh, in the Kolaba district of Bombay, shows a temple of Mahadeo, built by the thoroughly Hindu

[1] Vide Fergusson's "Indian and Eastern Architecture," p. 309, where he quotes the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xliii, part i, 1874.

Sivaji Raja in 1662–4, which externally might be taken for a Bijapur Musalman's tomb of the same period. Probably many similar cases could be quoted from different parts of India.

W. F. SINCLAIR (late I.C.S.).

*April* 22, 1897.

## 2. "PEDRO TEIXEIRA."

SIR,—I can find out little about the book whose title-page I translate below[1]; and nothing about the author, but what is to be found in the book. I think that what I have learnt may be of some novelty and interest to many members; and I hope that some may be able to tell us more.

Pedro Teixeira (as he spells himself) was a Portuguese, of what locality or parentage does not appear; but he was not noble. He was engaged in business, undescribed, but evidently extensive; as his connections were with Goa, Persia and the Gulf, Malacca, Lisbon, Venice, and Antwerp. He does not mention his goods, except a little indigo (apparently used rather as a substitute for currency than as investment), drugs, jewels, and curios.

He had some reading in late Greek and Latin, mentioning, as authorities on Eastern History, "Procopio, Agathio, Genebrardo, Zonaras, and Tornamira," from whom, he says, he could learn little. In Persian he was able to read "Mirkond," and Thurán Shah's "Shahnama" (of Hormuz, a very different work from Firdausi's). He knew Spanish, but, as he says himself, not as a scholar; and he must have had some knowledge of Arabic, and probably of several European languages. In 1600 A.D., being at Malacca, and homeward-bound, he got a chance of a passage

[1] "The Relations of Pedro Teixeira concerning the Origin, Descent, and Succession of the Kings of Persia and of Hormuz; and of a Voyage made by the Author himself, from East India to Italy, by land. Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen, 1610 (one vol., small octavo)." I have translated as literally as possible, to avoid clogging your pages with the Spanish, excellent in its own place. There is a somewhat tentative bibliography of the work here in question in the old "Penny Cyclopaedia," with mention of three other Portuguese geographers of the same name, but easily separable from our author.

to the Philippines in a dispatch-boat; and thence, by favour, to Acapulco. Thence he rode to Mexico, and stayed in that city over four months. He went on to "San Juan de Ulua" (now better known as Vera Cruz), and sailed thence to San Lucar on the Guadalquivir, touching only at Havana. He went on (not directly) to Lisbon, where he arrived nearly eighteen months after leaving Malacca. Of this voyage he gives us a sketch in sixteen pages, and apparently thought it a small matter, undertaken only "to shorten the way (!) and see the world."

Certain monies, of which Teixeira had arranged for the remittance from Malacca, *viâ* Goa, did not come to hand; and in less than six months he was at sea again, bound for Goa, but does not consider that voyage worth relating. This is a counsel of perfection, little heeded by the successors of the old globe-trotter.

He transacted his affairs in Goa (whether well or ill he thought no business of ours); and in February, 1604, he was homeward bound again, this time "overland," by the Euphrates Valley route, "weary of lengthy and tedious sea voyages, and thinking to shorten them, moved also by a certain curiosity."

His voyage was prosperous to Arabia, and his first port "Sysa," in that country, somewhere between Rás-al-Hadd and Maskát, possibly Súr. Touching at Maskát for wood and water, he reached the port of Hormuz on the 17th March, and stayed there until the 14th of April, when he sailed for Basra in a "little ship" of the Portuguese Governor's. On the 21st of May he was at Hormuz again, driven back by foul winds and failure of provisions, but sailed again on the 17th June. On the 4th of August he got into the Shat-al-Arab, and on the 6th to Basra.

On the 2nd of September he was out of the town, and, after three days spent in collecting the kafila and settling customs and blackmail, got off for Bagdad, *viâ* Mashad Ali and Karbala. He reached Bagdad on the 4th of October, and was out of it on the 12th December, reaching Ana on the Euphrates on the 23rd. Here he was delayed until the

13th of January, 1605, and got to Aleppo, travelling in camel-panniers (what we call in India "kajáwas") on the 11th of February. On the 5th April, he left that city, and embarked at Alexandretta on the 12th, on a ship of Venice bound for that city, which he reached on the 11th of July, having touched at Larnaca and at Zante.

From Venice, where he had important business to transact, and much to learn and admire, he crossed "no small part of Italy," and the Alps at Savoy, and passed through France to the Netherlands, where he settled in Antwerp, for all we *know*, for life. But one would rather conjecture that so restless a body would soon begin to itch for the road again. At any rate, he was in or about Antwerp until near the 22nd September, 1609, which is the date of a certificate of innocence given to the book by "Juan del Rio, Dean and Vicar-General of the Bishopric of Antwerp," on the assurance of "the Reverend Father Jacobus Tirinus, Professor in Holy Theology, of the Company of Jesus." Under this is an undated endorsement, "Cum gratia et privilegio ad quadriennium," signed "Wouvere," presumably the name of an official of the Censure.

No later date seems to be available about book or author, except the "1610" on the title-page. But there is an unsigned address of the author to the reader, explaining how he came to write, and especially to write in Spanish, translating from notes originally made in Portuguese, "by the advice of friends," and apparently not without some reference to the convenience of the examining authorities. Then follow the usual apologies, compliments to the "candid reader," and deprecations of criticism, and, as far as I know, Pedro Teixeira disappears from history. The type is indifferent and there are many misprints, some of which seem to indicate that the author did not revise the proofs. The pagination, in parts, runs clean wild. The old Spanish is mixed up with a good many Portuguese words, especially such as are also found in Spanish, but with slightly different meanings, so the reader wants two dictionaries, unless able to do without either.

I find no details about book or author in any book of reference convenient to me, except the *Dictionnaire Universelle de Biographie*, and that Universal Dictionary of everything delightful—Yule's "Marco Polo." The former gives nothing of Teixeira beyond what is to be learnt from his own book, and contemptuous mention of a French translation (in two parts, 12mo; Paris, 1621). His own name has even escaped Sir H. Yule's Index, but his work is quoted with approval, and, of course, as familiarly as last week's *Punch*, in the Notes to Marco's Notice of Hormuz. The Index reference is to "Thurán Shah": for it was Teixeira's abstract of that ruler's "Shahnama" that won him Sir Henry's thanks. When the latter wrote, this abstract was all that was known of Thurán Shah's chronicle. I do not know whether it has turned up since. Our author, as I have mentioned above, was fairly well educated, though not a regular scholar. He kept good look-out, log, and dead reckoning ashore; but left the two latter, when afloat, to the ship's officers, only taking care to record landfalls, and tell what seemed worth telling of coasts even touched on. It does not seem that he knew any navigation, then a jealously guarded mystery of the Portuguese and Spanish pilots. His land route can be traced, easily, on any modern map. His observation of men and cities is keen, and its expression not without occasional touches of a dry and quiet humour, and here and there an attempt at reliable statistics. In that of nature he is almost scientific, natural, and at times enthusiastic, especially in a description of the Pass of Bailán, the ancient "Syrian gates." His terse descriptions of the perils of travel, foul weather, fight, flight, and Bedouin raids are excellent in their way. One story of collision at sea is inimitable. There is something about the book generally which induces me to surmise that he may possibly have been a "New Christian" of a family not long nor thoroughly converted. His restless and inquiring temper, wide business connection, and evident interest in "high places" colonial; his unobtrusive and patient endurance; and at times the tone of his remarks,

indicate this possibility. And although he professes a piety more than conventional, no sacred name but "Dios" occurs in the book, except as required by the narrative.

In one passage, in chapter vi of the "Voyage," he refers to "the relation that I have made of the religious customs of the African races"; apparently a lost treatise.

Altogether the man himself, his personal narrative, and the extracts from Thurán Shah, seem to deserve some notice, and make me desire further information. A translation with a few notes (omitting the Persian History) would make about as big a book as the Hakluyt Society's first volume of Azurara's "Conquest of Guinea."[1]

W. F. Sinclair (late I.C.S.).

## 3. The Communal Origin of Indian Land Tenures.

Dear Sir,—As an accurate knowledge of ancient and modern systems of land tenure in India is of such great value to all Oriental students, I trust you will allow me to record in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society a few remarks on Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell's valuable and comprehensive account of the Indian village as given in his large work on "The Indian Village Community" and in his "Study of the Dakhan Villages" published in the R.A.S. Journal for April, 1897. His book, while generally accurate and complete as to Bhaiāchāra and Pattidari villages, is unfortunately, as I shall now try to show, entirely wrong in denying (1) the existence of any custom of holding the lands of *ryotwāri* villages in common,[2] and (2) the existence of any trace of a claim to property in waste land until the soil was cleared and prepared for cultivation.[3]

[1] In the numerous digressions scattered through the historical part of the book, casual mention is often made of Teixeira's earlier travels. We gather that in 1588 he sailed from Ceylon to Goa. He seems to have been in Persia by 1595 at latest, and only left it in 1597, when he sailed to Goa, and thence to Malacca.

[2] "The Indian Village Community," chap. i, sect. ii: 'The Ryotwāri Village,' p. 9.

[3] "Study of the Dakhan Villages," J.R.A.S., April, 1897, p. 243. "Indian Village Community," chap. v, sect. iii: 'Aryan Idea of Property in Land,' pp. 202–6.

The author himself admits that the *ryotwāri* village system is derived from the Southern Dravidian village and the Parha, or forest-clad clan territory, in which these villages were founded, and that it is to this form of village that very much the largest number of villages belongs.[1] He rightly attributes the primary origin of organized society to the aggregation of tribes, but he seems to hold that the existence of a headman or chief was a necessary part of the primary village organism, though it is not, as Sir H. S. Maine has remarked, originally a feature of tribal constitution.[2] I myself have seen a great deal of both tribal and village formation in Central India and Western Bengal, and judging from my own experience among the nomad non-cultivating forest tribes, those which change their cultivating settlements every two or three years and the migratory cultivators who wander from village to village in the less settled parts of the country, it seems to me impossible to believe that the first villages were founded under the guidance of a recognized permanent chief of a group of cultivators supposed to be united to one another by ties of kindred. If we take the customs of the present forest tribes as a guide to those of the past, we must believe that the original group from which the southern tribe was formed was one in which the nucleus was a family of hunters, in which the cohesive home element was supplied by the mother and her children. These children's father or fathers were always more or less inconstant members of the group, for they might always begin to form another if they found male comrades who could give them more efficient aid in their hunting pursuits than they could get from their own families. Hence it was that the matriarchal constitution of society in India arose from a group of mothers with their children, who grew up together from their birth, and thus formed an alliance which, beginning in childhood, lasted all their lives. Such a central group

[1] "The Indian Village Community," chap. iv, sect. iii: 'The Dravidian Group,' p. 160; chap. vi: 'The Tribe and the Village,' pp. 230–2.
[2] "The Indian Village Community," chap. i, pp. 9–10.

of ca thers, sisters, and brothers united together would be sure to attract candidates for admission into their ranks, who, if on trial they proved to be useful additions, would, though originally of alien birth, become permanent members of it. Hence was formed the population of the original permanent village, in which the men were all looked on as brothers of the women. The affairs of the children were managed, as they still are in many Indian castes, by these maternal uncles, the fathers being always the men of an adjoining village belonging to the same Parha, who had to look after the children of their own village. It is upon a similar but somewhat more fluctuating basis that the customs of the present nomad forest tribes are founded, who are quite ready to receive any wandering recruits they pick up when they have once made up their minds as to their capabilities; this readiness to receive unrelated members who will benefit the tribe survives in the caste institutions of the Tantis, Doms, Dosadhs, Chasas, Chandels, Bagdis, and numerous other castes, including the high-born Rajputs, very many families belonging to this last caste being notoriously known to be of alien blood.

All the nomad forest people make hunting, in the form of trapping and snaring game, one of their principal pursuits; and the men spend most of their time in finding out where animals most abound, learning their haunts thoroughly and then killing them, and also in searching for edible plants and roots. It was probably among the women that the idea first arose of growing food, which could be made available when the forest supplies failed. This priority of the women as the first cultivators of the soil is acknowledged in the imitative seasonal dances of the Mundas, for in the figure representing the sowing of the seed and the preparation of the ground all the work is done by women.

Of course these groups had leaders, like all other coherent societies, but their power was permanent only if they were able to make the other members believe in the advantage

arising from their rule; and the permanency of the tenure of the leader was only secured when in the struggle for existence some tribe under a succession of distinguished chiefs so far established its superiority as to be able to appropriate to itself a hunting tract sufficiently large for its wants when the supplies of wild animals, fruits, and roots were eked out by harvested crops. It was from these territories, which became the Parhas or clan properties into which India was divided by its earliest occupants, that the idea of landed property first arose. But this property was entirely communal and belonged to the united tribe, and no part of it was owned by any individual. In these early days the chief necessity felt by any group was the want of members, especially of those who were able by their intelligence and activity to add to the resources of the community. Hence, when a society of capable and efficient food-providers had either been formed or was in process of formation, it must have been a chief object of the leaders to prevent any split or secession, and also to encourage the idea that all work must be done for the public benefit. Among the tribes who first founded permanent villages this anxiety for the promotion of communal prosperity showed itself in their careful attention to the education of the young, who were looked on, except during their earliest years, when they wanted a mother's care, as the children of the village, and this is the status they hold in the Nāga and Ooraon villages. These children were carefully trained by the elders in all the practical knowledge they possessed, and it was this national system of instruction that gave birth to the village schools called Patshalas, universally found among all agricultural communities in Central India. But in this system of teaching, individuals were not allowed to assert themselves, and all were taught to think that their first duty was to obey their teachers and leaders, and to work for the prosperity of the village. If in after-life any of these trained children, or other members of the community, took an independent line, in opposition to the ruling powers of the village and parha,

their fault, unless promptly repented of and atoned for, met with but short shrift, for only flight could save the rebels from death. It was in this system of social despotism that the character of the Indian Dravidians was moulded, and from it they emerged as a most obedient and law-abiding race, always ready to submit to constituted authorities. But with this there was mingled an intense hatred of innovations, and a spirit of dogged obstinacy engendered by their long struggle for the establishment of their social superiority to neighbouring tribes, and the acquisition of the ability to rule large territories. This combined spirit of obedience and of obstinate resistance to whatever was displeasing to these born conservatives, when infused into the mental fibre of the many intercrossed races born from the union of the Dravidians with the numerous later immigrants who succeeded them in India, has produced diversities of character most interesting to ethnologists, but most perplexing to those who have to govern them.

The system of land administration which grew up under the despotic rule of the socialistic Dravidians was very different from that to which Mr. Baden-Powell ascribes the formation of Indian villages. For in these South Indian communities the claim of any individual to a right of property in land he had cleared would have been regarded as rank rebellion, and hence it was utterly impossible that in these original *ryotwāri* villages the several portions of the village could be, as he asserts they were, "allotted and taken up severally, and enjoyed independently from the first."[1]

In the original village, while the property in the soil was vested in the collective owners of the Parha, its produce was the property of the village community. It was used to supply food to them at their common meals, a custom still retained in the Ooraon villages, where all the village young men eat together, and it was this custom which emigrated to Europe with the other constituent customs of the Indian village—such as the annual partitions of land, the reverence

[1] "The Indian Village Community," chap. i, sect. ii: 'The Ryotwāri Village,' p. 9.

for the village grove, and the boundary snake encircling the village limits—and gave rise to the common meals of all the Dorian races. From this point of view, as Mr. C. W. Benett, Settlement Officer of Gonda, in Oude, says, in a passage quoted by Mr. Baden-Powell—"The produce was the common property of every class in the agricultural community, from the Raja to the slave. No one is absolute owner any more than the others, and the basis of the whole society is the grain heap."[1] In the communal villages of the earliest type, under a Munda or headman, which divided among themselves the soil of the Parha under the head Munda or Manki, it was a matter of complete indifference who should be the cultivator of any particular plot. What the community had to do was to cultivate all the cleared land, and the village elders were the task-masters, whose duty it was to see that this was done. Villages provided with a nucleus of able supervisors soon began to increase in size and to branch out into hamlets in the immediate neighbourhood, tilled by emigrant colonists of the parent village. It was this latter which became the capital of the Parha, peopled by its offshoots, and it was the Munda of this village which became the Manki of the Parha. Hence all governments in India grew to be expansions of the primaeval village. The centre point was the original village grove; this was the centre of the central village of the Parha, and when Parhas grew into kingdoms, the king's province was the centre of those ruled by his vassal chiefs, and in the Sanskrit distribution of Indian geography, Jambu-dwīpa, the province of Central India, became the centre of the seven provinces into which India was divided, and it was thence that the king of the Kuru-Panchālas is said to have ruled the country. When the original communal organization of the village was changed by the coming of northern immigrants, who brought with them the custom of marriage and the division of the community into families, the soil began to be divided upon a family basis, and the

[1] "The Indian Village Community," chap. v, sect. iii: 'Aryan Ideas of Property in Land,' pp. 212–3.

villages to be organized in the form found in the old Gond kingdom of Chuttisgurh, the land of the thirty-six forts or drūgs, a Madras term still used in Chuttisgurh. There the villages in the thickly populated parts of the country are all divided from one another by definite boundaries well known to and carefully guarded by the Gorait, or village priest of Goraya, the boundary god, the guardian snake which encircles the village, of which the boundary line is called "the sacred snake." In each village not only cultivated, but also waste, land is included. The cultivated lands are all divided into a certain number of lots called Koonts or Lakas, generally five in number. One of these belongs to the headman, and the remainder are ruled by chosen elders, whose duty it is to assist the headman in dividing all the arable rice land of the village into fields. These are so arranged that every cultivator shall receive as his share, at the periodical distribution of village land, a proportion of every kind of soil sown with rice exactly equivalent to the share due to his total holding. The whole area of the village rice land is calculated, with wonderful accuracy, according to the number of measures of seed required to sow it, and these are subdivided into the number of measures which will sow each koont. It is the duty of the koontdar to apportion the fields of his koont to the number of cultivators allotted to him, and their several capacities, these being, since ploughing was instituted, calculated according to the number of plough bullocks each cultivator possesses. The prevalence of this custom at the time of the first settlement of Chuttisgurh, from 1863–9, is proved by the following extracts from the Settlement Report of Mr. Chisholm, Settlement Officer of Belaspore, the northern part of Chuttisgurh, and from my Report as Settlement Officer of the southern districts.

Mr. Chisholm says (para. 147):—"Another peculiarity is the practice of changing fields. This would occur periodically, so that no tenant should monopolise the best land. This practice is not universal; it exists in some villages only. The want of attachment, however, to individual holdings

is an almost universal feature, and a very trifle will often induce even a hereditary ryot to relinquish his land."

I say (para. 171):—"It is the custom, when a new ryot comes to a village, always to give him a portion of cultivated land proportionate to the number of plough bullocks he has; and if some other ryot does not opportunely vacate his holding, so as to allow the new-comer to step in, the land required is usually obtained by throwing the whole of the village land into one lot, and redistributing it." I did not, however, in my printed report, speak of what was well known to me from four years' constant intercourse with the ryots, the original existence of a custom of redividing the land every five years, which was substituted for the still earlier one of annual divisions of the land. This last is that mentioned in Mr. Place's Report of the Vellālar villages in the Chingleput district of Madras, quoted by Mr. Baden-Powell,[1] where he says: "The council, that is the panchayut, determined each year what portion of land each group should undertake, and the village body worked without any separate or permanent allotment of lands." This custom of dividing the lands had been in Chuttisgurh generally followed by most of the villages, except those situated in the most fertile parts of the district, where the soil was generally of a uniform quality, and which were peopled by Kurmis, Telis, and other similar castes of good farmers. In these the ryot generally held the same lands from year to year without any change. But in every village the divisions into koonts always existed, and this shows that the whole constitution of the village in which one koont was allotted to the headman, rests on the original custom of annual redistributions of the land, for it is the heads of the village koonts, including the headman, who form the village Panchayut. Their primary official duties as assistants to the headman were to superintend the division of the land and its subsequent cultivation, so that the productive power of the village might not suffer

[1] "The Indian Village Community," chap. ix, sect. i: 'Ancient Joint Villages in Madras,' p. 375.

from the idleness of the cultivators. That the Panchayut, with the accompanying system of shifting tenures, which was the original cause of its appointment, was an original feature in village institutions throughout India, is proved by Mr. Baden-Powell, in the passages where he says, "the Panchayut was once the special feature of the constitution of the joint village,"[1] and in his quotation from Mr. Whiteway, who says that "the panchayut is a Bhaiāchāra institution," existing in the Jāt villages in Mathura "in full perfection."[2] The shifting tenures, with the accompanying periodical redistributions of land, existed until a very recent period in Madras, as well as Chuttisgurh, for Mr. J. Thomson, Resident of Travancore, has told me that he remembers the custom as existing in South Arcot, when he was employed in that district, and it used also to take place in some of the Ooraon villages of Chutia Nagpore.

Hence it is clear that the custom of the communal holding of land, with periodical redistributions of the fields, is one that is inherent in the constitution of all villages founded by the southern rice-growing tribes. And that it was taken by them to Northern India is proved, not only by the universal existence of traces of Panchayut rule, but also by its actual existence in Kangra,[3] and by the custom in the Gūmal Valley of the Dera Ismail Khan district of cultivating in common the rice lands sown with the autumn crop.[4]

It will be universally found throughout India that in all Dravidian and Kolarian villages, and even in those founded by later Northern immigrants on foundations laid by their indigenous predecessors, land is not looked on as in any sense the individual and hereditary property of the cultivator. And every ryot of all *ryotwāri* villages will,

[1] "The Indian Village Community," chap. x: 'General Summary and Conclusion,' p. 441.
[2] "The Indian Village Community," chap. vi: 'The Tribe and the Village,' p. 283.
[3] "The Indian Village Community," chap. iv: 'Customs regarding Land-holding observed among the Non-Aryan Races,' p. 132.
[4] "The Indian Village Community," chap. vi: 'The Tribe and the Village,' p. 261.

except in those villages where primitive institutions have been entirely obliterated by the last immigrant invaders, whom it is the custom to call Aryans, acknowledge that his equitable rights in the village were not rights to any special plots of land, but to whatever fields the communal panchayut would give him, that these might be taken from him when the fields were required by the community, and that he himself might be ousted by them from the village. Upon these terms each ryot admitted as a member of the community possessed hereditary rights, and his descendants can always, in parts of the country where aboriginal customs prevail, get an allotment of land in his ancestral village when returning to it after a number of generations. But this land is given from the cultivated area by the community just as the klêros or holding of each Greek tenant was given him, not by his parents, but by the Phratria on his coming of age, and the five erws of land, the hereditary right of each Cymry, was given to him by the tribe on the same occasion. These allowances were given from the arable area, and the holdings of previous occupiers had to be adjusted to allow of the gift. Both the Greeks and the Cymry, like the communal villagers of Europe, brought their village customs from India, where the first villages were founded.

It is when we turn from the original village customs founded by the rice-growing races of the South to the tenures of the barley-growing tribes of the North-West that we find those ideas of individual and family proprietary rights in definite portions of land which were utterly unknown to the earliest makers of villages. These people are all immigrants from the North, who grow as their principal crops millets, oil-seeds, wheat, and barley, which have all been imported into India from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. They first introduced into India the custom of marriage, and made the sign of the marriage bond, the Sindur-dan or red mark drawn by the bridegroom down the parting of the bride's hair, to signify that the pair are united in blood-brotherhood, the actual interchange of blood being added in many castes.

These immigrant tribes based their land customs chiefly upon those inherited from one of the numerous stocks from which the ploughing races, the original meaning of the word Aryan, are descended. These were the Gothic sons of the totem bull and cow, the pastoral tribes of North-West Europe, the Bauers of North Germany. Among these people the communal land tenures which generally prevail throughout the rest of Europe, South-Western Asia, and India, never existed. With them the land held and tilled by each cattle-owning family was the family property, defended against all comers, and they did not live in contiguous huts like those of the communal villagers, but the whole family lived together in their own homestead. Their farms and grazing grounds each included in its ring fence were all grouped round those of the Hauptmann of the Bauerschaft, where there was the central fort for common defence, the peel tower of English border lands and the meeting hall of the allied farmers, the Sabha of the Vedic age. These were the people who came down into India as the Jāts and Cheroos, and changed the original provinces or Parhas of united villages, founded by the mountain Mundas from the North-East and the Dravidians or sons of the tree, into Drūgs or forts. It was they who divided the lands they occupied into family properties by the institution of Bhaiāchāra and Pattidari villages in territories they found to be imperfectly cleared.

An excellent instance of the change produced by the coming of one of the first immigrant tribes from the North-West is given by the customs of the Kandhs, whose tenures are cited by Mr. Baden-Powell as proving the original existence throughout India of indigenous family proprietary rights to the soil. These warrior Kandhs, who worship the sword, are undoubtedly very early immigrants, for in their marriage ceremonies the binding tie between the married couple is not the making of blood-brotherhood, but the exclusion of both bride and bridegroom from his clan by the father of the bride, who spits upon both their

hands. The union of the two is effected at their betrothal by ceremonies which betoken a descent from agricultural ancestors and not from warrior progenitors, who brought in later the worship of the sword and introduced throughout India the custom of mingling blood. At the Kandh betrothal the bridegroom puts a necklace on the bride, and she pours oil over him, and this last ceremony shows that it is imported, with the reverence for oil, from Asia Minor. It is in the rules controlling these marriages that we find certain proof that the Kandh political system arose from an alliance of Northern agriculturists with Dravidian farmers. In the first place the marriages are all exogamous according to the Indian rule, and not endogamous in the family according to Northern custom. The incoming immigrants, when settled in the country, formed the whole of the Kandh territory into one parha, which they divided into fifty gochis, each bearing the name of a muta or mother village. Each gochi was supposed to represent the property of a family. These gochis, as families, were subdivided into sub-septs called klambus, which are purely family divisions. No man can marry any girl belonging to his own gochi or klambu. But the rule as to the gochi is the more imperative of the two, for a man may not marry a girl, though she belongs to a different klambu, if she lives in his own gochi. The whole system is evidently one of compromise, framed by a tribe of Northern descent, who traced their genealogy on the father's side (as is the rule in the gochis and klambus) when they united themselves with semi-aboriginal matriarchal tribes who traced their descent through the mother. These latter, like the Binds and Gonrhis still living in the same country, forbade marriage between a man and woman of the same village. This custom, again, is an outcome of the still older matriarchal rules of which vestiges are still found among the Kols and the Juangs. Under this custom all village children were begotten at the seasonal feasts held in the Akra or dancing ground under the shade of the village grove, and hence they were all children of the village

parent tree. From this arose the custom, observed by almost all the agricultural castes in Bengal, of marrying every bride of the caste, and sometimes her husband also, to the parent tree before the marriage binding the couple together. The original form assumed by the custom is shown in the rule observed by the Juangs, Ho Kols, and the widespread tribe of the Bhuiyas, which forbids the men and girls of the village to dance together, but prescribes that the girls shall always invite the men of neighbouring villages to their dances. It is in accordance with this rule that among the Ho Kols the girls of one village, accompanied by the young men of another, often go from village to village for weeks together at the great Māgh festival in January–February, being entertained by and dancing together at each village they come to. This rule was made by the original Dravidian village makers as a means of binding all the villages of a parha in perpetual alliance, and under it every man could become the father of the children of any woman in the parha, except the women of his own village; and he was not allowed to live with the mother of his children, but must help to superintend the education of the children born in the village where he lived with his tribal sisters.

Under the rule of the invading Northerners, who reckoned descent by the father's side, and who married the Southern daughters of the land they had conquered, the old communal tenure of the matriarchal Dravidians, who only knew their mothers, was altered into the territorial tenures with definite boundaries, now held by the Kandh cultivators. But even in these villages I think it would be likely that a careful survey of the village would disclose very distinct traces of the old communal holding. As an instance, I may refer to my own experience in Chuttisgurh, where in villages in which the tenure had remained unchanged for many years, the evidence of the old custom of distributing the lands on the principle of giving each cultivator his due share of each kind of soil in the village was unmistakably marked by the very small size of many

of the fields and the scattered nature of the tenures. For even where only a small area of a particular kind of soil was to be found in the village, it had to be cut up into plots corresponding with the number of the villagers. These plots were often so small that they could not be shown on the field maps of the rice lands until the scale was altered from thirty-two inches to sixty-four inches to the mile. In order to carry out this rule, each ryot's holding and the area belonging to each koont were scattered all over the village, thus obliging cultivators in large villages to go from one to two or three miles to visit and till each plot of their holdings. Such a distribution of the fields could never have existed if each tenant were thought to have a right to the land he or his ancestors had cleared; in that case every holding would have been in a ring fence.

In conclusion, I think I may safely say that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of India it will be found that the Dravidian matriarchal cultivator, who has introduced his distinctive cerebral letters into Sanskrit and Pushto, and has left very distinct traces of his speech in all Prakrit and Pali dialects, has also left the mark of his inborn conservatism upon the agricultural tenures and customs. That everywhere the oldest village system was the communal tenure of the Dravidian sons of the tree, whose staple crop was rice; and that the rule of individual property in land, which distinguishes the Bhaiāchāra and Pattidari systems of tenure, and which has in many places all but obliterated the old communal rules in *ryotwāri* villages, is a later importation into India made by the barley-growing immigrants from Asia Minor.

J. F. Hewitt.

## 4. Dimāpūr.

Dear Sir,—I think it is a great pity that one at least of the photos of the Y-shaped stones described by Dr. Brown was not given in the last number, and hope the

Council will see their way to publishing one in the next issue. Since writing the remarks which appeared in the last quarterly, I have seen Major Godwin-Austen's description (with plates) in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society of 1874, but none of his drawings seem to me to give sufficient detail of what he calls the V-shaped stones. One certainly represents a V (not Y) springing directly from the earth, but from his description it is clear that there is a double row of Y-stones, and because the front row is taller than the rear row he thinks they were used to support beams for a roof. The evidence, however, is not conclusive. He says there are signs of a mortice on the tops of the V's, as if they had been connected by another piece, but that *no such pieces were found.* He gives a ground-plan of the stones, showing the relative position of round pillars and Y-stones, which ought also to be republished. I do not remember seeing any V-shaped stones in Dr. Brown's series, and they clearly could not be used for supporting a roof. It is unfortunate that Major Godwin-Austen does not give any drawing of a stone in support of his theory that they were used as supports of the roof of what he thinks was a "*market-place from its position just inside the gateway.*" To me this seems a very extraordinary conclusion to arrive at. If the structure were merely a market-place, why should the stone supports be so elaborately carved? Why, again, should there be in front of it two rows of huge round columns carved in a totally different way, without bird or beast of any kind being depicted on them? And what is the meaning of the large isolated column, 17 ft. high and 23 ft. in circumference, which stands opposite the centre of the rows of stones, but at a distance of 150 ft. from them?

The ruins and traditions of the Kacharis and Nāga tribes require careful investigation: even the name Dimā remains unexplained, and the date of the destruction of the city (by Nāga tribes?) unrecorded.—Yours truly,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

## 5. Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri, and King Achyuta.

*Gorakhpur,*
*May* 9, 1897.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—Though pleased to learn, from the correspondence in the April number of the Journal, that my article on Samudra Gupta has attracted the attention of such competent scholars as Messrs. Sewell and Rapson, I must ask permission to point out that my rather rash procedure in publishing my conclusions in advance of the evidence for them has done me injustice. The dissertation on the "Conquests of Samudra Gupta," now on its way to England, will, I hope, convince Mr. Sewell that my interpretation of the name Mahendragiri is correct.

The same paper gives a full account of the coins which Mr. Rapson agrees with me in ascribing to the king Achyuta, who was conquered by Samudra Gupta.

I am gratified to find that Mr. Rapson and myself have independently arrived at the same conclusion concerning the correct attribution of the *Achyu* coins. Those coins are, as Mr. Rapson rightly observes, closely allied to the better known coins of the Nāgas.

Another group of coins allied to the Nāga issues is that of the Mālava coins, recently described in detail by Mr. Rodgers.[1] In fact, a few of the coins placed in the Mālava series by Mr. Rodgers (Nos. 12,461 to 12,465) are probably Nāga rather than Mālava. The Mālava coins are likewise closely related to the "vase type" of Candra, which I now attribute with confidence to Candra Gupta II, the Candra of the Iron Pillar.

Vincent Smith.

[1] "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," part iii, pp. 15–27. The coins described are from the great hoard of 6,000 obtained by Mr. Carlleyle at Nāgar in the Jaipur State ("Reports," vi, 165, 173–183).

## 6. The Discovery of the Birthplace of the Buddha.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—As a misleading account of the discovery of this long-lost and important historical site has been widely published, giving the entire credit of it to Mr. Führer, the Archæological Surveyor of the North-West Provinces of India, I have been asked in the interests of accuracy, and in justice to myself, to put on record a statement of the facts as to the manner in which the discovery was really made.

For many years past I had been devoting a portion of my holidays to a search for this celebrated ancient site—Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Prince Gautama Siddharta, the Buddha Ṣakya Muni—as well as for that of the Buddha's death, Kuṣināra, ever since I had realized that General Cunningham's identification of the villages of Bhuila and Kesia with those sites was clearly altogether false. Indeed, the geographical position of these two villages was so palpably out of keeping with that of the ancient sites in question, as recorded by our chief guides, the Chinese pilgrims Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang, who had visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., that Cunningham's identifications were rejected or strongly doubted by Fergusson, Oldenburg, and Beal, although these latter authorities had never themselves even visited these places. And more decidedly so was this my opinion when I visited these spots specially to determine this question. Not only did I find that the geographical position of both these villages was inconsistent with such identifications, but equally so was the topography, as well as the absence of characteristic remains and inscriptions, even after the extensive digging which had been done by Sir Alexander Cunningham and his staff. And a similar adverse opinion was independently formed, as I was afterwards told, by Mr. Vincent Smith and Dr. Hoey, after their visit to these spots. So whatever ancient places Bhuila and Kesia might turn out to be, they certainly were not Kapilavastu and Kuṣināra.

Pursuing my search for these two famous lost sites, and attempting to trace the itineraries thither of the Chinese pilgrims, I cross-quartered the greater part of the country in question, which lay within British territory, traversing in this search some thousands of miles, of which several hundreds had to be done on foot. But this tract of plains to the north of the Ganges was so much cut up by the ever-shifting channels of the mighty rivers which debouch from the Himalayas, that it was almost impossible, in the absence of characteristic inscriptions and without digging, to identify conclusively any of the ruins found with any of the particular Buddhist sites described in the Chinese pilgrims' itineraries, when, as in the present case, the latter lay far inland beyond the bank of the Ganges. It seemed even doubtful whether Sahet-Mahet really represented Śravasti. Indeed, almost the only absolutely fixed point in this trans-Gangetic tract from which one could try to locate the two sites searched for, were Banaras and the modern Basaṛh, the ancient Vaiśāli, both of which lay over a hundred miles distant from the two sites in question. The results, therefore, of these researches were not, as regards this inquiry, at all satisfactorily definite. Still, in addition to accumulating much minor archaeological information, I formed the opinion, from a close study of the locality, that the line of Aśōka-edict pillars which runs north-westwards from Paṭaliputra seemed intended to mark the route of Buddha's last journey to Kuśināra, where he died[1]; also that Kuśināra itself might possibly prove to be Navandgaṛh with its Aśōka pillar and numerous mounds, to the north of Bettiah, though without digging it was, of course, impossible to be at all certain as to this supposed identity; while the birthplace of Buddha seemed to lie either in the extreme north-west of the modern Gorakhpur district, where I had not visited, or in the Nepalese Terai, where a Tibetan manuscript of mine had placed it.

When, therefore, an inscribed Aśōka pillar was reported in 1893 to have been found in this part of the Nepalese

[1] See my paper in J.A.S. Bengal, 1896, p. 279.

Terai by a Nepalese officer on a hunting excursion at Nigliva, on the frontier of the North-West Provinces, I wrote to the Archæological Surveyor of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Führer, asking about the inscription, but I received no reply. Again, when that inscription was published two years later, in 1895, by Professor Bühler,[1] from a paper-impression, said to have been taken by Mr. Führer, I at once saw the clue which this inscription of Konkamana's pillar supplied towards fixing the site of Buddha's birthplace in its neighbourhood. I therefore again wrote to the last-named officer, Mr. Führer, for further particulars; but received no reply, and only after much difficulty and delay did I procure a copy of his report through the Bengal Government. But that report, which I was officially informed was the only one published, made no reference whatever to what was by far the most important indication which this newly-found pillar at Nigliva gave us, namely, that it guided us to the very spot in its neighbourhood where lay the ruins of Buddha's birthplace, for which we had been seeking so long.

On finding that Mr. Führer had failed to see the most valuable aspect of this pillar, I immediately sent a memorandum to the Bengal Asiatic Society, on May 13, 1896, pointing out the great geographical importance of this pillar, and urging that steps should at once be taken to recover the historic monuments of Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden which certainly lay in the jungle at the spot in the neighbourhood, which I indicated from the itineraries of the Chinese and Tibetan pilgrims. But my note was returned to me after twelve days by the acting Secretary, with the intimation that it could not be "read" at the next meeting of the Society in June, for according to some new rules no paper could be "read." until it was in print. Finding that that Society showed so little interest in this important matter,[2]

[1] *Academy* of April 27, 1895.

[2] At the request of one of the members I returned the paper on June 28, 1896, with some alteration in form and title, and it was "read" at the August meeting and duly published thereafter in the Journal of the Bengal A.S. 1896, p. 275 et seq.

and in order to arouse public interest in so romantic a subject, I threw my memorandum into popular form as an article to the Calcutta *Englishman*, entitled "Where is the Birthplace of Buddha?" and this was published in that newspaper on June 1, 1896, and it was immediately reproduced in all the leading newspapers of India. In that article, of which I send you a copy for record in the Library, I wrote—

"All this evidence points positively to the one conclusion, "namely, that the long-lost birthplace of Sakya Muni, "with its magnificent monuments, *certainly lies at a spot* "*in the Nepalese Terai, about seven miles to the north-west* "*of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, which is thirty-eight* "*miles north-west of the Uska Station of the Bengal and* "*North-Western Railway.* The Lumbini or Lumbuna grove "(the actual birthplace) will be found three or four miles "to the north of the village of Nigliva, and the old town "of 'Na-pi-kia,' with its relic-mound and its inscribed "Aṣōka's pillar, should be found about five miles to the "south-west of that village. That no one has hitherto "discovered Kapilavastu and its suburbs, is doubtless owing "to its lying within the Nepalese Terai hidden amidst dense "jungle; and the long distance at which it lay from any "fixed point made its exact position somewhat uncertain. "Now, however, that its position is here indicated, and "in view of the invaluable historical treasures which it "undoubtedly contains, it is desirable that Government "should take early steps to procure the sanction of the "Nepalese Government to its full exploration. I have no "doubt that the present enlightened Government of Nepal "will readily grant the necessary permission when it "recognizes the non-Brahmanical character of these ruins. "And it is to be hoped that the place will soon be made "to disclose its secrets which are locked up in sandstone, "bricks, and granite. Altogether we seem to be on the "verge of one of the most important Indian archæological "finds of the century."

This was published on June 1, 1896, and as it aroused so much public interest I addressed the following letter to the Government of India on June 11, 1896 :—

"No. 521A.

"*To the Secretary to the Government of India, General Department.*

"*Dated Calcutta, June* 11, 1896.

"I have the honour to forward for your information an article by me upon one of the most important of all ancient Indian sites, namely, the birthplace of Buddha and its Aṣōka's monuments. This lost site is shown by me to lie almost certainly within the Nepalese Terai at a point within seven miles or so to the north-west of the village of Nigliva, which is about thirty-eight miles to the NNW. of the Uska Station of the Bengal and North-Western Railway in Gorakhpur District.

"As the exploration of this place is likely to yield rich results of the utmost importance to Indian Archæology, I beg to recommend that the Nepalese Government be moved to grant the necessary permission for this work to be done, and the exploration should certainly be undertaken without delay.

"I have, etc.,

L. A. WADDELL."

To this letter I received a reply stating that the Government of Bengal and the Resident at the Court of Nepal had been requested to take the matter up, and afford the necessary assistance for the exploration. And from these two sources I received the following letters :—

"*To Surgeon-Major L. A. Waddell, LL.D., Professor of Chemistry, Medical College, Calcutta.*

"*The Residency, Nepal.*
*August* 7, 1896.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter, No. 521A, dated June 11 last, to the Secretary to the Government of India (General Revenue Department), has just been sent me for disposal.

"Will you please forward me a copy of your article on the 'Birthplace of Buddha and its Aṣōka's Monuments.' This will, I presume, enable me to see more clearly what you want and

render you more efficient help. . . . . The Terai cannot be entered with any degree of safety by Europeans before the end of November at earliest.

"Yours, etc.,

H. WYLIE, Colonel."

"No. 209.

"*Bengal Secretariat, General Department.*
*Calcutta, August* 11, 1896.

"Your letter, No. 521A, dated June 11, 1896, regarding the exploration of the site of the supposed birthplace of Buddha in the Nepalese Terai, has been referred by the Government of India to this Government for an expression of opinion. In the event of your being deputed to carry out the exploration, I am to inquire in what length of time you would expect to finish it. What would be the probable cost? It is believed that it will not be advisable to undertake the work until the cold weather is well advanced, as till then the Terai is exceedingly unhealthy.

"Yours, etc.,

E. M. KONSTAM,

Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal."

"*To Surgeon-Major L. A. Waddell, LL.D.*"

To these communications I replied on August 11, 1896, sending the information asked for, and giving a detailed statement of the establishment and equipment which were necessary for carrying out the exploration. The Government of Bengal, with its characteristic generosity in patronizing scientific investigations, agreed to bear the entire expense of these operations, and it asked the Government of India to set me free for six weeks in the cold weather to conduct this work. But it so happened that the latter Government could not at that time spare my services, *and then, and only then, Mr. Führer was sent to follow out the exploration* which had been arranged by me, as is stated in the following letter:—

"No. 42.

"*Bengal Secretariat, General Department.*
*Calcutta, February* 5, 1897.

"I am desired to inform you that the Government of India could not undertake to find a substitute to act for you; and, as it therefore seemed uncertain whether your services would be available for the exploration in the Nepal Terai, the Government of India decided to allow Dr. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-West Provinces and Oudh, to carry out the work.

"Yours, etc.,
E. M. KONSTAM,
Under-Secretary."

"*To Surgeon-Major L. A. Waddell, LL.D.,*
*Professor of Chemistry, Medical College.*"

The sequel is well known. At the last moment, owing to its having been found impossible for me to go in person, Mr. Führer was sent to carry out the exploration which had been suggested and planned by me; and, using the machinery which I had set in motion, he proceeded to the spots which I had indicated, and there found the ruined monuments of Kapilavastu city and the Lumbini grove, with their numerous inscriptions, including amongst others one by the great emperor Piyadassi (Aṣōka) himself, recording, says Professor Bühler, that twenty years after his (Aṣōka's) accession (i.e. the latter half of the third century B.C.) he came to this very spot and there worshipped, saying, "Here was the Buddha, the Sakya ascetic, born," and that he had erected this stone pillar, which records that "Here the Venerable One was born."[1]

But, strange to say, Mr. Führer, with characteristic forgetfulness, has in all his reports on this subject studiously suppressed all reference to my important share in this discovery. It is not, however, I am sorry to say, the first

[1] Compare my article on *Upagupta as the High-Priest of Aṣōka* in J.A.S. Bengal, February, 1897, for some details as to the circumstances under which Aṣōka visited the Lumbini Garden and erected this very pillar.

time that he has appropriated wholesale the work of others without acknowledgment, as a reference to the *Athenæum* of September 28, 1895, p. 423, will show.

The above letters and extracts, nevertheless, speak for themselves. They (if I may be pardoned the apparently egotistical form of statement which has been forced on me by Mr. Führer's attitude) conclusively prove—

*Firstly*—That it was I who first pointed out the clue which the Nigliva pillar gave us for fixing with absolute certainty the place of Buddha's birth, and where the latter was actually found.

*Secondly*—That it was I who moved the Government of India to have the spots explored.

*Thirdly*—That it was I who arranged details for the exploration.

*Fourthly*—That it was I who was to have conducted the exploration to recover the inscriptions, etc.; but at the last moment, when I was by adverse circumstances prevented from proceeding, and Mr. Führer was sent to carry out the exploration arranged by me, he found the Lumbini grove, etc., with their inscriptions at the very spots pointed out by me.

I am, etc.,

L. A. WADDELL.

*Corrie, Arran, N.B.*
*June* 11, 1897.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Die Transcription fremder Alphabete. Von E. Kuhn and H. Schnour, von Carrlsfeld. 8vo, pp. 15. (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1897.)

Our readers will call to mind the Society's report on the scheme of transliteration adopted by the Geneva Congress. The report appeared in our issue for October, 1896, and a few changes were suggested in it with the object of bringing the two Congress schemes (for Sanskrit and the allied alphabets, and for Arabic and the allied alphabets) into closer harmony.

This paper by Professor Ernst Kuhn and the principal Librarian of the Leipzig University Library, working in collaboration, is directed to a similar end. They adhere practically to the Geneva scheme as applied to Sanskrit, etc.; but they propose in the Arabic table to substitute the signs $\theta$, $\delta$, $\gamma$ for the ṯ, ḏ, ġ suggested at Geneva to represent the signs ث, ذ, غ. In accordance with our notes 1, 2, and 3, they also strongly recommend the two dots (instead of one dot) for the four linguals s̈, d̈, ẗ, and z̈. As their suggestions are made without reference to, and independently of, our report, this second proposal is interesting and instructive. As to the other one—the representation of the aspirates by new signs instead of by Roman letters—all that can be said is, that if it were possible to hope for the universal adoption of the change, it would avoid many difficulties and have many advantages.

The authors then proceed to apply the principles they have laid down to schemes for the transliteration of Armenian, Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, Afghan, Malay, Hebrew, Syriac, Aethiopian, Koptic, Serbian, and Russian.

The authors insist on the great practical importance, especially for librarians, of a consensus of opinion in this matter, and it is only by such sober and scholarly discussions as they give us that that desirable end is likely to be attained.

MÉMOIRE COMPOSÉ À L'ÉPOQUE DE LA GRANDE DYNASTIE T'ANG SUR LES RELIGIEUX ÉMINENTS QUI ALLÉRENT CHERCHER LA LOI DANS LES PAYS D'OCCIDENT, PAR I-TSING, traduit en Français. Par EDOUARD CHAVANNES. (Paris, 1894.)

In this treatise we have first an introduction, in which M. Chavannes gives us a short account of I-Ching's (I-Tsing's) life, followed by some very thoughtful observations on the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims mentioned by the author, and on the fortunes of Buddhism in China. Then we have the translation of I-Ching's work, which contains short narratives of fifty-six pilgrims from China, Korea, and other regions to India, with a supplement giving particulars about four other pilgrims. To this translation M. Chavannes has added an appendix, in which he has given us a translation of the Life of I-Ching from the "Sung-Kao-sêng-Chuan." Then we have a few notes, called Addenda, on certain names and other matters in the translation; and the book ends with three useful Indices of the Sanskrit, Chinese, and French terms occurring in the translation.

M. Chavannes has evidently taken great pains to make his rendering of I-Ching's book as perfect as possible, and he has added numerous notes to assist the reader in understanding the text. The book will repay a careful study; for although the pilgrims, whose stories are told in it, were for the most part men of little note, yet the

biographical notices of them contain much interesting information on several matters.

I-Ching's style is generally terse and elliptical, and he is fond of half-expressed hints and quaint allusions which make him occasionally hard to translate in a satisfactory manner. M. Chavannes has managed to surmount most of the difficulties of the text, and he has the good sense to acknowledge that he is sometimes puzzled; in a few instances he has committed the error of unnecessarily supplementing his text, thereby altering the author's meaning. We have an instance of this at p. 4. The writer, referring to the few who finished, of the many who began, the long pilgrimage, explains thus, according to M. Chavannes: "La vraie cause en fut les immensités des déserts pierreux *du pays de* l'Éléphant, les grands fleuves et l'éclat du soleil, qui crache son ardeur; ou les masses d'eau des vagues *soulevées par* le poisson gigantesque." Here I have put in italics certain words which are not in the original, and it will be seen that the interpolation of these words alters the meaning. The author is not writing about "the country of the Elephant" (India), but about the perils of the journey to that country. The journey could be made either by land or water, and each route had its own dangers and difficulties. On the land route, he tells us, were *elephantine* (i.e. enormous) sand-masses, and on the sea-voyage you had *leviathan* (*ching*) billows.

In some places also the translator gives to a Chinese term one of its significations, but not the one required by the context: thus, at p. 6 the author, writing of the Chinese pilgrims to India, who had to be content with whatever poor shelter they could obtain in that country, adds in M. Chavannes' rendering: "Comme leur corps ne jouissait pas du calme, comment leur vertu aurait-elle pu être haute?" This strikes one at once as incongruous and worse than feeble praise. But the context shows that *tao* here is not used in the sense of "leur vertu," and that it has the Buddhist meaning of "spiritual attainments." I-Ching explains that as the pilgrims had no opportunities

of performing those religious exercises which lead to superior degrees in the holy life, they consequently did not reach a high state of spiritual perfection.

At p. 9 we have the following passage: "Dans la table [the list of the pilgrims noticed] qui précède, il y a en tout cinquante-six personnes. Les premiers en grand nombre tombèrent comme une pluie douce. De ceux qu'il y avait quand moi, I-Tsing, je vins en Inde, il reste en tout cinq personnes: Maître *Ou-hing*, maître *Tao-lin*, maître *Hoei-luen*, maître Seng-tché, et maître *Tche-hong*. C'est ce qu'on verra en les recapitulant." This does not seem to be a correct rendering of the Chinese, and the statements it contains are not in agreement with the contents of the book. How could M. Chavannes represent these scattered miscellaneous pilgrims as all dying at the same time—"falling like a sweet shower"? What I-Ching states is to this effect: "In the list given most of the pilgrims before my time were unknown nobodies (零 落); Wu-hsing and the four mentioned with him who were in India at my time were conspicuous men of note (見 在 計)."

There are also several other passages in which the translator seems to have missed the author's meaning. But notwithstanding these faults, partly due perhaps to a bad text, M. Chavannes' book is a valuable addition to the literature of Buddhism. Apart from the biographical notices, I-Ching's account of the great establishment at Nālanda is specially interesting, and his casual observations on Buddhist teachers and scriptures are worthy of attention.

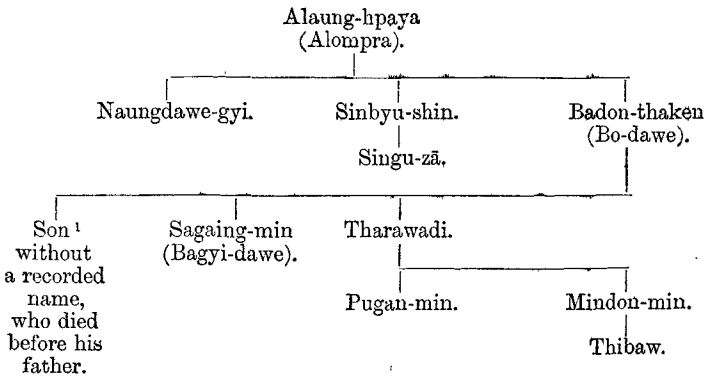
T. W.

PICTURESQUE BURMA, PAST AND PRESENT. By Mrs. ERNEST HART.

This book is far in advance of the usual "globe-trotter's" production, and gives a really fair description of the country in a very readable manner. It is also beautifully illustrated. Mrs. Hart has consulted, and quotes from, almost every published book from Marco Polo to

the present day; but her own remarks on what she has seen and heard are often to the point, especially those in the two last chapters on "The Education of the Burman and the Barbarian" and "The great Change and the Outlook," which will demand attention.

The remarks on the insanity of Alompra's family in chapter xxxix are very interesting, but there is a mistake in the table of descent at p. 368 which requires correction; it should be as under:—




Badon-thaken was always so called in the time of Sangermano, and was not called Bo-dawe, or Royal Grandfather, until the reign of Mindon-min; Sagaing-min was likewise then spoken of as Bagyi-dawe or Royal Uncle.

A person ignorant of the language of the country in which he travels had also better avoid derivations, or he may fall into the error of perpetuating silly traditions. A notable example of this kind is to be found on p. 73, regarding the city of Prome, the classical name of which was Tharekhettara or, according to Dr. Mason, Tharekhetta. Mrs. Hart says: "The name of Tharekhettara means 'single skin,' and the legend is that a favourite wife of the great monarch with three eyes begged of her husband a grant of land, and being asked how much she required, replied

[1] He was known as the Einshé Min or Heir-Apparent.

as much as the hide of a buffaloe would cover." In this case it is easy to see how the story arose, although I can not account for the word 'single.' *Thare* in Burmese means 'skin," but *khetta* has no meaning in that language. Prome was originally inhabited by a tribe called Pyu or Pru, distinct from the Mramma (Burmese) race, and their classical language, if they had one, would probably have been Sanskrit. In fact, the story of a king with three eyes seems to point to a caste mark in the centre of the forehead. The same story occurs in the history of Moulmein, when the king's third eye is put out by being wiped with a *woman's dress which had been worn in child-birth.* I have always taken this to mean that the Hindu founder lost his caste and extraordinary power by inter-marriage with a native of the country. In old Burmese the Sanskrit श्री, Pali Sirī, was written ၑရီ, and thus Tharekhetta or Tharekhettara would have been Srikhetta or Srikhetra, श्रीक्षेत्र "the place of prosperity."

The suggestion at p. 54 that "it is earnestly to be hoped that the British Government should not only take steps to preserve the marvellous ruins of Pagahn from decay, but also send competent persons to picture and describe them in detail," is highly to be commended. There is an enormous amount of archaeology to be attended to in Burma, as well as philology, and it is much to be regretted that the present officials are too fond of relying on, and quoting again and again, the praiseworthy but imperfect observations of men who had the desire, but not the means, of gaining the truth. The present Burmese are not the original inhabitants of the country, and those who rely on their traditions without sifting them scientifically are bound to fall into error.

At p. 64 there is a remarkable translation of a sentence inscribed on a votive tablet found at Pugahn, said to have been made by a British Museum official, which is not easy of comprehension. "The Tathagatha declared to me the cause of the qualities that arise from a cause and the cessation of them. He who thus confesses is a great

devotee." I suppose it means that "Tathagatha is declared to be one in whom certain (good) qualities arise and cease. He who thus confesses is a true believer." But one would like to know what the real inscription is.

It is a great pity that Mason's "Natural History of Burma" was not consulted before chapter viii was written; if it had been, the story from Sangermano about the 'pangu' would have been modified.

Pingu is any spider, but this is a 'mygale' which is said to kill birds and snakes, although I do not think the fact has been confirmed.

The derivation of the game described on p. 125, too, is incorrect, for 'kônnyin' or 'gônnyin' is the Burmese name of *Entada pusoetha*, the large seed with which the game is played, and has nothing to do with *khôn* 'to leap' and *nyin* 'to wrangle' or 'deny.'

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

Ed. Chavannes. Les Inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gayā. Extrait de la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Tome xxxiv, No. 1, 1896.

Ed. Chavannes. La Première Inscription Chinoise de Bodh-Gayā. (Reponse à M. Schlegel.) Extrait de la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Tome xxxvi, No. 1, 1897.

In the former of these pamphlets M. Chavannes gives us the transcriptions and translations of five Chinese inscriptions found at Bodh-Gayā on the site of the great Buddhist temple of Mahābodhi. These inscriptions were already known to Western scholars, but the receipt of impressions and photographs from India led M. Chavannes to make a new and thorough study of them. The first inscription is referred by the translator to the middle of the tenth century, the three which follow are dated in 1022, and the fifth in 1033.

The first inscription is not very legible in some places, and it is imperfect. It was found under a bas-relief

representing the seven Buddhas of this Kalpa surmounted by the figure of Maitreya, the Buddha who is to come. The inscription is merely the record of a vow and prayer made by the monk Chĭ-i (Tche-i) and others. This monk had vowed to advise 300,000 men to follow the way of the superior life; he had vowed also to distribute 300,000 canonical pamphlets on the superior life and to recite the same himself. He adds, *Ju-shang-Kung-tê-hui-hsiang-t'ung-shêng-nei-yuan* (如上功德迴迴同生內院), according to the text given in the second pamphlet. M. Chavannes translates the clause: "d'un mérite tel que celui qui vient d'être nommé, l'effet en retour sur (les autres êtres) est qu'ils naîtront ensemble dans la Cour interieure." M. Schlegel, who reads *shêng-nei-t'o* (陀), regards these syllables as a transcription of the Sanskrit word *saṃnaddha*, meaning *équipé*. There can scarcely be any doubt, however, that M. Chavannes is right in rejecting this conjecture and in treating the characters as he has done. But, as the context shows, the Inner Court is not Sukhavati, or the land of Amitābha Buddha. It is the Tushita Paradise in which Maitreya resides with his saints until the time comes for him to be born on earth and become Buddha. M. Chavannes has some learned remarks on the term *hui-hsiang* in the above clause. It seems to be used here in the sense of *conduce to* or *lead towards*. The term is Mahayānist, and implies the creed of that system, according to which all are born with a "Buddha-nature," and all the efforts of a pious life are a *turning towards* original perfection. In a Sūtra to which M. Chavannes refers us (B. N. Cat., No. 1611), *hui-hsiang* is used in the sense of *aim at* or *aspire to*, and the "Great Hui-hsiang" of the title is explained by "that is, the aiming at the happy recompense of religious merit."

The second inscription is a long and curious one, and M. Chavannes' translation suggests many remarks, but space is limited. The third and fourth are very short, and the fifth is concerned with the erection of a pagoda in honour of Sung T'ai Tsung. To his translations

M. Chavannes has appended some very interesting information about the Chinese pilgrims to India in the T'ang and Sung periods, and about the Indian monks who travelled to China in the same periods. His notes, derived from Chinese sources inaccessible to the ordinary student, will be of great value to the future historian of Buddhism.

T. W.

THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH. By W. CROOKE, B.A. 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1896.)

These four volumes represent Mr. Crooke's most important work, and effect for the North-Western Provinces what Mr. Ibbetson's "Ethnography of the Punjāb" and Mr. Risley's 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal" do for the neighbouring provinces. But neither the merits nor the methods of the three authors are the same; and each has laid stress on that aspect of the subject which was most congenial to himself. Mr. Crooke, in evident despair of any satisfactory or even possible classification of caste, gives us a Dictionary, in four volumes, of every entry under the head of caste or tribe in the census of 1891, or in earlier records. Each monograph commences with the popular etymologies and legends which account for the origin of the community; its subdivisions are given fully, and handled skilfully; but the largest and most important part of the article is taken up with the rules and ceremonies of marriage, birth, and death, and the worship peculiar to the clan. Everything that bears on totemism, on questions regarding primitive or peculiar forms of marriage, or on popular religion, is eagerly seized and treasured up; and in these respects it must be considered the most important contribution to Indian ethnology that has yet appeared. I have seen no work which better enables one to realize the tangled undergrowth in the vast jungle of Hinduism. The work, it is true, does not add greatly to our knowledge of the upper

classes; although even here there is some excellent original matter, as for instance in the article on the Kayasths. But the strength of the book consists in its description of the lower castes, the aboriginal tribes, the criminal classes. The materials for these descriptions are taken largely from Government records, and from the reports of individual officers; but some of the best, e.g. the essay on the Nats or the monographs on the aboriginal tribes of Mirzapur, are founded on Mr. Crooke's personal investigations. The defects of the book are due partly to Mr. Crooke's special merits and partly to his method. Immense labour, accurate observation, loving fulness of detail are everywhere apparent; but we seldom rise above detail, and we sometimes miss the comprehensive grasp which distinguishes Sir H. Elliot's essays on the Rajputs and their *chaurāsis*. Other defects are perhaps due to his method. The whole subject is treated from a single standpoint, so that for Mr. Crooke's purposes a tribe of a few hundred souls may be more important than one which extends throughout the province. But for historical purposes, and for questions connected with the history of caste, a different treatment is required. The first and most obvious division of Hindu society in the North-West is into—(1) castes which have retained their tribal organization, or at least their tribal traditions, e.g., the Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, and to some extent the Ahirs, and also the aboriginal castes; and (2) castes which have the family and Punchayat for their unit. Of the latter, some are universal, others local. Again, the growth of the Aryan idea of the family is a main factor in the history of caste; but although the book supplies abundant illustrations, Mr. Crooke has nowhere pointed to its importance as a distinctive feature. In short, in the chapters on the origin and history of caste, he does not state clearly the structural features to be accounted for, nor the methods by which we may hope to obtain a solution of the question, and these chapters seem to me the least satisfactory portion of a book which is otherwise often charming.

For a view of the physical characteristics of the castes

Mr. Crooke has published the anthropometric measurements of Mr. Kitts and Dr. Brockman, together with Dr. Brockman's note on the subject, and a number of photographs taken at Mirzapur. The measurements embrace over 5,600 individuals—4,900 by Dr. Brockman, the rest by Mr. Kitts. Mr. Kitts' specimens were chiefly jail-birds, presumably, therefore, the most degraded of their class; but he has treated the Brahmans and Rajputs according to their subdivisions. Dr. Brockman's measurements cover a wider field and a larger number of individuals, but he omits the subsections. The omission is unfortunate, since it is a main object to distinguish the purer-blooded sections from lower sections which may never have possessed the *jus connubii* with them, or which may have become degraded otherwise. But notwithstanding these differences, Mr. Kitts' and Dr. Brockman's figures corroborate each other on the whole, and may be taken as correct.

What light, then, does anthropometry throw on the origin of caste? The question stands thus: We know on historic and linguistic grounds that the Dravidian populations which covered Northern India were invaded at various times by Aryan and Turanian tribes. These invaders were exogamous and intermarried freely with the aborigines; they subsequently formed themselves into endogamous groups; and the whole social hierarchy now professes to be based on superiority of descent. How far is this claim borne out by physical characteristics? Two opposite answers have been returned. Mr. Risley considers it "scarcely a paradox to say that a man's social status [i.e. his caste] varies in inverse ratio to the breadth of his nose." Dr. Brockman, on the contrary, thinks it proved "beyond doubt that the racial origin of all must have been similar, and that the foundation upon which the whole caste system in India is based, is that of function, and not upon any real or appreciable difference of blood." For my own part, I think the figures show clearly each stage of the history I have sketched. The cephalic index proves that the whole population has a large intermixture of Dravidian blood; the nasal index

shows with equal clearness that the higher castes are of purer blood than the lower. First, for the cephalic index. According to Quatrefages, the greater part of mankind is more or less mesaticephalic, and has a cephalic index varying from 75 to 79, the true mesaticephalics having a range of 78 to 80. The negritoes (Dravidians) are dolichocephalic, the Mongols brachycephalic. Of the skulls of the Aryan and Turanian invaders of India we know nothing, and Penka's theory that the original Aryans were dolichocephalic is pure fancy. The present European races are generally mesaticephalic: a great number of the Turanian races are the same, or incline to be brachycephalic; and we may safely assume that the Aryan and Turanian invaders of India were not very different. Now, if we turn to the tables given at pp. xxxv–xlii and cxxix–cxxx of the Introduction, we find the average of the cephalic index ranging in

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chutia Nagpur .. .. .. | from | 72·4 to 76·6 |
| Bengal proper .. .. .. | „ | 74·8 to 78·7 |
| Bihar .. .. .. .. .. | „ | 74·0 to 76·7 |
| North-Western Provinces, Risley | „ | 71·3 to 74·8 |
| „ Brockman | „ | 70·8 to 76·8 |
| Darjiling Hills .. .. .. | „ | 78·5 to 84·3 |

According to Mr. Risley, the Punjāb is more dolichocephalic than the North-West Provinces. The whole, then, of Northern India beyond the Gandak is inhabited by a dolichocephalic race, not distinguished in the shape of the skull from the aborigines of Chutia Nagpur; Bihar is slightly less dolichocephalic; while Bengal proper might be classed as really mesaticephalic—a result which I attribute to a Mongolian element from the North and East. Nor is the result altered if we look to the individual castes. The Bhāts whom Brockman classes among the Aryans are the most dolichocephalic of any, and all the higher castes in

the North-West Provinces have a very low index. But if dolichocephaly be a sign of Dravidian blood, then all Northern India is inhabited by Dravidians, while Bengal has an admixture of Dravidian and Mongol.

On the other hand, the nasal index shows with equal clearness that in this intermixture of races the foreign element can be distinctly traced. Generally speaking, the white races (Aryans and Semites) have long and narrow noses—the negroes broad ones: the former are leptorhine, the latter platyrhine. Of course the rule is not absolute: it is impossible to take any one feature, either in the individual or the community, and erect it into an absolute standard which shall invariably correspond with descent. We find that the Esquimaux are one of the finest-nosed people in the world, while Esthonians and Allophylian Whites incline to the negro type. And there is no more reason for astonishment when we find the average Dhānuk or the average Chandāl to possess the nose of a Brahman, than when we find the average Esquimaux with the nose of an Italian prelate. Mr. O'Donnell's argument, which Mr. Crooke has printed *in extenso*, seems to me founded on an entire misconception. The question is simply whether, *taken as a whole*, the nasal index of the upper classes bears out their pretensions to purity of descent. And on this point Dr. Brockman's tables entirely confirm Mr. Risley's measurements. Dr. Brockman, in his tables, has divided the tribes and castes into Aryan, Medium, Dravidian, and Aboriginal. For Aryan I read upper class, since the Aryan origin of some of these castes is, to say the least, extremely doubtful, and his division is really based on social rank. I also transfer to this class the Jāts, whom Dr. Brockman has entered among the Medium castes, but who boast in the North-West Provinces to belong to quite the uppermost strata of society. We find then that the five superior castes have a nasal index, the Jāts of 55, the Brahmans of 59, Banyas 63, Rajputs 64, and Bhāts 65. The Bhāts, who have the broadest noses, have also the longest heads, and show a greater intermixture of Dravidian blood than the

rest. The nasal index of all the other tribes and castes I have arranged in the following table:—

| Nasal Index. | Total number of Castes which have the corresponding Nasal Index. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Medium Castes. | Hinduized Dravidian. | Aboriginal. |
| 62 | 1 | — | — |
| 63 | 1 | 1 | — |
| 64 | 5 | 4 | — |
| 65 | 4 | — | 1 |
| 66 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 67 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 68 | 1 | 2 | — |
| 69 | 3 | — | — |
| 70 | — | — | 2 |
| 71 | — | — | 2 |
| 73 | — | — | 1 |
| 74 | — | — | 1 |
| 75 | — | — | 1 |
| 77 | — | — | 1 |

The upper classes are here evidently at one end of the scale, the aborigines at the other. Moreover, the entire Hindu population is distinguishable in the main from the non-Hindu by the relative fineness of the nose. Two other conclusions may also be drawn—(1st) there is a large amount of foreign blood among the so-called Medium castes and Hinduized Dravidians; (2nd) the Rajputs taken in the mass are not to be distinguished physically from the upper communities of the middle class.

The nasal index suffices to establish certain general facts, but it is unable to show the more delicate gradations between the castes. For this a different method is required; and there can be no better tests than those which the natives have themselves employed from immemorial times. The colour of the skin and the shape and colour of the eye

have always been popularly accepted as racial tests, and no one can fail to have noticed the peculiarly glassy eye of the lower castes and the aborigines. The shape of the eye is of scarcely less importance than the colour: it is a test which natives themselves apply. Dr. Beddoe's ethnographical survey of Britain was founded entirely on the colour of the eye and of the hair; and we know that in that instance his method was right, because it worked out in accordance with historical fact. I feel assured that a similar method would reveal delicate and unsuspected gradations of type between the principal castes; and especially help us to determine which of the subsections of the greater castes were genuine, and which had affiliated themselves by imitation, opportunity, and pretension. The real difficulty of such a survey lies, of course, in the observer; we are so accustomed to the light end of the colour scale that the darker shades are confused and unintelligible. It may be confidently asserted that the castes and tribes of the North-West Provinces have as many and as varied types as the races of Great Britain; but our eyes are so little trained that we might walk, with Mr. Nesfield, through the Benares College, and be unable to distinguish the Brahman students from the Bhangi scavengers.

I shall illustrate the necessity of an anthropometric basis for our inquiries by correcting what I consider to be an error in Mr. Crooke's account of the Haburahs. Mr. Crooke considers them ethnologically akin to the Sānsiahs, and to have lately separated from them. Mr. Crooke's account is largely based on a report by Mr. Court. Mr. Court obtained his materials through Police-Inspector Kundan Lal, and according to Kundan Lal the Haburahs are a branch of the Thārus. The Aligarh Haburahs have a tradition that their ancestors were cultivators near Delhi. Expelled from their seats, one branch, the Thārus, wandered eastward and obtained fresh lands; the Haburahs stayed behind, but bound themselves by a curse never to till the soil. In dialect and physique, said Kundan Lal, the two tribes agree. I could not test his theory, but I did inspect

a gang of Sānsiahs and a gang of Haburahs side by side, and the difference in physique was obvious. The Haburahs were small and dark, ill-built, ill-featured, evidently aborigines of the sub-Himalayan region; the Sānsiahs were fairer and taller, clean-limbed, and good-looking.

With Mr. Crooke's conclusions as to the bearing of Indian facts on the theories of polyandry and communal marriage I entirely agree, but space fails me to discuss one tithe of the questions suggested by this delightful book.

*June* 1, 1897. J. KENNEDY.

A GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS . . . . By G. TEMPLE. 8vo. (London: Luzac & Co., 1897.)

Putting on one side for the moment the question of what the compiler's exact purpose was, and the utility of doing what he set himself to do, we can give willing praise to the general care and correctness of his work. The main part (pp. 6–318) is a glossary of words, arranged in order of the English alphabet. Then follows (pp. 319–324) a list of terms, mostly official, taken from a work by Mr. C. W. Whish, of the Bengal Civil Service. Three pages are occupied by the explanation of some caste names, the work of the late Mahomed Husain, of the Agricultural Department. This heading is very imperfect, and could easily have been amplified and made exhaustive by recourse to the Census Reports. The work winds up with some useful tables of the Mahomedan and Hindū calendars, of the Indian monetary system, of weights and measures, and a few rather vague paragraphs on the modes of respectful address.

The form in which the matter has been presented by the publishers is to be commended. The variety of type employed and the manner of setting forth make the work easy and pleasant to consult. If we might hint a fault, the publishers have been perhaps too liberal in the space allotted, and a little compression would have done no harm. There are not a great many printer's errors; the worst

being, perhaps, "papers strung *to leather*" (p. 322) for "*together.*" As to the compiler's part, the most obvious thing to be remarked is, that he has not always displayed the best judgment in the meanings he has selected. So far as has been tested by me, they are copied out of John Shakespear's "Hindustani Dictionary"; a very valuable authority, but somewhat old-fashioned and often defective. Fallon and Platts ought to have been laid under contribution, or the compiler should have relied more on his own knowledge.

I run through a certain number of words, of those that I had marked, as instances of defective definition. Looking to the words on the title-page, "relating to Religion," as one of the special features of the compilation, "a Hindu festival" is hardly a satisfying definition of *Dīwālī*. *Durrānī*, as I have always understood, came from Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's fanciful title, given him by a faqīr, *Durr-i-Durrān*, "Pearl of Pearls." *Ghaṛī* is not "an hour," it is really about 22 minutes; *ghanṭā* is the word used for an (English) hour. *Faṣlī* (of or relating to *Faṣl* "harvest") is hardly "a Hindū era," it having been introduced by the Mahomedan Emperor, Akbar, for official convenience. *Chungī* is rather inadequately defined as "a faqīr's tax." *Modī-khānah* is never used in Northern India for a "pantry"; it seems rather to mean "a grain-seller's shop." Then what shall we say to *nirkh*, price-current, as "the price fixed by Government officials, generally by the Police"? Such a system has long ceased to exist, and Shakespear here only misleads. Under *Rammāl* the particular kind of divination practised is not even indicated. *Shust* is hardly the "handle of a bow"; it is the metal or bone thumb-stall worn to protect the shooter's finger. *Ṭablaḳ* is not "file of papers," but rather the paper cover into which papers are placed; what the French call a "chemise." *Ṭalabānā dākhil karnā* is not "to pay witnesses," but "to pay in fees for summoning witnesses"; what the witness himself gets is called *khūrāk* (food) or *zād-rāh* (road expenses). *Mansab* is not, so far as I

know, used for "a magistrate"; *manṣabdār* might be stretched into that meaning, though it is not so used to my knowledge. *Tālīḳah* may possibly mean, somewhere in India, "an inventory, a catalogue," but my experience is that it means "an attachment of property"; the list or catalogue thereof being *fard-i-ta'līqah*. *Yarghā* for "ambling" is a most far-fetched word. Memory begins to grow faint as years pass on, but I think this pace was called *qadam*. I could go on in this way with some dozen or more doubts or objections; though on the whole the work is well done.

Finally, we come to a consideration of what it was that the author placed before himself as his purpose. The Preface tells us that Dr. Rost "expressed a very favourable opinion of the adaptability of the work to the end in view." Whatever met with the approval of such a thorough and experienced scholar as the late Dr. Rost cannot be devoid of merit. But the above opinion reminds one strongly of Dr. Primrose's axiom of criticism—"The picture would have been better if the painter had taken more pains." What is "the end" which the compiler had in view? Obviously, as the preceding remarks sufficiently prove, it cannot be the supplementing or correcting of existing dictionaries, a task for which there is still plenty of room. The audience addressed would seem to be, judging by the first two paragraphs of the preface, one entirely ignorant of the languages to which the words in the Glossary belong. It is for them that the Roman character is used and the European order of the alphabet followed.

But where will such persons meet with the high-flown Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit words, of which over fifty per cent. of the Glossary is made up? Take pages 6 and 7, and let us ask where readers knowing no Oriental language will ever come across such words as *'Ābid*, *Āb-i-ḥaiwān*, *Achaman*, *Achchat*, *Ādityā*, *Āftāb-parast*, *Afrīdgār*, *Ajam*, *'Aḳīdat*, *'Alā*? Such words will not be met with except in works in some Oriental language. Even if the Glossary be addressed to beginners in those languages, it contains too many out-of-the-way words. On the other

hand, an advanced student would decidedly fare better if he bought a dictionary, however humble and elementary it might be. Glossaries are generally compiled as an aid to particular books, such as those set at some examination, or are founded upon a course of reading in some special class of literature. For instance, the well known and monumental "Glossary," by Professor H. H. Wilson, was put together by noting down all the words found in Anglo-Indian official literature. Sir Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell's work was equally the result of special reading. But it is impossible to grasp Mr. Temple's principle of selection: it seems to me more or less haphazard. Nor has he always been happy in the meaning he has chosen out of three or four to be found in his authorities. In short, this Glossary has been well-enough put together, and well-enough printed; but now that it is before us, it is difficult to suggest the class of students or readers to whom it could be strongly recommended.

W. IRVINE.

MASSILIA-CARTHAGO SACRIFICE TABLES OF THE WORSHIP OF BAAL. Reproduced in facsimile, edited, translated, and compared with the Levitical Code by the Rev. JAMES MIDDLETON MACDONALD, M.A. (London: D. Nutt.)

Mr. Macdonald's work will be memorable, if I mistake not, as the first book printed in England containing Phoenician texts reproduced with moveable types; and although the types he has obtained leave something to be desired, he is none the less to be commended for his enterprise. The treatment of the famous Marseilles Inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* is marked by such excellent taste, learning, and judgment that we could scarcely expect much in it to be improved without the discovery of fresh materials; nor, if I understand rightly, does Mr. Macdonald claim to have done much more than reproduce the interpretation of the *Corpus* in an English dress. His work, however, is not destitute of original

suggestions, some of which are certainly of value; and for those who have not time to verify references his notes will seem more lucid than those of Renan, besides the fact that many read their native language more fluently than even the Latin of the accomplished French scholar. It is to be regretted that Mr. Macdonald should, with the view of securing clearness, have stated many points with unnecessary emphasis; but his work exhibits throughout both skill and modesty, and we look forward to further contributions to Semitic epigraphy from the same pen. Is it by a printer's error that all the pages bear the heading "Introduction," or is the present work but a first instalment?

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

FUNDAMENTE ISRAELITISCHER UND JÜDISCHER GESCHICHTE. (Göttingen, Dietrich'sche Verlags. Buchhandlung.)

Dr. T. Marquart has published a small volume containing articles on various questions connected with the study of the Old Testament. In the first and most important he endeavours to reconstruct the Song of Deborah on metrical principles, and to restore the original pronunciation of the Hebrew text. This leads to an overthrow of the time-honoured rule of volatilizing short vowels in open syllables, especially before the accent. This is rather hazardous, and it is altogether doubtful whether transcriptions of the Septuagint and Assyrian inscriptions—or even Arabic forms, which the author omits to mention—give the right clue to the pronunciation in use at the time when the song was written. The author is thus tempted to deal with the accentuation in a somewhat arbitrary fashion. Otherwise the essay contains many valuable observations, and on the whole deserves the attention of students. Of other articles contained in the volume may be mentioned a list of David's heroes according to the records given in the books of Samuel and Chronicles, as well as a research on the reorganization of the Jewish community after the "so-called exile."

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1897.)

## I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*April* 13, 1897.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. Dr. Mills,
The Rev. James Lindsay, and
Mrs. Elizabeth Reed

had been elected members of the Society.

Dr. Gaster read a paper on "An old Hebrew Romance of Alexander."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Lyon, Mr. Kennedy, and Professor Rhys Davids took part.

The paper appears in the present number.

*May* 11, 1897, *Anniversary Meeting.*—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mrs. Enriqueta Rylands,
Mrs. Cora Linn Daniels,
Mr. Edmund W. Smith, and
Mr. H. Haddad

had been elected members of the Society.

The following Report of the Council for the year 1896 was then read by the Secretary :—

## Report of the Council for the Year 1896.

The Council regrets to report the loss, by death or retirement, during the year 1896, of the following members :—

There have died—

1. Mr. E. J. Barton,
2. Mr. F. Pincott,
3. Mr. Bankim Chandra Chatterjea,
4. H.H. The Mahārāja of Bhaunagar,
5. Miss Clendinning,
6. Mr. G. Phillips,
7. Sir Albert Sassoon,
8. General Sir James Abbott,
9. Dr. Rost,
10. Professor Roth.

There have resigned—

1. Mr. F. Corbet,
2. Mr. B. A. Evetts,
3. Mr. S. S. Gaikwad,
4. Mr. M. L. Jag,
5. Sir Halliday Macartney,
6. The Rev. J. J. Bambridge,
7. Mr. C. E. Biddulph,
8. Mr. F. A. Coleridge,
9. Mr. W. C. De Morgan,
10. Raja Lachman Singh,
11. Major-General Minchin,
12. Raja Pyari Mohun Mukerji,
13. Mr. Lakshmi Narayan,
14. Mr. Rang Lal,
15. The Rev. G. Margoliouth.

On the other hand, the following twenty-five new members have been elected:—

1. Mr. Robert Brown, Jun.,
2. Mr. H. North Bushby,
3. Mr. W. Pollock Ker,
4. Mr. J. T. Desai,
5. Mr. W. Gordon Campbell,
6. Mr. J. Elmsley Wood.
7. Mr. W. J. Prendergast,
8. Major H. P. V. Leigh,
9. Miss C. M. Duff,
10. Mr. R. H. Merk,
11. Major H. A. Deane,
12. Babu Kedar Nath Dutt,
13. Mr. Ambica Charan Dass,
14. Mr. S. C. Lahary,
15. Professor Deussen,
16. Mr. V. Balasundra Mudaliar
17. Mr. Jyan Takakusu,
18. Mr. Hashmatrai A. Bhojvani,
19. Mr. Charles J. Marzetti,
20. Mr. Bihari Lal Rai,
21. Mr. Khirod C. Ray,
22. The Rev. G. Margoliouth,
23. Mr. R. Paulusz,
24. Baron von Rosen,
25. Professor Windisch.

Of the subscribing Libraries, two—the Liverpool Free Library and the London Institution—have resigned; and the following have to be added to the list:—

1. Andover Theological Seminary,
2. The University College of Wales, Aberystwith,
3. Upsala University Library.

The result is, that the total number of names on our list is 524, which is the largest number that has been reached

since the Society was founded. In 1888 the number was 411, in 1891 450, in 1894 it was 493, so that the increase, though small, and smaller in some years than others, remains fairly steady at from thirty to forty for each period of three years. The increase this year is inappreciable, but there is an increase.

The actual income from subscribing members has remained, however, at about the same figure for the last ten years, as the new members who join us pay for the most part only the reduced subscription of thirty shillings, and we lose on an average four or five three-guinea subscribers each year. Last year's receipts, exclusive of compositions, was £565 0*s.* 6*d.*; this year's amount to £569 3*s.* It will be seen from the tabulated statement included in the Report for 1895 that the income from this source has varied since 1874 from £668 to £376, and that the average of the ten years preceding the year under review was £555 8*s.*

The other items on the receipt side of our small accounts are equally stable, and show that the Society can count upon an average income as follows:—

| Income. | £ |
|---|---|
| Subscriptions ... ... ... | 550 |
| Dividends ... ... ... ... | 35 |
| India Office Grant ... ... ... | 210 |
| Journal Sale ... ... ... | 200 |
| Rents ... ... ... ... | 175 |
| Total | £1170 |

On the expenditure side the principal items are also stationary. They are—

| Expenditure. | £ |
|---|---|
| Rent, Rates, and Taxes ... ... | 400 |
| Salaries ... ... ... ... | 335 |
| Printing ... ... ... ... | 300 |
| Stamps and Stationery ... ... | 100 |
| Total | £1135 |

These totals are so very close that it is only by the greatest care that the Council is able to incur any expenditure outside the ordinary items. But the difference, though slight, is on the right side, and during the last ten years a good deal has been done, apart from the ordinary expenditure for rent, Journal, and library, towards carrying out the objects of the Society. The rooms have been re-carpeted at an expenditure of nearly £150, a much-needed catalogue of the Society's library has been printed at a cost of about £250, repairs have been executed under the provisions of the Society's lease to an amount of nearly £250, various sums have been spent on the library (as shown in the tabulated statement contained in the Report for 1894), especially in arrears of binding, and a volume has been added (at the expense of the Society) to the Oriental Translation Series. All these sums have been met out of current revenue, or special donations, the capital account of the Society standing to-day at a higher figure by more than £100 than it stood at ten years ago.

The accounts submitted to-day include an expenditure of £72 on new books, including an important purchase of Oriental MSS. — the first such purchase the Society has been able to afford. And the receipt side gives evidence in the form of donations, to the extent of £105, that the efforts of the Council to revive the Oriental Translation Fund are now beginning to affect the annual statement of accounts. The Council hopes that this item will now become a regular feature of the Society's budget; until the fund shall have grown to be a permanent institution of the Society. Nothing can be a greater evidence of the improved position of the Society than the re-establishment of this scheme for the translation into English of the extensive treasures of Oriental Literature still left unedited and untranslated. And while regretting the exceeding caution and slowness with which their limited resources have compelled them to proceed, they venture to express the confident hope that this important work is at length started on a course which will go on constantly in future years until it has

become a self-supporting branch of the Society's labours. The most cordial thanks of the Society are due to those members whose generosity has made this anticipation possible.

The Council has devoted constant care to the selection of papers to appear in the Journal; and trusts that both in the variety and interest of the subjects dealt with, and in the high standard of the quality of the articles themselves, it has been able to increase the reputation of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Council regrets that they have nothing further to report on the question of the Oriental School in London, mentioned in the President's addresses at the anniversary meetings in 1894 and 1896. The reproach that rests on England, from the fact that whereas in the capitals of France and Germany, of Russia and of Austria, there are well-equipped Oriental Schools provided by Government, our own Government, so much more interested in the East, has nothing of the kind, has not yet been removed. The question, fortunately or unfortunately, is not a political or a party one; and year after year it is put aside for other matters of less national importance. The Bill for the creation of a Statutory Commission to settle the details of the teaching University in London, of which this school, it is hoped, would form a part, was introduced into the House of Lords at the fag end of last Session, and then dropped. The Society is fortunate in having as its President one who sat on the last Royal Commission, and whose interest in the question is so keen; and the Society may therefore rest assured that the Council will lose no opportunity that may arise to further the realization of the long-deferred hopes for the establishment in London of an Oriental School worthy of the great stake that England holds in the East.

The Council has resolved on one further step in advance which does not, indeed, appear as yet in the accounts, but which will, it is hoped, do much to make the Society known, and to further the ends it has in view. This is the establishment of a Gold Medal, to be awarded triennially

for that book in the English language most calculated to advance the objects of the Society as laid down in Rule 1. The Society has long had a list of Honorary Members, consisting of thirty of the most distinguished foreign scholars. It has been thought advisable in commemoration of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign to found this medal as a corresponding distinction, which the Society may be able to bestow on English scholars. And the rules, which are published in this issue of the Journal, have been so framed as to render eligible any subject of Her Majesty throughout the Empire. The Council hopes that the members of the Society will approve of this step, and will signify their approval by contributing the necessary funds.

The Council is not blind to the fact how much more requires to be done in the work of interpreting the East to the West; but they trust the Society will recognize that they have done, and are doing, as much as the very limited means at their disposal enable them to do.

In one important part of what they have tried to do—the reorganization of the library—the Society has received constant, ungrudging, and able assistance from the Honorary Librarian, Dr. Codrington. The present rules are somewhat ambiguous as to his position on the Council. The Council recommends, therefore, that the Society should sanction the following alterations to Rules 15 and 17.

Rule 15. After the words "an Honorary Treasurer," insert the words "an Honorary Librarian."

Rule 17. After the words "the Honorary Treasurer," insert the words "the Honorary Librarian."

And the Council recommends that Dr. Oliver Codrington be elected Honorary Librarian.

In accordance with the Auditors' report, the Council recommends that the following names be struck out of our list of members for default:

1. Mr. T. Geisler,
2. Prince Harbhanji of Morvi,
3. Mr. Mukand Lal,
4. Mr. Pratt.

# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1896.

## RECEIPTS.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| Balance at Bank, January 1, 1896 ... ... ... ... | | 17 17 7 |
| „ Petty Cash, „ „ ... ... ... ... | | 1 0 4 |
| Subscriptions— | | |
| 85 Resident Members at £3 3*s.* ... ... | 267 15 0 | |
| 1 „ „ arrears ... ... | 3 3 0 | |
| 165 Non-Resident Members at £1 10*s.* ... ... | 247 11 0 | |
| 5 „ „ arrears ... ... | 7 10 0 | |
| 6 „ „ in advance ... ... | 9 0 0 | 595 8 0 |
| 31 „ „ at £1 1*s.* ... ... | 32 11 0 | |
| 1 Compounder's extra subscription ... ... | 1 13 0 | |
| 1 Composition ... ... ... ... ... | 15 15 0 | |
| 1 „ ... ... ... ... ... | 10 10 0 | |
| Donations— | | |
| India Office ... ... ... ... ... | 210 0 0 | |
| Lord Northbrook } O.T.F. ... ... ... | 100 0 0 | 315 0 0 |
| General Gossett } ... ... ... | 5 0 0 | |
| Dividends on N.S.W. 4 per cent. Stock ... ... | 31 0 8 | |
| „ on Midland Railway 3 per cent. Stock... | 5 2 8 | 36 3 4 |
| Journal— | | |
| Subscriptions ... ... ... ... ... | 146 8 0 | |
| Sale ... ... ... ... ... ... | 24 15 6 | |
| Sale of Index ... ... ... ... ... | 3 0 | 193 3 2 |
| Sale of Pamphlets ... ... ... ... ... | 3 1 0 | |
| Advertisements ... ... ... ... ... | 18 15 8 | |
| Catalogue Sale ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 15 0 |
| Library Subscriptions (2) ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 1 0 0 |
| Miscellaneous ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 4 0 |
| Rents ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 175 14 0 |
| | | £1336 5 5 |

### Investment at Value on March 18, 1897.

| £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| 802 13 10 | New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock | 971 5 9 |
| 177 0 0 | Midland Ry. 3 per cent. Debentures | 208 1 7 |
| | In Post Office Savings Bank ... ... | 127 6 9 |
| | | £1306 14 1 |

## EXPENDITURE.

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| House—Rent ... ... ... ... ... ... | 344 0 0 | |
| Fire Insurance ... ... ... ... | 4 0 0 | |
| Water ... ... ... ... ... ... | 10 15 0 | |
| Gas ... ... ... ... ... ... | 10 6 7 | |
| Coals ... ... ... ... ... ... | 7 0 0 | 403 15 4 |
| Income Tax ... ... ... ... ... | 6 13 4 | |
| Repairs ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16 0 5 | |
| Incandescent Light ... ... ... | 5 0 0 | |
| Salaries—Secretary and Assistant Secretary ... | ... ... | 250 0 0 |
| Journal—Printing ... ... ... ... ... | 260 11 11 | |
| Illustrations ... ... ... ... ... | 28 0 0 | 288 11 11 |
| Library—MSS. and New Books ... ... ... | 72 19 3 | |
| Binding ... ... ... ... ... | 16 19 3 | 89 18 6 |
| Housekeeper ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 60 0 0 |
| Stationery, etc. ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 13 7 3 |
| Reporter, etc. ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 3 3 0 |
| Returned Subscription ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 1 10 0 |
| Bank Charges ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 5 6 |
| Petty Cash ... ... ... ... ... ... | ... ... | 77 17 4 |
| | | 1188 8 10 |
| Balance at Bank ... ... ... ... ... | ... | 147 13 7 |
| „ Petty Cash ... ... ... ... ... | ... | 3 0 |
| | | £1336 5 5 |

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 18, 1897.

F. F. ARBUTHNOT.
H. THOMSON LYON.
J. KENNEDY.

In accordance with Rule 22, five gentlemen retire this year from the Council, that is to say:

Mr. Kay,
Mr. Ashburner,
Professor Macdonell,
Mr. H. Morris,
Mr. Walhouse.

The Council recommends the election in their stead of

Mr. Fleet,
Professor Douglas,
Mr. Thomson Lyon,
Mr. Irvine,
Mr. Frazer.

In accordance with Rule 17 the Council recommend the re-election of the Honorary Treasurer and of the Honorary Secretary.

In accordance with Rule 16 Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., retires from the Vice-Presidency.

The Council recommends the election as Vice-Presidents of Lord Amherst of Hackney and of Lord Stanmore.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

*Mr. J. Kennedy* then said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to move the adoption of this Report. The task is fortunately not only honourable but easy, for the Report itself is so clear and succinct that it requires little comment or explanation from me. It is commonly said that the peoples are happy which have no history. There may be happy Societies also without a history, but ours is not one of them. We have a history, and it is a history of excellent work and of steady and continuous progress. We have, indeed, losses to record; and chief among them the loss of two scholars once intimately associated with us. Dr. Rost, a former Secretary of this Society, was an encyclopaedic scholar of European reputation, who generously placed his vast stores of knowledge at the disposal of every inquirer, and did not disdain

to undertake the meanest tasks. Sir James Abbott was an example of the best type of Anglo-Indian: soldier, administrator, poet, and scholar, the discoverer of the site of Aornos. Such men are admired while they live, and lamented when they die, and their memory will long be green. But while we regret the loss of men belonging to the generation which is passing away, we can look with undiminished pride on the work this Society is at present doing. Our numbers are higher than they have ever been, our income is steady, our Journal maintains its character. I take it, my Lord, that the special note of this Society is its catholicity. That is the characteristic which distinguishes it from the later and more specialized societies which devote themselves to Oriental research in this country; and it is a point of especial importance to us because the majority of our members are Anglo-Indians, and India is connected on the one hand through Buddhism with China and the Farther East, and on the other hand India was an integral part of that great Mahomedan world which formed the counterpart to Mediaeval Christendom. We boast, therefore, to be the one catholic home of Oriental learning in England, and this catholicity is well illustrated in our Journal for 1896. Of the twenty-one original articles published in it, seven deal with India, four with China, and the remaining ten discuss subjects taken from the banks of the Nile, the shores of the Mediterranean, from Persia, Thibet, and Khorasan. Every reader will recall those articles which lie in the line of his special studies; for my own part, I may be allowed to express my special obligations to, and enjoyment of, Mr. Beames' papers on the "Geography of the Ain-i Akbari," Mr. Irvine's on the "Moghul Army," Dr. Gaster's on the "Sword of Moses," and Professor Margoliouth's on the "Liturgy of the Nile." Then we have the reviews of books, which contain not only valuable criticism, but also much information otherwise hard to be obtained. These reviews are contributed by many men, and they deal with almost every department of Oriental learning.

And now, if we turn from the scholastic, which is the essential side of our Association, to its financial position—a side which, however subordinate, is most necessary—I think you will find that the affairs of the Society have been managed with equal ability and success. Professor Rhys Davids once said to me that if anyone wished to learn the secrets of the Royal Asiatic Society, he should act as auditor. I need not add that there is another secret which he kept to himself; and that is the way in which he has stimulated the enthusiasm and evoked the co-operation of so many scholars. That secret he did not confide, but whatever secrets an auditor can learn, have, I think, been learned by me; and they are exceedingly simple. We have a fixed income from grants, from dividends, and house-rents, which suffices to pay for our house-room; and we have a variable, but fairly steady income from subscriptions and the sale of the Journal, which enables us to meet all the regular charges, the salaries and cost of establishment, the cost of printing, and other necessary expenditure. That leaves us on an average a balance of about £50 a year available for all special purposes. Out of this annual balance of £50, the Council have managed in recent years to repair and to some extent refurnish the house; to rebind a considerable part of the library; and they have been able this year to purchase a certain number of MSS. That is a catalogue of good works of which they may well be proud. But still we feel ourselves to be poor. We all remember, my Lord, the description you gave us last year of a low-roofed, ill-lit room in the Sorbonne, where the Professor shook hands with his hearers as they passed out at the door; but that room was illuminated by the genius of Victor Cousin. Far be it from me to decry the pleasures of plain living and high thinking; certain economies there are which only serve to stimulate the invention, but there are economies, my Lord, which affect the heart; and I would fain see a few more pounds at the disposal of the Council for an increase of salary which, in one case at least, is

utterly inadequate, and for the purchase of a few most necessary books. I am afraid we are all gluttons of books. Some men regard books only as mere material for work; others love them for themselves: and in certain moods I am reminded of those old-world tales, which tell of fair maidens imprisoned in the foundation of some castle or bridge to render it stable. Every book contains a particle of living soul imprisoned within it; and out of these hewn stones the fair palace of knowledge is built up, and rendered secure. If we were millionaires we should love to act the part of Old Mortality in a library, and clothe our favourites in purple and gold. But, perhaps fortunately for us, we are not millionaires; we are bound over to the strictest economy, and our utmost hope is to be able to add an additional £50 a year to the £50 of available balance we already possess. For this purpose only two ways are open. The first is to push still further the sale of our Journal, which has, thanks to the energy of our Secretary, already gone up by leaps and bounds. But the sale of the Journal appears for the present at least to have reached high-water mark, and I do not think that much more can be expected from this source. The second plan is to increase the number of resident subscribers, and to that question I shall presently refer. Before I proceed to discuss it, I should like to say that the accounts of the Society are now kept as well as those of any Indian treasury—thanks to Miss Hughes, to whose untiring kindness and good-nature we are all most deeply indebted. (Applause.) The appointment of Dr. Codrington as Honorary Librarian is only an official recognition of the work he has long performed. I can testify from personal knowledge that he has devoted to the rectification of an antiquated list, or the search for a lost volume, an amount of labour and zeal which would make the fortune of many a historical investigation. Lastly, I have to congratulate the Society on the blessings of peace. There is an Eastern question in the world of learning as well as in the sphere of politics, and I have known the atmosphere sometimes

surcharged with electricity. I have known a philosopher, and that, too, after dinner, pray that Heaven might assoil the soul of Aristotle for all his sins. From all such dangers we have been preserved by the sure tact and unfailing courtesy of our illustrious President, in whom as a Scotchman I may take a more especial pride, since he is the distinguished chief of a distinguished clan, and his love of learning has a European fame.

And now, my Lord, I shall ask you for a little to step outside the circle of the year's events, and view the relation of the Society to one special class—the class of Indians and Anglo-Indians who form the great majority of our members. This Society is composed of two classes of men. The first are scholars by inclination and profession. We have a small but very distinguished band of Assyriologists and Semitic scholars, "the chiefs of those who know"; we have a group of young and most promising Persian students; our Sinologists form a numerous, important, and very active band; and our Indianists have commanded the homage of the learned world as of hereditary right ever since the days of Colebrooke. The other and larger class is composed chiefly of Anglo-Indians who love learning and are interested in learned pursuits, men who have knowledge enough to follow but not to lead. Now I think that we Anglo-Indians form not only a paying audience (you may be sure that as auditor I do not overlook that aspect), but we give a certain distinct character to the Society. Most of us have been trained in a way well fitted to prepare us for the researches carried on here. I have been thief-catching for the greater part of my life, and when I set my thief-catching wits to work on a historical problem, I find that, granted a sufficiency of knowledge, the methods and processes are the same, the same qualities of judgment and divination are required. In fact, the Police Courts form an excellent vestibule to the Palace of History. Then we have a second and a still greater claim to a place in this Society; for we bring with us a knowledge of the Present, a living touch, a sense of

actuality, which cannot be acquired in Europe, and which often forms the surest and most certain clue to any interpretation of the Past. We Anglo-Indians thus contribute certain intellectual elements of value to the Society, while we form not only the majority of the members, but the only class from which the list of resident members can be largely increased. And as our financial surplus depends chiefly on an increase in the number of resident members, it is well worth considering how the Society can best recruit itself from Anglo-Indians on their retirement. I am persuaded that with a little care we might raise the number of three-guinea resident subscribers from 100 to 120 or 130, a number not unknown in the annals of the Society. We Anglo-Indians are generally men of multifarious tastes: when we retire, a few come here as to their natural home, but most of us hesitate: we are divided as to which of several societies and associations we shall join, and accident, persuasion, or drift settles the question. I look upon myself as an enforced convert to this Society, for I joined not voluntarily, but forcibly brought hither by a friend. Now I am satisfied that we lose three or four recruits every year by sheer carelessness and neglect. Let me give an instance. My friend and former master, Sir Charles Elliott, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is the author of a well-known history of Oonao; he has taken the greatest interest in questions of Indian history and antiquities throughout his career; he made an excellent President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and he substantially assisted Dr. Waddell's explorations. Here, then, was a man eminently qualified to take a prominent part in our discussions, and yet we have lost him; and he told me the reason. He had originally intended to join us, he said, but he postponed the matter; other occupations intervened, and he was now so much involved in School Board and other business that he could not find time for any new societies. Sir George Robertson, a member, I believe, of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and who lately delivered an excellent lecture at the Anthropological Society in London, is another

instance in point. I might multiply examples were it necessary to do so. Now for this state of things two remedies suggest themselves to me. The first is that we should enter into a closer alliance with the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay. I think we might well make the members of those Societies honorary members of this Society for three or six months when they are in England, invite them to our meetings, and allow them the free use of our library.

*Mr. Bendall:* That is the case already.

*The Secretary:* They are not exactly honorary members, but they are always welcome, and by the rules they have the right of free admission to our meetings, and the use of the books in the library.

*Mr. Kennedy:* I am glad to hear it. Our object, of course, is to train them to come hither as their natural resort. The second proposal I have to make is that the Anglo-Indian members of the Council should keep an eye on the membership lists of the Bengal and Bombay Asiatic Societies: note annually the members who retire, and use their personal influence to bring them here. We must remember that this is not a work which can be made over to any paid official, because, in the first place, it would not accord with the dignity of the Society, and in the second place it would be ineffectual. It is entirely a matter of personal influence, and it is the duty of every member. It ought to be a maxim with us that the man who introduces a new member deserves as well of the Society as he who writes a paper. All that is required in the matter is some plan of systematic supervision, and the enforcement of this duty in the face of the indolence of the natural man.

One word more. *Ex oriente lux.* We profess to be, and we are, a Society of light and leading; and I know that the Council always have an eye on the advancement of Oriental learning in this country. Two notable steps have been lately taken in this direction. The Oriental Translation Fund has been revived, thanks to the liberality of Lord Northbrook and Mr. Arbuthnot. And

Mr. Wollaston has, with the approval of the Council, brought forward a proposal to found a medal for Oriental research, which will in future form a much coveted distinction. Last year I said something regarding summaries of research; and I afterwards heard that Dr. Cust had prepared an elaborate scheme for a handbook of Indian Archaeology. I hope that that scheme will be carried out, for such a work will be of the greatest value to students both in India and England. Then I might recommend the plan adopted, I believe, at the Geographical Society, to Dr. Codrington's attention. According to this plan a current register is kept of classified subjects, and every book and article is entered as it appears under its appropriate head. But after all, plans and systems have only a secondary value. Enthusiasm, the love of historic and scientific truth, the readiness to assist, these are the qualities on which the future of Oriental research depends; and judged by these standards few men have done more for Oriental learning in this country than Professor Rhys Davids. I can testify from personal experience to the zeal he inspires, and the assistance he is always ready to give. One other quality is essential. Good sense and sanity of judgment are the special characteristics of English scholarship; and they are, I think, in general very characteristic of the articles in our Journal. The Germans may surpass us in fulness of knowledge and accuracy of detail, perhaps they do so; the Frenchmen in lucidity, in neatness of logic, in skill of exposition: but for good sense and soundness of judgement we boast that English scholars bear the palm. As a famous Professor of patristic theology once said to me, "If we have done nothing else, we have at least taught the Germans to learn English."

And now, Gentlemen, I think I have said enough to show you that our President and Council deserve our warmest thanks. I beg to move the adoption of the Report. (Applause.)

*Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E.*, said: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I beg to second the adoption of the

Report. I shall probably clothe in language the sentiments of everyone here present when I say that for the last three-quarters of a century, in which the Asiatic Society has been in existence, there has been splendid service performed. With the Society's magnificent library and its still more important Journal, I think everything has been done to carry out the objects for which it was founded. But it is a reproach, and I think you will share the opinion with me, that we have done absolutely nothing for scholars. Some of you may be tempted to say that might easily be remedied by giving them a seat on the Council of the Society—one of the most distinguished compliments you could pay an Oriental man of letters—but I would have you bear in mind that that is not practicable for this reason: In order to have a seat on the Council and be a thoroughly active member, access to London is more or less essential. For this reason very few scholars are placed upon the Council. They are not appointed because they cannot attend. When, therefore, the Council, in common with all other loyal subjects of Her Majesty, took into consideration the question of how they would mark the Sixtieth Year of Her Majesty's Reign, they felt that a suitable means would be to found a medal to be given once in three years to the most distinguished scholar of his time. I hope I shall carry you all with me when I say that it would have been impossible to find any more suitable means than a medal, and I hope the members of the Society will assist us in thus testifying our loyalty. I think if we do anything it should be done well, but there comes in the vital question of pounds, shillings, and pence. To do it thoroughly would mean a figure that would perhaps frighten you all if I were to mention it. It is £300. Let me explain. You must have a die; that would cost £35. If you give a medal you must give one worthy of the Society which bestows it, and worthy of the recipient who is to receive it. That, therefore, would cost the considerable sum of £20. That, you will observe, is £7 each year after the first year's expenditure. In other words, to do the thing as one would like to see it

done would involve finding a sufficient sum to produce £7 a year over and above the initial outlay. But I am afraid we must be less ambitious, and if we can get money enough to pay for the die, and the first year's medal—that is, in round figures, £50—I think we must trust to chance for what is to happen in providing £20 at the end of another three years. With this view a paragraph has been placed in the Report, and a circular will be sent round to you. I only hope that it will not be consigned to that place where so many Jubilee solicitations, as I may perhaps call them, are fated to go—to the omnivorous waste-paper basket. We do not ask you for a very big sum, but if you will give a little we may tide over the difficulty, and give a medal worthy of the Society to which we are all proud to belong. (Hear, hear.)

*Mr. Thomson Lyon:* I should like to say a word in support of Mr. Kennedy's very excellent speech on the Report. The Society is extremely valuable as keeping us in touch with India, and those who retire from the Indian Civil Service. As Mr. Kennedy says, if we do not catch retiring Civil servants before they come over and join other bodies, we cannot expect them to form useful members of our Society. Mr. Kennedy having said that his thief-catching propensities were abnormally developed, he cannot do better than keep himself in touch with those who come from India. With regard to the body of the Report, it is the most satisfactory I have heard since I have had the pleasure of being a member of the Society.

*Lord Reay* said: I am sure we are grateful to Mr. Kennedy for the admirable way in which he has moved the adoption of the Report, and for the many useful and valuable hints which we have received from him. With regard to the members whom we have lost, I have already on a previous occasion alluded to the very great loss the Society sustained in the person of Dr. Rost. I need not, therefore, repeat my remarks on that subject. There is one name, however, to which I wish to make some allusion, because I happened to be on cordial relations, whilst I was Governor of Bombay,

with the Maharajah of Baunagar, who, probably, was known to some of you, as he came here some few years ago. He was a most prominent chief, and I do not believe there was a chief in Kattiawad whose intentions to do good and loyal service to his own subjects were more appreciated by the Bombay Government, not only of my day, but of that of my predecessors. It was quite sufficient to invite him to take some measure which would be useful to his subjects either in the way of starting new schools, lightening indirect taxation, or carrying out public works, to find a ready response. He instituted a Council, and created thereby a very efficient administrative machinery. He was eager to take action; in fact, at one time we were alarmed as to the effect this eagerness might have on the financial condition of his State. He was in many instances lavish in his expenditure, not for his own pleasure or pursuits, but for the State. I should like to mention a characteristic trait of the late Maharajah's character: he sent his own daughter to a girls' school. Now anyone who knows India will realize what it means for a Rajput chief—especially in a part of the country which has not reached so advanced a stage of civilization as that of many other parts of India—to send his daughter to a school with other girls. I hope his son will follow the example he inherited from his father.

Mr. Kennedy has alluded to the catholicity of the Royal Asiatic Society. That undoubtedly has been illustrated again during the past year, both in the various lectures which have been given at monthly meetings here, and also by the articles contained in the Journal. You have heard it stated, when the Report was read, that we have been able to *increase* the reputation of that publication, and I ought to point out that it is not a compliment we paid to ourselves, but that it was justified by the accounts which have reached us from several of our foreign readers and foreign Orientalists. (Hear, hear.) The Journal has been more and more appreciated by our friends abroad, and I entirely agree with the remarks which have been

made by Mr. Kennedy, that its success is largely due to the Editor, our energetic and zealous Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, whose services to the Society — as I need hardly mention to you—become every year more valuable. And I am only speaking in Professor Rhys Davids' own name in saying that he appreciates as much as we appreciate, as Mr. Kennedy has already pointed out, the assistance which is given to him by Miss Hughes, our indefatigable Assistant Secretary.

With regard to the appointment of Dr. Codrington, I am very pleased with what has been said in approval of this arrangement. Action ought to have been taken sooner, but we are glad that at last we can give Dr. Codrington the recognition to which his services entitle him. I wish also to point out that we hope very soon to have a catalogue of our exceedingly valuable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. Dr. Winternitz is engaged in the work, and we have every hope that before long the Society may have a catalogue and index which will be useful to those who wish to consult these MSS.

With regard to the use of the library, it is satisfactory that there is a constant demand for books, and that we have been able, as the Report shows this year, to include a small expenditure on new works and on important Oriental manuscripts. This is the first such purchase of manuscripts which the Society has been able to afford.

As to our Oriental Translation Fund, another volume has just been published, and I hope that we shall be enabled by a growing number of subscribers to increase the number of these volumes.

Mr. Wollaston has alluded to the Medal. To this subject the Council gave special attention. We have taken great care in the steps adopted to choose the best tribunal for electing a medallist; and we are conscious that the task of the jury is a very delicate one, and not a very enviable one, because criticism will be on the alert. On the other hand, in establishing such a medal, we are following in

the steps of the French Academy and of other French institutions. We certainly do not err on the side of too much recognition in England, for hitherto, I am afraid, there is no country where the merit of Orientalists has been less recognized than by this the greatest Oriental power in the world. I am sure that Mr. Kennedy will agree with me that in this matter our judgment is not superior to that of countries which recognize the merit of the scholar, and I hope my remarks on the subject will reach those in authority. We have this year a unique opportunity for turning over a new leaf, and I hope that amongst the distinctions which undoubtedly and very properly will be granted at the Queen's Jubilee will be some to Oriental scholars. I should be sorry to find that the claims of Orientalists have not been laid before Her Majesty, the Empress of India, because Oriental scholars are among those who certainly contribute to increase our Imperial reputation. (Hear, hear.) If we are an Imperial power, it is largely due to the fact that we are an Oriental power, and, now that we hear so much about Imperialism, I hope that we shall see some tangible results of that Imperial spirit in the recognition of men who have so long worked for Imperial objects without receiving the slightest encouragement. (Hear, hear.)

There is the usual paragraph in the Report to the effect that we have not yet obtained our Oriental School. This Society was represented at a meeting over which I had the honour to preside lately in the building of the Royal College of Physicians. There were representatives of all the most learned Associations which could possibly be represented at such a meeting. At least, I have never had the honour of presiding over a more representative meeting; and there was absolute unanimity that the time had come for immediate action, and that there was no excuse for further delay. Whence the delay and opposition arise, gentlemen, is one of those mysteries which perhaps one of the ladies whom we have elected to-day will have to include amongst the signs of the times. (Laughter and hear, hear.)

Encouraged by your support in the year to come, this Society will endeavour to discharge its responsible duties. As I have said on a former occasion, ours is not a sphere of activity which appeals to the public. We are, I am afraid, in many ways rather an aristocratic body. We stand rather aloof. If there are disadvantages to such a condition there are also great advantages. At all events the work we produce, and of which the Journal is a permanent record, is useful. The speeches delivered here are sound and critical, and we are not swayed by any passing gust of public opinion, but we are trying to contribute to a science which has certainly in this country always been one of very great and growing importance in relation to its influence in the East. And you will see in the Report this sentence—"The Council is not blind to the fact how much more requires to be done in the work of interpreting the East to the West." The duty of interpreting the East to the West becomes day by day more significant, because any misunderstanding in the West of what is thought and felt in the East constitutes every day a greater danger. In the same way the West is to be interpreted to the East. That is a corresponding duty, and we cannot lose sight of reciprocity. The difficulties attached both to the interpretation of the East to the West, and of the West to the East, have been—I hope you will not think it paradoxical—rather increased by the amount of publicity which is given to the various events which happen in different parts of the globe, and which are not always rightly interpreted either in the East or in the West. Our Society considers it a privilege to interpret the East to the West by the discovery of the treasures of Oriental learning, as far as its means will allow, thereby restoring that equilibrium of knowledge which is so necessary in order that public opinion may not be led astray. I hope this Society will never swerve from its duty, and that it may in the future, as in the past, always steer clear of anything which is not distinctly and scientifically proved, and which is consequently not distinctly true in its essence. (Applause.)

*Dr. Gaster* moved a resolution to the effect that the author of any article published in the Journal should be allowed to republish it in three months, instead of in twelve months as hitherto.

*Dr. Thornton* seconded the resolution; and the President put it to the meeting whether it should be added to the Report.

*Dr. Cust* opposed the resolution on the ground that if he were to support it he might appear to be arranging for the republication of his own articles.

After further discussion, in which Mr. Kennedy, Professor Bendall, and Mr. Thomson Lyon took part, the resolution was added to the Report, which was then carried unanimously.

*Mr. Walhouse* exhibited a Snake Stone from South India. He said: This is one of those stones which are very frequently found in the South of India, especially on the Western Coast. I do not know whether they are found in the North of India: I rather think not. They are often seen in the South, sometimes within the precincts of temples, or upon platforms under trees, or even by the roadsides. Nothing like worship is paid to them, although there is a certain amount of superstition attached to them. It is considered unlucky to point the finger at them. The finger so pointed might, it is supposed, rot and drop off. Women who wish to have children come to the stones, and place flowers near them. I saw this one on a woody bank close to the picturesque temple at Mangalore in the Kanara country. Some examples have a very old appearance, and are, perhaps, relics of a cult or people who existed before the introduction of Brahminism. Of course, the Brahmas pay no respect to snakes or cobras, although there are snakes in the Brahmin temples. This example shows a cobra on one side, and on the other side there is a woman whose body ends in a snake. Sometimes the stones are much larger, but this is an average specimen.

*Lord Reay:* Where was the stone found?

*Mr. Walhouse:* On a wooded bank near the temple before referred to. It was by a spring that issued from the side of the bank. For some cause the bushes or trees on the bank had been burned, and this stone had rolled down. Seeing it lying about for a considerable time I had it brought to me.

*Lord Reay:* Can you assign any date to it?

*Mr. Walhouse:* No, I cannot. Most of these stones are very old, and I think they are relics of some pre-Brahminic cult.

*Professor Rhys Davids* said that in plate lxxxiii of Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," there was a figure of a similar kind found at Amarāvatī. Both in the Atharva Veda and in the oldest Buddhist records there were charms to propitiate cobras, so worded as to show the existence at that very early date of what comes very near to snake worship.

Discussion, in which Professor Bendall, Mr. Wickremasinghe, Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., etc., took part, followed.

*Mr. Wickremasinghe* thought the stone was a Kinnara stone.

The *Secretary* said that he thought the Kinnaras were rather a sort of harpy, with birds' heads.

*Mr. R. C. Dutt* said that whereas the centaur was a horse with a human face, the Kinnara was now usually shown as a human body with a horse's face. Snake worship was now certainly tolerated by the Brahmas (?).

*Mr. Ashburner* said remains of snake stones were found north of the Forth.

*Mr. Hugh Raynbird, jun.*, said the Hindoos would not destroy a snake except for reward. The cobra was as useful to them as a cat, to destroy rats or mice.

The Secretary exhibited and very shortly explained a unique MS. from Ceylon on the method of attaining Samādhi and Jhāna.

*Lord Reay:* I will only now thank Professor Rhys Davids for having made the explanation we have just heard. The matter will, however, be brought before the

Paris Congress. We shall be glad to see as many of our friends as possible at Paris. I have lately been in communication with the promoters of the Congress, and I find that they are most hospitably disposed. No one will regret the visit.

*June* 15, 1897.—Sir Raymond West, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. Arthur T. Pringle,
Mr. J. P. Rawlins,
Mr. George Effendi Zaidan,
Mr. Subramania Iyer, and
Mr. Nadiesh Bomanji Vakil

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. H. W. Cave gave an account of the ruins at Anurādhapura, Sīgiri, and Polonnaruwa, in Ceylon, illustrated by lantern slides, some of which were taken from his book lately reviewed in the Journal, and some from other sources.

There was a very full attendance, including the Delegates from the Ceylon Government present in London for the Jubilee.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi, Professor Rhys Davids, and Mr. F. Corbet took part.

Professor Rhys Davids said that the unusually large attendance of members and their friends showed how greatly the Society appreciated the kindness of Mr. Cave in coming there that afternoon. The beauty of the pictures he had exhibited was indeed only equalled by the judgment Mr. Cave had shown in the remarks he had made to explain them. These wonderful remains were unrivalled in grandeur and impressiveness, not only in India, but indeed throughout the world (with the one exception of those in Egypt). And, in attempting to convey to his hearers an accurate idea of what the ruins were, a less skilful speaker might have wearied the minds of his audience

with a mass of detail that was really not essential to the effect required. It would be scarcely possible to choose better than Mr. Cave had done between what, in the necessary limit of time, should be included and what should be left out.

Mr. Cave had been good enough to suggest that on some points on which authorities were in doubt he (Professor Rhys Davids) might be able to suggest a solution. He was sorry to say he was not at all able to do so. And the object of the beautiful monoliths round the Thupārāma was as much a puzzle to him as it had been to others. He would only venture on the opinion that Ferguson was quite right in supposing that the Sat Mal Prasāda at Polonnaruwa afforded the best explanation of the probable form and proportions of the magnificent Loha Prasāda at Anurādhapura, so ruthlessly destroyed by the Tamils. It had probably had nine stories, each—like the seven in the later building—somewhat smaller than the one below it, and the 1,600 pillars, which were all that now remained, very likely supported not the second, but the first of the nine.

But his mind, just then, was in no mood for details. Having lived for more than a year under the shadow of these mighty remains of a bygone age, he had learned to realize, much more deeply than a passing visitor could do, their wonderful charm. As the first archaeological Commissioner in Ceylon, he personally worked at the unveiling of some of the treasures they had seen, and he was full of a feeling of gratitude to Mr. Cave for having called up afresh, and so vividly, both by pictures and in words, the memory of the impressive scenes he would never be able to see again.

Mr. F. Corbet, on behalf of the delegates from Ceylon, begged leave to express the great pleasure they had felt at being present that afternoon, and their admiration of what they had seen and heard. They also wished to express the gratitude which the Sinhalese inhabitants of the island felt towards the Government of Ceylon for the steps they

had taken towards the excavation and preservation of the national monuments in that ancient home of culture and learning.

## II. Contents of Foreign Oriental Journals.

### 1. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Band li, Heft 1.

Horn (P.). Aus italienischen Bibliothek.

Phillipi (Fr.). Nochmals die Aussprache der semitischen Konsonanten ר and ד.

Hardy (E.). Ein Beitrag zur Frage, ob Dhammapāla im Nālandasanghārāma seine Kommentare geschrieben.

Caland (W.). Zur Exegese und Kritik der rituellen Sūtras.

Oppert (J.). Die Schaltmonate bei den Babylonien und die ägyptisch-chaldäische Ära des Nabonnasar.

Glaser (E.). Ursprung des arabischen Artikels ال.

Nestle (E.). Zur Umschreibung des Hebräischen.

Fraenkel (S.). Zu den arabischen Papyri der königlichen Museen in Berlin.

### 2. Vienna Oriental Journal. Vol. xi, No. 1.

Karabacek (J.). Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin.

Speyer (J. S.). 'Lumbinī.

Lang (C.). Die Wortfolge im Türkischen.

Bühler (G.). The Origin of the town of Ajmer and of its name.

Müller (D. H.). Hiob. Kap. 14.

Kegl (A. von). Riẓā Kulī Xān als Dichter.

### 3. Journal Asiatique. Série 9, Tome ix, No. 1

Lévi (S.). Notes sur les Indo-Scythes (suite).

Chavannes (Ed.). Le Nestorianisme et l'inscription der Kara-Balgassoun.

Kurppe (M.). Mélanges assyriologiques et bibliques.

## III. Obituary Notice.

### *Mr. Hugh Nevill, F.Z.S., M.R.A.S.*

"By the death at Hyères on April 10th of Mr. Hugh Nevill, F.Z.S., of the Ceylon Civil Service, science loses an enthusiastic worker in many fields. During twenty-seven years' service Mr. Nevill had been an indefatigable collector. He had discovered and described many new species in zoology and had contributed many specimens to our museums. His collection of birds passed to the late Marquis of Tweeddale; but a large and very complete collection of certain genera of shells remains. For some years Mr. Nevill edited and published at his own cost an important journal, the *Taprobanian*, better known on the Continent and in America than in England. Mr. Nevill leaves also what is probably a unique collection of specimens of the ancient school of Kandy silver work, and took an active part in the revival of the art. The most important collection is, however, that of ancient Buddhist and Pāli manuscripts, which, from his intimacy with Buddhist priests and other native scholars, Mr. Nevill had unusual facilities for collecting. A *catalogue raisonné* of these has been prepared for publication, and the late Dr. Rost, of the India Office, was most anxious that it should be published. The catalogue is fortunately complete, and Mr. Nevill had brought it with him in order to superintend its publication in England, but was unable to rally from the severe illness that had necessitated his leaving Ceylon."—From the *Athenæum*, May 1, 1897. Mr. Nevill was elected a member of this Society in 1891.

### *The late Bankim Chandra Chatterjea, C.I.E.*

Among the late members of the Society, whose deaths were noticed at our last anniversary meeting, was Bankim Chandra Chatterjea, one of the greatest literary men of

modern India. He was born in 1838, the year after the commencement of the present reign, and received an excellent English education at the Presidency College of Calcutta; and in due course he obtained his degree as the first B.A. of India. Modern Indian literature owes its growth and development to a great extent to her sons who have received the benefits of English education, and among them Bankim Chandra was one of the foremost and greatest.

In 1864 Bankim Chandra produced his first historical novel, which has been translated into English under the title of "The Chieftain's Daughter." Nothing so bold and fresh and original had been attempted in Bengali prose before, and the appearance of the great work, marking the beginning of a new school of fiction, took the literary world of Bengal by surprise. A generation has passed away since the appearance of this book, and the sober criticism of the present day reckons it as one of the masterpieces of Bengali literature.

Other works flowed from the prolific pen of the gifted writer thick and fast. A wild and weird story of a strange girl, rescued in the Sundarbans from sacrificial immolation, showed the power of the author's romantic imagination; and a historical tale of the Moslem conquest of Bengal established his reputation for varied delineation of character.

In 1872 Bankim Chandra started a literary magazine, the first of its kind in India; and in its pages he brought out, what is perhaps his greatest work, a social novel which has been translated into English under the name of "The Poison-Tree." Bankim Chandra was now the recognized king of the literary world in Bengal, and for over twenty years he had no equal and no rival. Other novels, social and historical, proceeded from his pen in rapid succession, all marked by a bold conception of character, a skilful grouping of incidents, and a rich and inimitable diction which grew simpler and mellower with practice. For a generation the reading world in Bengal feasted on his unceasing productions, and Bengali ladies in their zenana, and boys

in schools and colleges, read his tales, essays, and didactic compositions, with unabated avidity.

During the last years of his life Bankim Chandra wrote much on Hindu religion, and his great work on Krishna, representing him as a man, a warrior, and a statesman, created a profound impression. Then he took up the study of the Vedas, delivered a course of lectures on Vedic religion, and undertook with the present writer the compilation of a comprehensive work of selections from sacred Hindu literature for the use of his countrymen.

Bankim Chandra was made a Rai Bahadur by the Indian Government, and the Queen-Empress made him a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire. He died shortly afterwards, mourned by his countrymen, and leaving none behind him worthy to fill up his place in the literary world of Bengal.

ROMESH C. DUTT.

## IV: NOTES AND NEWS.

*The Legend of Isisinga* (Ṛṣyaśṛnga).—Dr. Lüders (in an interesting paper read before the Göttingen Kön. Gesell. der Wissenschaften, 1897) has discussed the Sanskrit and Pāli versions of this story. He comes to the conclusion that the Pāli verses, as distinct from the prose, are reproduced from the same old and popular ballad from which the oldest Sanskrit authorities also drew; that neither Sanskrit nor Pāli borrow from one another; that each has in certain passages the oldest form; and that the Pāli prose is inconsistent with the Pāli verses. He also discusses the illustrations of this legend on the Bharhut Tope (pl. xxvi), at Amarāvatī (Fergusson, pl. lxxxvi), at Devandahaḷḷi (Ind. Ant., ii, 142), and at Bangkok (Fournerau, "Le Siam Ancien," pl. xix). The Amarāvatī identification is here made for the first time.

The history of this popular gibe against the ascetics may not be of much importance for the history of Indian thought.

But so critical a discussion of the versions of it is of much importance for the history of the texts in which they occur. No one will be surprised that Dr. Lüders uses the critical method, and has been able thereby to arrive at useful conclusions. The wonder is that scholars of reputation should still waste good ink and paper in ranging such similar versions side by side without attempting any such critical discussion of their historical relation. We have already protested against this method (above, pp. 199, 200, and in the 1896 issue, p. 377); and the present work by Dr. Lüders encourages the hope that such protests will soon be no longer necessary.

*Buddhist Jātakas.*—The third volume of the Jātaka translation is all printed, and will be published very soon.

*Semitic Studies.*—A volume entitled "Semitic Studies," containing literary contributions on every branch of Semitics, has been edited by Mr. George Alexander Kohut, in memory of his father, the late Dr. Alexander Kohut, author of the "Aruch Completum." The articles are preceded by the portrait, and a biographical sketch of the deceased written by his brother, Dr. Adolph Kohut. The importance of the volume can best be seen from the following list of its contents:—

F. Max Müller, On Ancient Prayers (Extracts from Lectures delivered at Oxford).

M. Steinschneider, Lapidarien, ein culturgeschichtlicher Versuch.

Cyrus Adler, The Cotton Grotto—an ancient Quarry in Jerusalem, with Notes on Ancient Methods of Quarrying.

J. Barth, Die Pôlel-Conjugation und die Pōlal-Participien.

Charles A. Briggs, A study of the use of לב and לבב in the Old Testament.

K. Budde, Die Ueberschrift des Buches Amos und des Propheten Heimat.

T. K. Cheyne, The Book of Psalms; its Origin and its Relation to Zoroastrianism.

Hartwig Derenbourg, Le die Rimmōn sur une inscription himyarite.

B. Felsenthal, Zur Bibel und Grammatik. 1. Kimchi oder Kamchi? 2. Erklaerung von Amos, vi, 10.

M. Friedlaender, Jehudah ha-Levi on the Hebrew Language Kuzri ii, §§ 67 to 80.

Julius Fuerst, Spuren der palästinisch-jüdischen Schriftdeutung und Sagen in der Uebersetzung der LXX.

M. Gaster, The oldest version of Midrash Megillah, published for the first time from a unique MS. of the tenth century.

M. J. de Goeje, Quotations from the Bible in the Qorān and the tradition.

Hermann Gollancz, Translation of the Targum of the Amidah.

W. H. Green, The Diction of Genesis VI–IX.

Max Grünbaum, Renan über die späteren Formen der hebräischen Sprache.

S. I. Halberstam, Annotation to the "Arukh Completum" (in Hebrew).

Halévy, L'enterrement de Jacob d'après la Genèse.

A. Harkavy, Sa'adya on the Khazars (in Hebrew).

Hartwig Hirschfeld, Notiz über einen dem Maimūni untergeschobenen arabischen Commentar zu Esther.

Marcus Jastrow, An Analysis of Psalms LXXXIV and CI.

K. Kohler, The Testament of Job. An Essene Midrash on the Book of Job, reëdited and translated with introductory and explanatory notes.

Samuel Krauss, Aegyptische und syrische Götternamen im Talmud.

Mayer Lambert, De la formation des racines trilitères fortes.

M. Lazarus, Erklärung einer Talmudstelle.

L. Lewysohn, *Tôledoth ba'ale ḥayyim*, Notes on the Zoology of the Talmud (in Hebrew).

Immanuel Löw, Marginalien zu Kohut's Aruch.

D. S. Margoliouth, On the Arabic version of Aristotle's Rhetoric.

A. Neubauer, Some unpublished Liturgies attributed to R. Sa'âdya Gaon.

Gustav Oppert, Ueber die juedischen Colonien in Indien.
George Alexander Kohut, Correspondence between the Jews of Malabar and New York a century ago.
Samuel Poznański, Aus Qirqisânis' Kitâb al-anwâr w'al-marâqib.
Theodor Reinach, La deuxième ruine de Jéricho.
L. A. Rosenthal, Einiges über die Agada in der Mechilta.
S. Schechter, Notes on a Hebrew Commentary to the Pentateuch in a Parma MS.
M. Schreiner, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel in der arabischen Literatur.
Moïse Schwab, Mots grecs et latins dans le livres rabbiniques.
C. Siegfried, Beiträge zur Lehre von dem zusammengesetzten Satze im Neuhebräischen.
H. Steinthal, Character der Semiten.
H. L. Strack, Ueber verloren gegangene Handschriften des Alten Testaments.
Benjamin Szold, The eleventh chapter of the Book of Daniel.
C. Taylor, On Codex de Rossi 184.
Hugo Winkler, Die Hebräer in den Tel-Amarna Briefen.

*Possible Site of Kuṣināra.* — Extensive excavations are now, we understand, being made into the mounds of ruins at Navandgaṛh, to the north of Bettiah, where stands the well-known Aṣōka-edict pillar. From an exploration of the country along the line of these pillars, which stretch north-westwards from Patna, Dr. Waddell, in 1893, formed the opinion that these pillars marked the route of Buddha's last journey to Kuṣināra, where he died; and also that many topographical reasons pointed to the possibility that the ruins at 'Navand' fort might prove, on digging, to be those of the 'Nirvāṇa' (or more properly Parinirvāṇa) stupas. On Dr. Waddell's recommendation Babu P. C. Mukerji, who has been making archaeological excavations at Patna for the Bengal Government, was recently sent to explore the country thereabouts for the site of Kuṣināra, and on making a few superficial incisions into the largest mound at Navandgaṛh, he disclosed the base of an enormous

stupa about 300 feet in diameter, and exhumed some bricks with Aṣōka-like characters. As famine was prevailing there, Dr. Waddell asked the Commissioner, Mr. Bourdillon, whether he could not arrange to have the place fully excavated by famine-relief labour. This is now being done, and, as the ruins are undoubtedly very old and have been little disturbed for ages, the results are likely to prove highly interesting, even should the place turn out to be some other site than that of Buddha's death.

*Royal Asiatic Society's Medal.*—The Committee of Selection have chosen Professor Cowell as the first recipient of the Society's Medal.

*Persian Manuscript on Geometry.*—We have received from India a unique Persian Manuscript on Geometry, and shall be glad to show it to anyone interested in the subject.

## GOLD MEDAL.

The Council has resolved that to commemorate the Sixtieth Year of Her Majesty's reign, a Gold Medal be founded by the Royal Asiatic Society.

Such medal shall be awarded in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research.

The services referred to shall be the publication of a book or books in English, or of an edition of an Oriental Text with introduction and notes in English, calculated to further the objects of the Society as laid down in Rule 1.[1]

The first medal will be awarded in the year 1897; subsequent awards will be at intervals of not less than three years; and no award will be made, even after such interval, unless fitting recipients be forthcoming.

The President will nominate every three years to the Council three gentlemen to form a Selection Committee to choose the recipient of the medal, it being understood that the Committee will be assisted in forming their judgment by the advice of Professors of Oriental subjects at our Universities, and of such other scholars as they shall think fit to consult.

The nomination of the members of the Selection Committee, and the recommendation by that Committee of the Medallist, shall be subject to the final approval of the Council.

Lord Reay, with the approval of the Council, has chosen as the Selection Committee to nominate the Medallist for 1897—

1. The Right Hon. Sir M. E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S., Vice-Pres. R.A.S.,
2. Sir Charles H. Elliott, K.C.S.I.,
3. Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Vice-Pres. R.A.S.;

and those gentlemen have consented to act as the Committee.

[1] 1. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is instituted for the purpose of investigating the Arts, the History, and the Literature of Asia; and of facilitating intercourse with Eastern peoples by an accurate interpretation of their customs, their feelings, and their beliefs.

Subscriptions are invited to provide for the cost of founding the medal.

The following have been already received or promised:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The President, Lord Reay ... ... ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. H. Beveridge ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. E. L. Brandreth ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. E. G. Browne ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. O. Codrington ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor E. B. Cowell ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. R. N. Cust ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor Donner ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir M. E. Grant Duff ... ... ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. W. Frazer ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. M. Gaster ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Gibson ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir Frederick Goldsmid ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Major-General Gosset ... ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Heap ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir W. Wilson Hunter ... ... ... ... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Mr. W. Irvine ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. H. C. Kay ... ... ... ... ... | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Mr. J. Kennedy ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. F. W. Lawrence ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. G. W. Leitner ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Guy Le Strange ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lewis ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor D. Margoliouth ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor Barbier de Meynard ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. F. D. Mocatta ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir William Muir ... ... ... ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Professor F. Max Müller ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| The Marquess of Ripon ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mons. Émile Senart ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Sewell ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. C. Tawney ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. T. H. Thornton ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. M. J. Walhouse ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. T. Watters ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir Raymond West ... ... ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. A. N. Wollaston ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | 67 | 5 | 0 |

## V. Additions to the Library.

*Presented by the Minister of the Dutch Colonies.*

Verbeek (Dr. R. D. M.) et R. Fennema. Description géologique de Java et Madoura. 2 Tomes and fol. Atlas. 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1896.

*Presented by the Trustees of the British Museum.*

Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection by C. Bezold. Vol. IV. 4to. *London*, 1896.

*Presented by the Smithsonian Institution.*

Wilson (T.). The Swastika. 8vo. *Washington*, 1896.

*Presented by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

Lavoix (H.). Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Égypte et Syrie. Roy. 8vo. *Paris*, 1896.

*Presented by H.H. the Mahārāja of Ulwar.*

Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of H.H. the Mahārāja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson. 4to. *Bombay*, 1892.

*Presented by the Madras Government Museum.*

Thurston (Edgar). Bulletin. Vol. II, No. 1. Anthropology. 8vo. *Madras*, 1897.

*Presented by the Hon. Mahārāja Pratāp Narain Singh of Ayodhya.*

Rasakusumākara.

*Presented by the Indian Government.*

Crooke (W.). Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. 4 vols. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1896.

*Presented by Professor Rhys Davids.*

Oriental Studies. A Selection of the Papers read before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1888–1894. 8vo. *Boston*, 1894.

Lanman (C. R.). Whitney Memorial Meeting. 8vo. *Boston*, 1897.

*Presented by Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid.*

Morier (J.). The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Edited by C. J. Wills, with an Introduction by Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

*Presented by Hugh Raynbird, Esq.*

A Collection of 15 Santali and other Northern Vernacular Grammars and Vocabularies.

*Presented by the Author.*

Chavannes (E.). La première Inscription Chinoise de Bodh-Gayā. 8vo. *Paris*, 1897.

Nau (F.). Une biographie inédite de Bardesane l'Astrologue. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Paris*, 1897.

Simpson (W.). The Orientation or Direction of Temples. Roy. 8vo. *Bromley*, 1897.

Berghold (Kurt). Somali Studien. Pamphlet. 4to.

Rodgers (C. J.). Supplement to Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi. Pamphlet. 8vo.

Hommel (Dr. Fritz). Ancient Hebrew Tradition as illustrated by the Monuments, translated into English by E. M'Clure and L. Crosslé. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Casartelli (Rev. L. C.). The Catholic Church in Japan. Pamphlet. 8vo. *London.*

Lindsay (Rev. J.). The Significance of the Old Testament for Modern Theology. 8vo. *Edinburgh.*

Thornton (James Howard). Memories of Seven Campaigns. A record of thirty-five years' service in the Indian Medical Department in India, China, Egypt, and the Sudan. With an Introduction by A. E. Hake, illustrated by C. and K. M. Thornton. 8vo. *London*, 1895.

*Presented by the Publishers.*

Cool (W.). With the Dutch in the East, an outline of the military operations in Lombock, 1894. Translated from the Dutch by E. J. Taylor. Roy. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Wijnkoop (Rev. T. D.). Manual of Hebrew Syntax, translated from the Dutch by Rev. Dr. E. van den Biesen. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Kühn (E.) und H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld. Die Transcription fremder Alphabete. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1897.

Temple (G.). Glossary of Indian Terms relating to Religion, Customs, Government, Land, and other words in common use. 8vo. *London*, 1897.

Marquardt (J.). Fundamente israelitischen und judischer Geschichte.

——— Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran. Heft 1.

Wellhausen (J.). Reste arabischen Heidentums. 8vo. *Berlin*, 1897.

Jacob (Dr. G.). Studien in Arabischen Dichtern. Hefte 1–4. 8vo. *Berlin*, 1893–7.

*Purchased.*

Kalilag und Damnag: alte syrische Übersetzung des Indischen Fürstenspiegels, text und deutsche übersetzung von G. Bickell, mit einer Einleitung von Th. Benfey. Roy. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1876.

Suter (Dr. H.). Die Araber als Vermittler des Wissenschaften in deren Übergang vom Orient in den Occident. 8vo. *Aarau*, 1897.

Hartmann (Dr. Franz). Die Bhagavadgita. 12mo. *Braunschweig*, 1897.

Bāṇa. Harṣa Carita. Sanskrit Text edited with Sankara's Commentary by Kāsīnāth Pāndurang Parab and Sastri Dhondo Pasasūrām Vaze. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1892.

Macdonell (A. A.). Vedic Mythology. Grundriss, Band iii, Heft 1*a*. 8vo. *Strassburg*, 1897.

Deussen (Prof. P.). Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda. 8vo. *Leipzig*, 1897.

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OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. XXV.—*Notes on the Mahābhārata, with special reference to Dahlmann's "Mahābhārata."*[1] By M. WINTERNITZ, Ph.D.

## I.

IN his important "Contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata,"[2] Dr. Bühler has proved that in Kumārila's time, i.e. in the first half of the eighth century, there existed a Mahābhārata, attributed to the sage Vyāsa, which was not merely an epic poem, but was looked upon as a Smṛti, or sacred tradition; and that it contained not only the Çānti and Anuçāsana Parvans, but also many other portions found in our editions of the Mahābhārata, which have been repeatedly declared to be "late additions." Dr. Bühler has further shown that inscriptions of about A.D. 500 quote the Mahābhārata as an authority on sacred law, and describe it as a bulky work, containing 100,000 verses. And as we

[1] Joseph Dahlmann, "Das Mahābhārata als Epos und Rechtsbuch." (Berlin: Verlag von Felix L. Dames, 1895. 8°.)

[2] "Indian Studies." By G. Bühler and J. Kirste. No. II. Contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata. (Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe, Bd. cxxvii, No. xii, 1892.)

must allow some time, say a century or two, for the gradual development of this sacred character, he concludes "that the Mahābhārata certainly was a Smṛti or Dharmaçāstra from A.D. 300, and that about A.D. 500 it certainly did not differ essentially in size and in character from the present text." Dr. Bühler adds that further researches "will in all probability enable us to push back the lower limits, which have been thus established provisionally, by four to five centuries and perhaps even further."

This hint, thrown out by Dr. Bühler, has become fatal to Mr. Dahlmann, who, in a book of over 300 pages, undertakes to prove what Dr. Bühler only hinted—and a good deal more. He takes the bull by the horns, and boldly asserts that the Mahābhārata not only existed as a Smṛti in the fifth century B.C., but was actually composed at that time by *one great poet*—not unlikely a certain Vyāsa Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana—with the outspoken tendency of creating a work which should be *epos and law-book at the same time.*

What Bopp declared to be the first principle of all Mahābhārata criticism, "that not all parts of the epos are of the same age, that many parts are later additions, while others may go back to a time far anterior to the date of the composition or compilation of the poem"—what has hitherto been held by almost every student of the Mahābhārata that (as Goldstücker expressed it) the Mahābhārata is "a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods"—is, according to Mr. Dahlmann, the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of all researches relating to the Mahābhārata.

Mr. Dahlmann's first proposition is, that in the Mahābhārata, as we know it, law and poetry are inseparably connected; that the Smṛti portions and the epic portions form, as it were, a chemical combination, and are not merely joined together mechanically; that, in fact, *dharma* or law forms the one uniting and dominating characteristic feature of the epic element.

What are his arguments to prove such bold and startling assertions?

The epic story, Mr. Dahlmann says, represents a struggle between Right and Wrong, Dharma and Adharma, ending with the final victory of the virtuous and the defeat of the wicked party. Dharma or Right is represented by Yudhiṣṭhira, the Dharmarājan, the son of Dharma, the very embodiment of Dharma; while Duryodhana, the son of Kali, the embodiment of wickedness, is the representative of Adharma. Moreover, the great problem as to why the pious should suffer and the wicked prosper forms not only the subject of much discussion in the didactic portions, but is also closely interwoven with the epic story. All this sufficiently proves, according to Mr. Dahlmann, the essential influence of the law on the epic and dramatic element of our poem.

I confess, the weakness of this argument seems to me even more startling than the assertion which it is meant to prove. Surely, if this be enough to warrant the original Smṛti character of the Mahābhārata, we shall find few works of fiction in our libraries which might not as well be shelf-marked as 'law-books.' In most of them (at any rate, in those of the good old style) we shall find a virtuous hero with a villain as his counterpart, heartrending sufferings of the virtuous and most provoking prosperity of the wicked, until the final glorious triumph of virtue over vice —exactly as in the Mahābhārata.

Yet Mr. Dahlmann (pp. 72–3) proceeds on the basis of this argument to show that all the stories related in the Mahābhārata about marriages of heroes and heroines, etc., were only invented as illustrations of certain legal institutions, recorded in the Dharmaçāstras, and especially of customs which (like marriage by capture) were no longer in use at the time when these Çāstras and the Mahābhārata itself were composed. Does it not seem more natural, and more in harmony with historical principles, to assume what Mr. Dahlmann warns us not to assume, that such stories belong to a period when these ancient and barbarous customs, which had become more or less extinct in the times of the Dharmaçāstras, were still practised? Mr. Dahlmann knows

very well that the heroes of the Mahābhārata do not always act according to the strict rules of the Dharmaçāstra. But he tries to justify all such transgressions by referring us (p. 13) to such passages as Manu, x, 105, where anything and everything is declared to be lawful "in times of distress" (*āpadi*). Or he tells us (p. 14) that, according to the ancient Hindu code of morals, there was one kind of morality for gods and Ṛṣis and another for ordinary mortals. In this way, of course, everything can be justified. But, as the Dharmaçāstras were intended as guides of moral conduct for ordinary mortals, what could have been the use of teaching a '*divine*' morality in a book intended to be a Dharmaçāstra? The authors of law-books, no doubt, refer to similar stories as those related in the Mahābhārata when they say that "transgression of the law and violence are found amongst the ancient sages, that they committed no sin on account of their great holiness, but that men of later times following them committed sin" (Āpastamba, ii, 6, 13, 8 seqq.; Gautama, i, 3). It was necessary to introduce such rules in the Dharmaçāstras, as they mention the ancient legends of gods and Ṛṣis among the sources of the law; just as it was incumbent on Kumārila to try to reconcile the immoral and unlawful acts committed by the heroes of the Mahābhārata with the Smṛti character which it certainly had at that time.[1]

## *The Niyoga.*

Mr. Dahlmann devotes a whole chapter (pp. 73–86) to certain stories found in the Mahābhārata which (according to his theory) were only invented to illustrate the legal institution of Niyoga. It is necessary to enter more fully on a discussion of this peculiar institution, as represented in the Dharmaçāstras on the one hand and in the Mahābhārata on the other.

[1] See Bühler, "Contributions," etc., p. 19 seqq.

We begin with the Dharmaçāstras. Gautama (xviii, 4 seqq.; xxviii, 22–3) teaches that a widow may bear a son to her brother-in-law, after having obtained the permission of her Gurus. Cohabitation must only take place in due season (*ṛtau*). On failure of a brother-in-law another relative may be appointed (*piṇḍagotrarṣisambandhebhyo yonimātrād vā*). But some declare that only the brother-in-law may be appointed. She must not bear more than two sons. A living husband also (if impotent) may have recourse to Niyoga. A son begotten on a widow whose brother-in-law lives, by another relative, is excluded from inheritance. Vāsiṣṭha (xvii, 56 seqq.) allows the Niyoga, subject to certain restrictions as to the behaviour of the man entitled to approach the widow. Who this man is, is not expressly stated, but the parallel passages leave no doubt that the brother-in-law is meant. Baudhāyana (ii, 2, 4, 9–10) also allows the Niyoga, subject to the usual conditions. He only mentions the brother-in-law as entitled to raise offspring in the widow. Aupajaṇghani is quoted (Baudh., ii, 2, 3, 33–4) as an ancient authority opposed to the practice of Niyoga. Āpastamba (ii, 10, 27, 2 seqq.) permits the Niyoga by giving the negative rule that a husband shall not make over his wife to any one but a 'gentilis.'[1] But he adds that, on account of the weakness of men's senses, the Niyoga is forbidden nowadays, for there is no difference between the hand of a gentilis and that of any stranger; and if the marriage vow be transgressed both husband and wife go to hell. It is well known that Manu also, after first permitting the Niyoga, with certain restrictions—the brother-in-law or some other Sapiṇḍa of the husband, when duly appointed, shall silently approach the widow at night anointed with clarified butter, and *beget one son, by no means a second*, while some authorities allow a second son—condemns it in very strong

[1] Compare the rules given by Vāsiṣṭha (xvii, 77–80) concerning a woman whose husband has gone abroad, and who has not heard of him for five years. She is to act like a widow, that is to say, she must join some man related to her husband. *But as long as there is any member of the family, she shall on no account go to a stranger.*

terms, as a practice only fit for beasts (ix, 58–68). Yet he finds it necessary to discuss the law of inheritance as relating to the Kṣetraja, the son born by an appointed widow (ix, 120–1, 145 seqq., 159, 162 seqq., 167, 190–1). It should also be mentioned that, according to Manu, he who dallies with a brother's widow, although she be appointed by the law of Niyoga, is unworthy to be entertained at a Çrāddha (iii, 160, 173). Bṛhaspati (xxiv, 12–14; xxv, 33 seqq., 41), quoting the above passage of Manu, strictly forbids the practice of Niyoga as being improper in the Kali age. He even excludes the Kṣetraja from any share of the inheritance. Nārada applies to a woman who, "on failure of brothers-in-law, is delivered by her relations to a Sapiṇḍa of the same caste," the term 'Punarbhū' or 'twice-married woman,' who is only one grade better than a 'Svairiṇī' or 'wanton woman'; while he declares a widow who rejects brothers-in-law or appointed Sapiṇḍas, and goes to live with a stranger, to be a Svairiṇī. He considers, however, Niyoga with the brother-in-law (when performed according to strict rules "for the continuation of the lineage, and not from amorous desire") as quite respectable, provided only that the birth of *one son* be considered as the sole object of the Niyoga (see xii, 48, 50, 80–88; xiii, 14, 19, 23, 45: in Professor Jolly's "Minor Law Books," S.B.E., vol. xxxiii).[1]

The only passage where there is any trace of Niyoga being permitted not only with kinsmen, but also with a Brāhmaṇa, occurs in Viṣṇu, xv, 3, where we read: *niyuktāyāṃ sapiṇḍenottamavarṇena votpāditaḥ kṣetrajo dvitīyaḥ*, which Professor Jolly (in accordance with Nandapaṇḍita, who says: *uttamavarṇena brāhmaṇena votpāditaḥ*) translates: "The second is the son begotten on a wife, viz., one begotten by a kinsman allied by funeral oblations, or by a member of the highest caste, on an appointed (wife or widow)." I venture to suggest that this passage, even

[1] See also G. Bühler, in S.B.E, vol. ii, pp. xx, xxi; vol. xxv, pp. xciv, cix; J. Jolly, "Recht und Sitte" (Bühler's "Grundriss," ii, 8), p. 70 seq.; and the same, "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, pp. 152–164.

as it stands, admits of another translation, which is perhaps more in accordance with the Sūtra style. I believe, the particle *vā* indicates that *devareṇa* must be understood before *sapiṇḍena*, so that we should have to translate: "One begotten (by a brother-in-law) or by a Sapiṇḍa of the highest caste." There can be no doubt that a similar interpretation is necessary in the case of Yājñavalkya, ii, 128, where *sagotreṇetareṇa vā* can only mean: "(by a brother-in-law) or by another Sagotra." Or, if we follow Vijñāneçvara, who says *itareṇāsapiṇḍena devareṇa vā*, we might translate: "(by a brother-in-law), or by a Sagotra, or by another (relative)." In any case, *itareṇa*, 'by another,' cannot mean 'by a Brāhmaṇa.'[1] As to the passage in Viṣṇu, xi, 3, it must also be remembered that the reading *uttamavarṇena vā* is doubtful. Professor Jolly gives *uttamavarṇena ca* as the reading of four MSS., and mentions a quotation of Jagannātha, who reads *niyuktāyāṃ savarṇena cotpāditaḥ*, "begotten by a man of equal class on a widow duly appointed."[2]

Viṣṇu only mentions the Niyoga when giving his list of the twelve kinds of sons, without giving special rules for the Niyoga.

Yājñavalkya (i, 68–9) permits the Niyoga, subject to

[1] Colebrooke, "Hindu Law of Inheritance" (Calcutta, 1810), translates (pp. 301, 304–5): "The son of the wife is one begotten on a wife by a kinsman of her husband, or *by some other relative*." "A child, begotten by another person, namely by a kinsman, or by a brother of the husband, is a wife's son (Kṣetraja)." He also quotes Viçveçvara from the Madana-Pārijāta as saying: "A son begotten, under a formal authority, by a kinsman being of equal class, or by another relative, is a wife's son." Stenzler translates: "Frauensohn ist der mit der Frau durch einen näheren oder ferneren Verwandten ihres Mannes erzeugte." V. N. Mandlik: "Vyavahára Mayúkha and Yájñavalkya Smṛti" (Bombay, 1880), translates: "Kṣetraja (the son of the wife) is one begotten on a wife by a Sagotra (kinsman) of her husband or by another." By any other man? E. Röer and W. A. Montriou, "Hindu Law and Judicature" (1859), translate: "A son begotten by a relative [of the husband] or by *another* [*duly authorized*]," which is a little better.

[2] See Professor Jolly's note in S.B.E., vol. vii, p. 62. In his "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, p. 164, note 1, Professor Jolly says that the opinion regarding the appointment of any member of the Brahman caste "appeared to be the view of Vijñāneçvara," and he also refers to Gautama, xviii, 6. But surely yonimātrād vā does not mean 'any Brahman.' In S.B.E., vol. vii, p. 312, he rightly says that "the term yonimātra is ambiguous and may be referred to 'relatives on the mother's side' as well."

the permission of the Gurus, with a brother-in-law or a Sapiṇḍa, or a Sagotra (*devaraḥ . . . . sapiṇḍo vā sagotro vā*).[1] He should cohabit with the widow only until she is with child—if longer, he becomes an outcast. In i, 222, Yājñavalkya excludes the son of a widow from the company at a Çrāddha.

We see, then, that what the Smṛtis teach, when referring to the Niyoga is, first of all, the *levirate* in the proper sense of the word.[2] All the passages point to the *brother-in-law* being authorized to raise offspring in the sonless widow. On failure of a brother-in-law, some other near relative (*sapiṇḍa*), or at least a member of the same gotra or pravara, or even only of the same caste, may, according to some authorities, be authorized. A few passages refer to the Niyoga being practised during the lifetime of an (impotent) husband. Only one very doubtful passage may possibly imply that on failure of all relatives "any member of the Brahman caste" was eligible for the Niyoga.

Now, what do we find in the Mahābhārata? In all the stories, which, according to Mr. Dahlmann, were only invented to illustrate the institution of Niyoga of the Dharmaçāstras, the greatest importance is attached to the appointment of *Brāhmaṇas* for the purpose of raising up offspring—the very custom which is barely mentioned in the Dharmaçāstras—while the real Niyoga, or the appointment of the brother or another *kinsman* of the husband, is only alluded to. While the Dharmaçāstras teach that the person to be appointed should be, if not a kinsman, at least a member of the same caste, it is in the Mahābhārata regularly a member of a different caste who is appointed to raise up offspring to a member of the Kṣatriya caste. The first story (i, 103–6), it is true, *begins* in a way which might be said to

[1] The words sagotreṇetareṇa vā (ii, 128) may be nothing else but a short reference to this passage.

[2] "It is quite probable that the practice of Niyoga was originally confined to widows, like the well-known Hebrew custom of the *levirate*." "The supposition that the *levirate* is the principal and original form of the Niyoga is favoured by the general history of the family relations in India."—J. Jolly, "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, pp. 153–4.

be an illustration of the real Niyoga or levirate. But soon we hear of '*another*' ancient Kṣatriya law, viz. the appointment of Brāhmaṇas. The legend which makes Vyāsa a kind of brother-in-law of Vicitravīrya's wives is clearly an afterthought. Even Pāṇḍu himself quotes (i, 122, 23) his own birth through Vyāsa as an example of Niyoga by means of a Brāhmaṇa, not as one performed by a brother-in-law. For the rest, only the legal maxims quoted allude to Niyoga proper, while the stories related only give examples of the appointment of Brāhmaṇas.

Vicitravīrya, Bhīṣma's younger brother, has died childless. Their mother Satyavatī, anxious for the continuation of the lineage, addresses Bhīṣma with coaxing words, praising him as a pillar of righteousness, and tries to persuade him to raise up offspring in Vicitravīrya's wives. "Here are the two wives of thy brother," she says, "the lovely daughters of the king of Kāçi, endowed with beauty and youth, and desirous of sons, O son of Bharata. Raise up offspring in them for the perpetuation of our race. Appointed by me (*man-niyogāt*), O thou of mighty arms, thou shalt do what is right in this emergency. Let thyself be anointed king, and do thou rule the kingdom of the Bharatas. Wed thou duly a wife, and let not thy ancestors go to hell."

The words *dārāṃç ca kuru dharmeṇa* seem to imply that Satyavatī expects Bhīṣma to *marry* his brother's wives—just as the Jewish law demanded that "her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and *take her to him to wife*, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her" (Deut. xxv, 5 seqq.; cf. St. Matthew, xxii, 24)—while the Smṛtis only speak of temporary intercourse with the brother's widow.

There are strong reasons to believe that this part of the story (i, 103, 1–11), which refers to the oldest form of Niyoga as a real *levirate*—an older form than that which we know from the Smṛtis—is a remnant of the story in its oldest form, while the whole story which makes Vyāsa the father of Pāṇḍu belongs to a later date. Professor

A. Holtzmann[1] has pointed out that Bhīṣma is repeatedly referred to as the *grandfather* of the Pāṇḍavas. He quotes v, 31, 9–10, where Bhīṣma is said to have saved the race of Çāntanu from extinction:

abhivādya ca vaktavyas tato '*smākaṃ pitāmahaḥ* |
*bhavatā Çāntanor vaṃço nimagnaḥ punar uddhṛtaḥ* ||
sa tvaṃ kuru tathā tāta svamatena *pitāmaha* |
yathā jīvanti *te pautrāḥ* prītimantaḥ parasparam ||

He also refers to the beautiful passage, vi, 107 (108), 90 seqq., where Arjuna says: "How shall I fight in battle with my grandsire? . . . . When a child I used to climb unto his lap, and I would say 'father, dear' to the father of my father Pāṇḍu, and he would say to me, 'I am not thy father, I am thy father's father' . . . ."

guruṇā kuruvṛddhena kṛtaprajñena dhīmatā |
*pitāmahena* saṃgrāme kathaṃ yoddhāsmi Mādhava ||
. . . . . .
yasyāham adhiruhyāṅkaṃ bālaḥ kila gadāgraja |
tātety avocaṃ *pitaraṃ pituḥ Pāṇḍor* mahātmanaḥ ||
nāhaṃ tātas tava *pitus tāto' smi tava* Bhārata |
iti mām abravīd bālye yaḥ sa vadhyaḥ kathaṃ mayā ||

And in vii, 197 (198), 40, Arjuna is said to have slain his grandsire Bhīṣma:

*pitāmahaṃ* raṇe hatvā manyase dharmam ātmanaḥ |

These are, at any rate, very solid grounds for assuming, as Professor Holtzmann does, that in the original poem Bhīṣma actually married his brother's wife (or wives) and became the father of Pāṇḍu. Mr. Dahlmann ought at least to have tried to refute Professor Holtzmann's argument, but he does not even mention it.

An incongruity, slight in itself, is also worth mentioning

1 "Das Mahābhārata," i, pp. 154–5; ii, pp. 172–3.

in this connection. In i, 103, 1–11, Satyavatī alone addresses Bhīṣma; while i, 103, 12, begins with the words:

tathocyamāno mātrā sa suhṛdbhiç ca paraṃtapaḥ |
"Thus addressed by his mother and his friends."

However, in the story as we have it, Bhīṣma, although fully acknowledging the legality of the course proposed by his mother, declines to wed his brother's wives on account of his vow of celibacy, which he could never break. His mother, nevertheless, once more prevails upon him to consider the 'āpaddharma,' the law to be observed in times of distress, and to prevent the line of his ancestors from becoming extinct. Upon this Bhīṣma says that a breach of truth in a Kṣatriya is against all law, but that there is *another* course open by which the line of Çāntanu may be perpetuated, and then he proceeds to explain to her what he calls "an eternal law of the Kṣatriyas" (dharmaṃ kṣātraṃ sanātanam).

To explain this old-established Kṣatriya usage he relates two stories—

(1) When Rāma had exterminated the Kṣatriya race for one and twenty times, and the world had become deprived of Kṣatriyas through that great Ṛṣi, the Kṣatriya ladies raised up offspring by means of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Veda; for it is declared in the Vedas that the son belongs to the legal husband (pāṇigrāhasya tanaya iti vedeṣu niççitam).

(2) After relating the filthy story of the birth of Dīrghatamas, which probably was only invented to account for his name, Bhīṣma relates the curious story of Dīrghatamas, his wife Pradveṣī, and his wicked sons, who, at the command of their mother, tie the blind old man to a raft and throw him into the water.[1] Dīrghatamas, drifting along

[1] The story about the sons who tie their old father to a raft and throw him into the water seems to be old, and may be a survival of an ancient custom of dealing with the aged, similar to the customs of the Massagetes and Padaei related by Herodotus (i, 216; iii, 99). The story, on the other hand, which relates how Dīrghatamas is insulted by his wife Pradveṣī, and how he consequently

the stream, is found by King Vali, who went to bathe in the Ganges. The King takes him up, and having learned who the old Ṛṣi is, chooses him at once for raising up offspring (*sa ca vavre 'tha putrārthe*), saying: "For the sake of the perpetuation of my line thou shalt raise in my wife sons well-versed both in religious and worldly matters, O illustrious one"—

saṃtānārtham mahābhāga bhāryāsu mama mānada |
putrān dharmārthakuçalān utpādayitum arhasi ||

Dīrghatamas agrees, and the King sends his wife Sudeṣṇā to him. The Queen, knowing Dīrghatamas to be blind and old, sends her nurse instead. And with this Çūdra female the pious (dharmātmā) Ṛṣi begets *eleven* sons, one of whom is Kakṣīvat (known, like Dīrghatamas himself, as an author of Vedic hymns). One day the King asks: "Are these children mine?" "No," says Dīrghatamas, "they are mine, and were born by that Çūdra woman; for Queen Sudeṣṇā, seeing that I was blind and old, insulted me by sending her nurse." But King Vali soon pacifies that excellent Ṛṣi, and sends his wife once more to him. And Dīrghatamas simply touches the queen's limbs (*aṅgeṣu*), saying: "Thou shalt have children shining with glory like the sun." These sons were called *Aṅga*, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Suhma, after whom the countries Aṅga, etc., were named.[1] Bhīṣma concludes by saying: "Other Kṣatriyas also, mighty bowmen, knowing the highest law,

establishes the fixed rule (maryādā) that henceforth a woman shall always have to adhere to one husband, whether he be alive or dead, and that a woman who goes to another man shall go to hell, thus forbidding any kind of remarriage of widows (mṛte jīvati vā tasmin nāparaṃ prāpnuyān naraṃ | abhigamya paraṃ nārī patiṣyati na saṃçayaḥ ||), is strangely out of place in a chapter treating of Niyoga. The whole chapter swarms with incongruities (the text, also, is anything but settled; see e.g. v. 29, where the sentence ity anyonyaṃ samābhāṣyate . Dīrghatamasam munim has no verb), and deserves a careful analysis, with which also the Vedic and Pauranic stories of Dīrghatamas would have to be compared.

[1] It is very remarkable that Kṣemendra, in his Bhāratamañjarī (i, 466), only mentions the birth of *one* son, viz. Aṅga:

vallabhāyāṃ Sudoṣṇāyāṃ (sic) Aṅgākhyo janito nṛpaḥ ||

The stories of the birth of Dīrghatamas, and of Dīrghatamas and his wife and sons, are not quoted by Kṣemendra.

endowed with valour and great strength, have in this way been begotten by Brāhmaṇas. Having heard this, O mother, do as thou likest in this matter."

With this last verse of i, 104, the beginning of the next Adhyāya can hardly be said to agree, where Bhīṣma says: "But I shall tell thee a means for the perpetuation of the race of the Bharatas; listen to me attentively while I say it. Some virtuous Brāhmaṇa shall, by offer of wealth, be invited, that he may raise offspring in the wives of Vicitravīrya."

brāhmaṇo guṇavān kaçcid dhanenopanimantryatām |
Vicitravīrya-kṣetreṣu yaḥ samutpādayet prajāḥ ||

Satyavatī gladly approves of Bhīṣma's proposal (*satyam etad yathā vadasi*), and tells the story (told also in i, 63) how, when a girl, she was seduced by the Ṛṣi Parāçara and became the mother of Vyāsa, retaining her maidenhood by a special boon of the great Ṛṣi. He was called Vyāsa because he divided the Vedas into four parts; Dvaipāyana, because he was born on an island (dvīpa); and Kṛṣṇa, on account of the darkness of his colour. He is *not* credited here with the authorship of the Mahābhārata, while in the parallel passage, i, 63, he is actually said to have taught Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Çuka, and Vaiçampāyana the four Vedas *and the Mahābhārata*. It is this Vyāsa whom Satyavatī wishes to appoint for raising up offspring in Vicitravīrya's 'fields':

sa niyukto mayā vyaktaṃ tvayā cāpratimadyutiḥ |
bhrātuḥ kṣetreṣu kalyāṇam apatyaṃ janayiṣyati ||

Like a true saint, Vyāsa appears immediately on Satyavatī's thinking of him, and declares himself ready to do his mother's bidding. Although the whole context shows that Vyāsa is invited as a Brāhmaṇa or Ṛṣi, Satyavatī begins to explain to him that a son belongs both to the mother and to the father, and that, therefore, he (Vyāsa) is her eldest son, just as Vicitravīrya is her youngest son, and that she wants him only to perform

the duty of a brother-in-law. This is, no doubt, an attempt to make the story more conformable to the rules of the Dharmaçāstras regarding the institution of Niyoga. Yet the rest of Vyāsa's action is by no means quite in accordance with the strict rules of the Çāstra. For what does he do? He first approaches the princess Ambikā. But she cannot bear his ugliness, and shuts her eyes during the whole time the Ṛṣi is with her. Hence the curse of the Ṛṣi that she shall bring forth a blind son —Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But he promises his mother to approach the second wife, Ambalikā, in order to beget a more accomplished son. Poor Ambalikā, when she beholds the ugly Ṛṣi, becomes pale with fear. Hence she is to bring forth a pale son—Pāṇḍu, 'the pale one,' the father of the Pāṇḍavas. But Satyavatī is not yet satisfied, and Vyāsa —against all rules of the Dharmaçāstras, which allow only one or at most two sons to be begotten through Niyoga— comes once more to the elder princess. She, however, remembering the profound ugliness and the disgusting odour of the saint, deceives her mother-in-law, and, like Queen Sudeṣṇā of old, sends her maid instead of appearing herself. And Vyāsa—again disregarding all rules of the law-books—has intercourse with a Çūdra woman, who becomes the mother of Vidura.

It is, I believe, sufficiently clear that in the four Adhyāyas, i, 103–6, there is more than one inconsistency among the different parts of the story, and that, if it had been invented to illustrate the Niyoga of the Smṛtis, it would be a very poor illustration indeed.

The next passage where Niyoga is alluded to is the story of Pāṇḍu (i, 120–4).

Pāṇḍu, having devoted himself to asceticism, became a great saint, a friend of Ṛṣis, Siddhas, and Cāraṇas. One day the Ṛṣis go up to Heaven to visit the god Brahman. Pāṇḍu, accompanied by his two wives, wishes to follow them. The Ṛṣis warn him that the road to Heaven is inaccessible for ordinary mortals, and that it would be impossible for his wives to ascend the mountain.

Upon this (abruptly enough[1]) Pāṇḍu says: "There is no admission into Heaven for the sonless," and he complains that, being sonless, he has not paid his debt to the ancestors. Mr. Dahlmann (pp. 76–7) quotes the words of Pāṇḍu as an excellent specimen as to how legal opinions of the Dharmaçāstras are made use of in the epos. But the views expressed by Pāṇḍu, when speaking of 'the three debts,' are much older than any Dharmaçāstra, for we read already in the Taittirīya-saṃhitā: jāyamāno vaí brāhmaṇás tribhír ṛṇavá jāyate brahmacáryeṇárṣibhyo yajñéna devébhyaḥ prajáyā pitṛ́bhyaḥ, etc. Finally, Pāṇḍu asks the Ṛṣis whether he ought not to have recourse to the same expedient to which he himself owes his origin. His question—

yathaivāhaṃ pituḥ kṣetre jātas tena maharṣiṇā |
tathaivāsmin mama kṣetre kathaṃ vai sambhavet prajā ||

is plain enough, while the answer of the Ṛṣis, who prophesy to him accomplished progeny, is quite oracular. But he takes it as implying an approval of Niyoga.[2] He therefore summons his wife Kuntī, and in a long speech tries to persuade her to submit to Niyoga with a devout Brāhmaṇa. This speech is full of inconsistencies. He begins by asking her to try to raise up offspring in this emergency (*apatyotpādane yatnam āpadi tvaṃ samarthaya*), for without offspring religious actions are of no avail, and having lost his power of procreation himself, he could never obtain the heavenly worlds. Then he says: "There are according to the law-books six kinds of sons that are heirs and kinsmen, and six kinds of sons that are heirs

[1] Unless we credit the Ṛṣis with a great deal of tact—they do not say one word about his being childless and, on that account, unable to go to Heaven—there would seem to be here also one of those many breaks in the narrative, which make it so difficult to believe in Mr. Dahlmann's 'Einheitlichkeit.'

[2] In Kṣemendra's Bhāratamañjarī (i, 528 seqq.) no mention is made of this introductory story (Mahābhārata, i, 120, 1–25). Kṣemendra only says that Pāṇḍu, after the curse of the antelope, resigned his throne, went into the forest, accompanied by his wives, and that one day he addressed Kuntī, complaining of his childlessness and soliciting her to raise up a Kṣetraja by means of a Brāhmaṇa.

without being kinsmen." We expect, of course, after this an enumeration of the *twelve* kinds of sons, as we find them in other Smṛtis. Instead of this, Pāṇḍu gives us a list of *thirteen* sons. Mr. Dahlmann has nothing to say about this incongruity, although he enters into a long and interesting discussion—not without profit for the history of ancient Hindu law—about the lists of sons, as given in the Mahābhārata and in the Dharmaçāstras.[1]

Having enumerated the thirteen kinds of sons, Pāṇḍu continues:

pūrvapūrvatamābhāvaṃ matvā lipseta vai sutam |
uttamād devarāt puṃsaḥ kāṃkṣante putram āpadi ||
apatyaṃ dharmaphaladaṃ çreṣṭhaṃ vindanti mānavāḥ |
ātmaçukrād api Pṛthe Manuḥ Svāyaṃbhuvo' bravīt ||

This is so corrupt that it almost defies translation. Roy, indeed, translates: "On failure of offspring of a prior class, the mother[2] should desire to have offspring of the next class. At times of distress, men solicit offspring from accomplished younger brothers. The Self-create Manu hath said that men failing to have legitimate offspring of their own may have offspring begotten upon their wives by others, for sons confer the highest religious merit." Nothing of that sort is in our text, a literal translation

[1] How impossible it is to assume that the same author who wanted to write a Dharmaçāstra could have given one list of *five* sons in i, 74, 99, and another of thirteen sons in i, 120, 32, has been pointed out by Professor Jacobi, Götting. Gel. Anz. 1896, p. 70. I am, however, inclined to think that the passage, i, 74, 99:

svapatnīprabhavān pañca labdhān krītān vivardhitān |
kṛtān anyāsu cotpannān putrān vai Manur abravīt ||

contains not a list of *five* sons, but is really a short summary of Manu's list of *twelve* sons (ix, 166 ff.). For it seems better to translate svapatnīprabhavān pañca 'five sons born from one's own wife' (including the aurasa, kṣetraja, gūḍhotpanna, kānīna, and sahoḍha of Manu, ix, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173); labdhān might include both the datrima and svayaṃdatta of Manu, ix, 168, 177; krītān = krītaka, Manu, ix, 174, vivardhitān = apaviddha, Manu, ix, 171, kṛta = kṛtrima, Manu, ix, 169, and anyāsu cotpannān might include the paunarbhava and çaudra of Manu, ix, 175, 178. I give this only as a conjecture, adding that I do not believe for a moment that the çloka in question belonged to the original context of Mahābhārata, i, 74. It is almost inevitable that in such a passage numerous interpolations were made at different times.

[2] As if he had read: °bhāve mātā.

of which would be: "Considering the absence of each previous one, (he or she) shall try to obtain a son (of the next following class?). In times of distress men[1] desire a son from an accomplished younger brother. Manu Svāyaṃbhuva has said, O Pṛthā, that men obtain offspring as conferring the highest religious merit even from their own seed (?!)."[2] However that may be, we see that the *devara*, the husband's younger brother, is expressly mentioned in what is quoted as a legal maxim. Yet Pāṇḍu continues: "*Therefore*, being myself bereft of the power of procreation, I shall command thee to-day to obtain excellent offspring *from one that is equal or superior to me* (sadṛçāc chreyaso vā)." Then he relates the characteristic story of Çāradaṇḍāyanī. This excellent Kṣatriya lady, having been duly authorized by her Guru to bring forth a son, went out at night to a place where four roads met, and having found an accomplished Brāhmaṇa, cohabited with him, and became the mother of *three* sons. Pāṇḍu encourages his wife to follow this noble example, and to raise up offspring from a *Brāhmaṇa of great ascetic merit* (brāhmaṇāt tapasādhikāt).[3]

Kuntī strongly objects to the proposal made by her husband. She wishes to be faithful to her husband unto death, like Bhadrā, the wife of Vyuṣitāçva.

Upon this, Pāṇḍu begins once more to instruct his wife as to the lawfulness of the practice recommended by him. In ancient times, he says, women used to be perfectly free and independent, and sexual promiscuity was the recognized law. This ancient law is still observed by beasts, and it is to this very day held in honour by the great Ṛṣis,[4] and

[1] Puṃsaḥ, nom. plur. as in i, 195 (197), 27 (naikasyā bahavaḥ puṃsaḥ çrūyante patayaḥ kvacit); iii, 208, 23 (karṣanto lāṅgalaiḥ puṃso ghnanti bhūmiçayān bahūn).

[2] Or, "that men obtain the best offspring which confers religious merit from their own seed also"?? We expect, of course, something like *ātmaçukrābhāve*, which Roy translates. Mr. Dahlmann never condescends to give a philological interpretation of the passages to which he refers.

[3] How can Mr. Dahlmann say (p. 82): "Pāṇḍu . . . . beauftragt seine Gemahlin Kuntī, ihm einen Sohn *durch seinen älteren Bruder* zu schenken"?

[4] Is not this a sarcasm?

also among the Northern Kurus.[1] It is only in modern times (*na cirāt*, but lately) that another rule (*maryādā*) has been established by Çvetaketu, the son of Uddālaka. Çvetaketu, seeing his mother led away by some Brāhmaṇa, became indignant. His father tells him that this is the old-established law (*dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ*), that women of all Varṇas are independent, and that men within their own Varṇa act exactly like kine.[2] But Çvetaketu does not like that law, and he ordains that henceforth women shall have to adhere to one husband.[3] Since that time a wife who breaks her vow commits a mortal sin, just as it is sinful for a man to violate a chaste woman. A wife also (he adds) who, appointed by her husband to raise up a son, refuses to do so, is guilty of a mortal crime. And, again, Pāṇḍu quotes another example of a Kṣatriya lady, Madayantī, who, authorized by her husband, went to the Ṛṣi Vāsiṣṭha and obtained a son named Açmaka. Finally, he reminds her of his own birth through the Ṛṣi Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana.[4] He next quotes another 'ancient law,' according to which women belong to their husbands during their seasons (*ṛtāv ṛtau*), while at other times they may claim perfect liberty (*svātantrya*). It would be difficult to find anything like that in our Dharmaçāstras. But—this is Pāṇḍu's last card—those versed in the Vedas have declared that a wife must do her husband's bidding whether it be right or wrong. "And as I am bereft of my virility (he concludes) and yet wish to behold offspring, thou shalt, authorized by me, raise up virtuous *sons* through some *Brāhmaṇa of great ascetic merit*":

manniyogāt sukeçānte dvijātes tapasādhikāt |
putrān guṇasamāyuktān utpādayitum arhasi ||

[1] This may refer to polyandrous customs prevalent among certain Himalayan tribes.

[2] Could that be the godharma which Dīrghatamas followed, i, 103, 24?

[3] In i, 103, 31 seqq., Dīrghatamas is said to have established this very maryādā. How can the two passages be ascribed to one author?

[4] The stories of Bhadrā and Vyuṣitāçva, of Çvetaketu and his mother, of Madayantī and Vāsiṣṭha, and even Pāṇḍu's reference to his own birth, all occur in Kṣemendra's Bhār., i, 534–44. This makes the omissions pointed out above (p. 727, note 2) more remarkable.

The very plural *putrān* is against all the rules of the Dharmaçāstras as known to us. And as a matter of fact, in order to make-up the required number of sons, Kuntī has to submit to Niyoga three times—with the gods Dharma, Vāyu, and Indra successively—and Mādrī, too, is appointed, and becomes the mother of Nakula and Sahadeva through the twin Açvins.

After all the trouble Pāṇḍu has taken to persuade Kuntī to submit to Niyoga with a *Brāhmaṇa*, it is in the end no Brāhmaṇa at all, but the *gods* by whom the Pāṇḍavas are begotten. Surely an author who wanted to illustrate the practice of Niyoga could not have found a more unsuitable example of 'Niyoga' than this—Pāṇḍu quoting maxims recommending the Niyoga with kinsmen, relating stories of Niyoga practised with Brāhmaṇas, and finally a miraculous birth through the instrumentality of heavenly beings.

And, with all this, Mr. Dahlmann coolly asserts: "So steht diese Erzählung nach Sprache und Inhalt ganz im Bereiche des Çāstra."

As a matter of fact, the Niyoga as taught in the Dharmaçāstras is something entirely different from the practice recommended in the episodes of the Mahābhārata. There are a few quotations here and there which are in harmony with the Niyoga or *levirate* of the Çāstras, but there is no closer connection between these quotations and the stories related, than between the text and the sermon of that parson who was told that if his text had the small-pox his sermon would never catch it. The Niyoga of the Smṛtis is a perfectly intelligible custom, well founded in the ancient Hindu family system, and parallel in every respect to the widespread custom of the Levirate,[1] which has been well explained both by referring to the ancient laws of inheritance,[2] and by the strong religious feeling as to the necessity of having a son to perform the obsequies for the deceased father, and the dread of the extinction

[1] See E. Westermarck, "History of Human Marriage," 1891, pp. 510–4; C. N. Starcke, "Primitive Family," 1889, pp. 141–58.

[2] See also Jolly, "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, p. 154.

of the family. The last explanation applies especially to the case of the Niyoga practised during the husband's lifetime.[1]

On the other hand, the revolting custom of handing over the wife to a Brāhmaṇa belongs to an entirely different group of customs. It is one of those customs which, like the *jus primae noctis* and similar rights claimed by priests, chiefs, or landlords, owe their origin simply to the 'law of might.'[2] In India it belongs, like many other passages of the Mahābhārata, to a period when the impudence of the Brāhmaṇas was at its highest.

From the reasons stated above it seems probable that the author or authors of these episodes substituted their own stories, which were intended to encourage Kṣatriyas to yield up their wives to the Brāhmaṇas, for older stories in which the real Niyoga was alluded to.[3]

At all events, I hope to have shown that the passages quoted from the Mahābhārata prove the very opposite of what Mr. Dahlmann wants them to prove—namely, that there is no *organic* connection between the dharma elements and the epic elements in these episodes of the Mahābhārata, and that they certainly could not have been invented to illustrate the Dharmaçāstra. It is also mere phraseology to say that the Pāṇḍus owe their origin to an extraordinary and *particularly sacred* custom (Dahlmann, p. 86). The Dharmaçāstras never refer to the Niyoga as a particularly sacred institution; on the contrary, it is only a makeshift resorted to in times of distress, a last resource, to provide a substitute for legal offspring, and we are never told that the subsidiary or fictitious sons were considered as more sacred or venerable than legitimate offspring.

[1] This custom is still practised in Abyssinia, if a husband has become a victim of emasculation in battle. See Ch. Letourneau, "Evolution of Marriage," 1891, p. 265.

[2] Dr. Westermarck, l.c., p. 78 seqq., rightly refutes the idea that these customs have anything to do with 'communal marriage.'

[3] So far—but only so far—I agree with Professor Holtzmann, l.c., p. 29. I do not believe in Professor Holtzmann's idea of a *systematic* transformation of the whole of the Mahābhārata, as little as I believe in Mr. Dahlmann's view of the Mahābhārata being the work of *one* great genius.

*Joint Family and Polyandry.*

If Mr. Dahlmann had succeeded in proving what he meant to prove on pp. 86–99, when speaking of the Joint Family, as represented by the five Pāṇḍavas, and of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī, we should have to consider his case as proved, however much there might be doubtful in the rest of his book: for in these pages he touches the main story of the Mahābhārata. If it could be proved that the central story of the great epic is not based on historical reminiscences, nor on popular legends far anterior to the composition or compilation of the epos, but owes its origin (as Mr. Dahlmann will have us believe) merely to an author's desire of exemplifying by a living picture, as it were, the legal institution of the joint family—then we should certainly have to admit that the Mahābhārata was composed as a law-book rather than as an epic poem. Nay, we should have to go farther than Mr. Dahlmann himself would go. For it would have no sense to speak any longer of a '*diaskeuasis*'; we should simply have to speak of the *poet* or of the *author* of the Mahābhārata. A man who invents the principal characters and puts the main story into shape is not a 'diaskeuast,' but an author.

What, then, is Mr. Dahlmann's argument?

The five Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata are represented as living in a joint family, Yudhiṣṭhira, as the eldest brother, exercising the authority of patriarch—an authority which is never questioned, not even when he stakes the whole family property, the common wife Draupadī, and his very brothers in the great gambling match. In the Dharmaçāstras, on the other hand, and even in the Ṛgveda, partition is already fully recognized by the law, while the joint-family system, though it has become obsolete, always remains the *ideal* of the law-books. Hence it follows (according to Mr. Dahlmann) that the family organization of the Pāṇḍavas, as it is described in the Mahābhārata,

was merely intended to be an illustration of the *ideal* joint family.

Now, it is hardly correct to speak of the joint-family system as having become obsolete, seeing that it exists to the present day. Nor is it correct to say that joint family after the death of a father is the *ideal* of the law-books. The Brāhmaṇas had very good reasons for recommending separation rather than joint family. There are, it is true, a few lawgivers (Vīramitrodaya, Çaŋkhalikhita[1]) who recommend the joint-family system; but on the whole it is the tendency of the law-books to teach partition of the property after the father's death, as being conducive to the multiplication of pious works. Such an old author on law as Gautama says (xxviii, 4): *vibhāge tu dharmavṛddhiḥ*, "separation tends to the increase of spiritual merit," and, of course, to the increase of the fees to be paid to the Brāhmaṇas, as separated coparceners had to perform separate Çrāddhas and other religious rites.[2]

There is every reason to believe that the joint-family system existed, as it still exists, at all times by the side of partition. "This custom," says Professor Jolly,[3] "continues to obtain in the present day. It appears, however, that partition, though favoured by the priesthood, was even far less common in ancient times than it now is. An old author, Çaŋkhalikhita, says the brothers may live together if they like, because being united they will prosper. Considering that there are even now many nations in the world, on which the idea of unrestricted private ownership has never dawned, *it may be unhesitatingly set down as a fact that in the earliest period of Indian Law, partition of property was an entirely unknown proceeding.*" If, then, the Pāṇḍavas form a joint family, why should we not take this as historical evidence that this system prevailed at the time when, and in that part of India where, the Pāṇḍava story

[1] See "Tagore Law Lectures," 1884–5, p. 198.
[2] See J. Jolly, "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, p. 90.
[3] "Tagore Law Lectures," l.c. Compare Professor Krishna Kamal Bháttácháryya's remarks in his "Tagore Law Lectures," 1884–5, p. 177.

took its origin? Why have recourse to such far-fetched theories as that the whole story should only have been invented as an illustration of an ancient social institution that had become obsolete?

Mr. Dahlmann goes so far to suggest that the very fact of there being *five* Pāṇḍavas might have been invented only in order to exemplify the joint family as a 'Paṇkti' or 'Fünfergenossenschaft.' How absurd this is, has been shown sufficiently by Professor Jacobi.[1]

But even more fanciful is Mr. Dahlmann's next hypothesis, that the polyandric marriage of Draupadī was only invented in order to illustrate *symbolically* the indivisibility of the common property belonging to the joint family! As usual, Mr. Dahlmann simply quotes a few passages which seem to bear out his theory, and he quotes them indiscriminately from all parts of the story, taking it for granted that everything found in our editions must be old and genuine, instead of giving a careful analysis of all the passages referring to the marriage of Draupadī. Anybody who even only reads the passages in question carefully, *must* see that the story, such as we have it, cannot be the work of one hand, and that more especially the chapter in which the Pañcendropākhyāna occurs is nothing but a collection of fragments of stories patched together by a very unskilled hand.

Even the shortest epitome will show how numerous the inconsistencies are which occur in the stories relating to Draupadī's marriage.

In i, 169, Vyāsa relates the story how an ancient Ṛṣi had a daughter who could not obtain a husband. She prayed to the god Çaṃkara, repeating several times (*punaḥ punaḥ*) her desire to obtain a virtuous husband. And the Lord said: "Thou shalt have five husbands." The maiden, very naturally, replies that she only wants one husband. But the god says: "Five times didst thou say, 'Give me a husband.' Therefore thou shalt have five husbands in

[1] Götting. Gel. Anz. 1896, pp. 70–1.

a future birth." This maiden was afterwards born as Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada; and Vyāsa concludes his story by telling the Pāṇḍavas that Kṛṣṇā was appointed to be their wife, and that they should set out for the capital of Pañcāla, in order to obtain Draupadī as wife and be happy.

Accordingly the brothers are said (in the last verse of i, 183, and in the first verse of i, 184) to have started for Pañcāla, in order to be present at Draupadī's Svayamvara. Yet in i, 184, the story is told how the Pāṇḍavas meet a number of Brāhmaṇas, who tell them what a grand festival is to be held at the court of Drupada on the occasion of his daughter's Svayamvara. They invite the Pāṇḍavas to join them, suggesting that by some chance one of them might be lucky enough to win Draupadī. And Yudhiṣṭhira agrees that they should go together to that grand festival. The whole chapter (excepting the first verse) has no sense unless we assume that the Pāṇḍavas knew nothing about the Svayamvara, and received the first intimation of it from these Brāhmaṇas.

At the beginning of i, 185, the brothers have again the pleasure of meeting Vyāsa, and with his consent they proceed to the abode of Drupada. Then we hear nothing more of Vyāsa and his story until i, 191, 15, where Yudhiṣṭhira suddenly remembers all that Vyāsa had said (Dvaipāyanavacaḥ kṛtsnaṃ sasmāra manujarṣabhaḥ), though we should have expected that he would have remembered it before (after i, 191, 5). But, strangely enough, the story slips from his memory again, for he never mentions it afterwards when called upon to justify his intention of making Draupadī the common wife of himself and his brothers.

It is really not too much to say that the very silliness of this story characterizes it as a later fabrication. I do not mean to say that everything that is silly must be of modern date. But the story of Draupadī's Svayamvara, as told in the following chapters, is certainly the work of a great poet, and the same great poet could never have

invented a story in which a maiden prays for a husband, and is promised by the god *five* husbands *in a future birth*, and none in her present existence!

The second attempt at a justification of Draupadī's polyandric marriage occurs in i, 191. The Pāṇḍavas, who live with their mother in the potter's house as mendicants, having returned from the Svayamvara of Draupadī, announce to their mother Kuntī the 'alms' they have collected, whereupon Kuntī (who thinks that they come from their usual begging expedition), without looking up, replies with the usual phrase, "May ye all enjoy it together." When she afterwards sees what kind of 'alms' it is her sons have brought home this time, she is much embarrassed, and asks Yudhiṣṭhira what can be done in this dilemma, so that her word might not become untrue, and yet Draupadī should not commit a sin. Yudhiṣṭhira *never answers his mother's question*, but addresses Arjuna, saying: "Thou hast won Draupadī in Svayamvara, therefore thou alone shalt wed her." Upon this Arjuna replies: "Surely you do not want me to commit such a sinful act. That is not the law. Thou shalt wed first, then Bhīma, then myself, then Nakula, and then Sahadeva."

Now the brothers look at Draupadī, and seeing how beautiful she is, they all fall in love with her. Yudhiṣṭhira, seeing this, remembers now what Vyāsa had said (above, i, 169), and from fear of disunion (*bhedabhayāt*) he addresses the brothers, saying: "Beautiful Draupadī shall be the wife of us all."

And so the matter is settled without any reference to Kuntī's words, "May ye all enjoy it together." Arjuna seems to take it for granted that according to law all the brothers should marry Draupadī. And Yudhiṣṭhira agrees to it—(1) because he remembers Vyāsa's tale; and (2) in order to prevent disunion[1] among the brothers, who by this time are all in love with Draupadī.

[1] I prefer to take bhedabhayāt in this sense, on account of the preceding verses. Roy's translation has "from fear of a division amongst the brothers," which is not impossible.

In i, 195, the question as to the lawfulness of Draupadī's marriage is raised again. When King Drupada says that the wedding of his daughter with Arjuna is to be celebrated, Yudhiṣṭhira says: "I also shall have to marry" (mamāpi dārasambandhaḥ kāryas tāvad viçāmpate). Drupada does not seem to understand what Yudhiṣṭhira means, for he says: "Either you yourself may marry my daughter, or you may give her in marriage to whomsoever (of your brothers) you think fit." But Yudhiṣṭhira replies:—"Draupadī shall be the wife of us all. Thus, O King, has it been previously ordained by my mother. Both I myself and the Pāṇḍava Bhīmasena are still unmarried; and this treasure, thy daughter, has been won by Arjuna. And this is a contract settled between us, O King, that we shall enjoy every treasure together; and we do not wish to break this contract. Kṛṣṇā shall lawfully become the wife of us all; she shall seize the hands of all of us, one after the other, before the fire":

sarveṣāṃ dharmataḥ Kṛṣṇā mahiṣī no bhaviṣyati |
ānupūrvyeṇa sarveṣāṃ gṛhṇātu jvalane karān ||

But Drupada says:—"It has been ordained that one man should have many wives, but one has never heard that one woman should have many husbands. Thou who art pure and versed in the law shouldst not commit an unlawful act that is opposed both to the Vedas and to worldly usage. How is it that thou hast formed such a resolution?"

And Yudhiṣṭhira replies:—"Law is subtle; we do not know its course. *Let us follow the path trodden successively by men of former ages* (pūrveṣām ānupūrvyeṇa yātaṃ vartmānuyāmahe). *My tongue has never uttered an untruth*; my mind never *turns to what is unlawful. My* mother says so, and I also have *made up my mind that* this should be done. *This is the established law*, O King: follow it unhesitatingly; thou shouldst not have any misgivings whatsoever with regard to this matter":

eṣa dharmo dhruvo rājaṃç carainam avicārayan |
mā ca çaṅkā tatra te syāt kathaṃcid api pārthiva ||

In this dialogue between Drupada and Yudhiṣṭhira, the former seems to be the representative of the ordinary law in vogue at the time when, and among the people by whom and for whom, the story was composed; while Yudhiṣṭhira evidently speaks as the representative of an ancient *tribal* custom practised in his own family from ancient times. Even when he says, "Thus has it been previously ordained by my *mother*," and again, that both he and his *mother* are agreed that this marriage should take place, it is not at all necessary to refer this to Kuntī's accidental words "May ye all enjoy it together"; but it seems far more probable that he quotes the authority of his mother, who had advisedly recommended that the brothers should have one common wife. It is quite possible that the original Mahābhārata, instead of relating the story now found in i, 191, 1–5, originally contained a speech of Kuntī, urging the brothers to make Draupadī their common wife. We could then understand why Yudhiṣṭhira (in verse 7) makes no reply to his mother's words, but expresses his opinion that Arjuna alone was entitled to marry Draupadī, while Arjuna's words (vv. 8–9) would (if our conjecture be right) be spoken in support of Kuntī's view that according to law all the brothers must marry Draupadī.

But to return to our story: Yudhiṣṭhira has not succeeded in satisfying the King as to the lawfulness of the polyandric marriage, and Drupada proposes that the knotty point should be deliberated and finally settled in a committee consisting of Yudhiṣṭhira, Kuntī, and his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna.

While these three are assembled to argue the point, our old friend Vyāsa appears in the very nick of time. After the usual exchange of compliments, Drupada[1] asks the great Ṛṣi: "How can several men have one lawful wife without its being promiscuity?":

[1] It ought to be mentioned that while at the end of i, 195, the question is submitted to the *three* persons named above, in i, 196, all the Pāṇḍavas and King Drupada are assembled around Vyāsa.

katham ekā bahūnāṃ syād dharmapatnī na saṃkaraḥ |
etan me bhagavān sarvaṃ prabravītu yathātatham ||

Vyāsa replies that he first wishes to hear the opinions of those assembled on this law, which is apparently (?) opposed both to the Veda and to worldly usage[1] (asmin dharme vipralabdhe lokavedavirodhake).

Drupada speaks first, declaring that he considers the practice to be entirely objectionable.

Dhṛṣṭadyumna is of the same opinion as his father.

Yudhiṣṭhira is very dogmatic. "My tongue," he says again, "has never uttered an untruth, my mind never turns to what is unlawful. As my mind is made up with regard to this matter, it can never be unlawful." Then he refers to the stories told in a *Purāṇa* of a virtuous lady, Jaṭilā Gautamī by name, who became the wife of seven Ṛṣis, and of another lady, the daughter of a Muni, Vārkṣī[2] ('the Treeborn') by name, who was married to ten brothers.[3] Moreover, he says, obedience to the word of a Guru is enjoined by the law, but of all Gurus the mother is the highest; consequently the mother's words, "May ye all enjoy it together," cannot be disobeyed[4]; "therefore," he concludes, "I consider this to be *the highest law*" (paraṃ dharmam).

Kuntī also approves of the marriage, because otherwise she would be guilty of the sin of untruth.

Now Vyāsa says: "Thou shalt be freed from the sin of untruth, O blessed lady, *for this is an eternal law*; but

[1] This sounds strange in the mouth of Vyāsa, who immediately after approves of this law. This seems to have been felt by Roy, who translates: "This practice, being opposed to usage and the Vedas, hath become *obsolete*"; but can vipralabdha mean that? Vipralabh with such words as dharma, ājñā, etc., generally means 'to violate, to break (a law),' but orginally it means 'to deceive.' I therefore translate it by 'apparently' (vipralambhena), 'by a kind of deception.' But I am doubtful.

[2] On Vārkṣī, see Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, vi, 4, 15.

[3] These two stories are omitted by Kṣemendra in his Bhāratamañjarī, where (i, 1113–1120) Yudhiṣṭhira bases his argument only on Kuntī's words which cannot be falsified, while in i, 1122 it is only said that Vyāsa first heard the opinions of the other persons.

[4] Observe how different *this* reference to the mother's speech is from that

I shall not speak of it to all of you; thou, O King of Pāñcāla, shalt hear from me privately, how this *law* has been enjoined, and why it is *an eternal law*. And there can be no doubt that what Yudhiṣṭhira said is the law."

anṛtān mokṣyase bhadre *dharmaç caisha sanātanaḥ* |
na tu vakṣyāmi sarveṣāṃ Pāñcāla çṛṇu me svayam ||
yathāyaṃ vihito *dharmo* yataç cāyaṃ *sanātanaḥ* |
yathā ca prāha Kaunteyas tathā dharmo na saṃçayaḥ ||

Then Vyāsa—just as if we were reading an Upaniṣad[1] —takes hold of Drupada's hand and leads him into a private apartment, and there he tells him how that *law* of many men having one wife was established:

ācakhyau tad yathā *dharmo bahūnām ekapatnitā* ||

Then he begins (i, 197):—In days of yore the gods were performing a sacrifice lasting many days in the Naimiṣa forest.[2] At that sacrifice Yama, Vivasvat's son, performed the office of Çamitṛ (the priest who cuts up and prepares the sacrificial animal). And being thus engaged as priest, he neglected his duty of causing the death of creatures. Death being thus suspended in the world, the creatures multiplied so rapidly that the gods became uneasy about it. And Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera, the Sādhyas, Rudras, Vasus, Açvins, and other gods went to Prajāpati, the Creator. And greatly alarmed at the increase of human beings, they implored him for protection. The Grandfather (Prajāpati) replied: "Why is it that you are afraid of men, when you are all immortal? Surely there ought to be no danger for you from mortals." And the gods said: "The mortals have become immortal, there is not any difference. Alarmed at the disappearance of distinction, we have come that thou mightest distinguish us from them." And the

[1] Cf. e.g. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up., iii, 2, 13–4, where Yājñavalkya says to Ārtabhāga: "Take my hand, O friend. We two alone shall know of this; we will not discuss this in public," etc.

[2] This whole story of the sacrifice of the gods reminds one of many a passage in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Venerable One (bhagavān) replied: "Yama is very busy just now with the great sacrifice. As soon as this will be over, he will again be able to look after his business of destroying living beings, and strengthened by your energies, he will again cause the death of men, in whom there will be no energy left."

Then the gods return to the place where the sacrifice is performed. While sitting there they see a lotus[1] swimming in the Gaṇgā. And seeing it, they became much surprised; and Indra, the hero among these gods, went to the spot where the Gaṇgā rises, and beheld there a beautiful woman bathing in the Gaṇgā. She was weeping, and every tear she shed became a golden lotus, as soon as it fell into the river. Seeing this wonder, Indra asks her who she is, and why she weeps. The woman replies: "Thou shalt know who I am, and why I weep: follow me; I will lead the way, and thou shalt see why I am weeping."

And Indra follows the woman, and soon beholds a beautiful youth sitting on a throne on the summit of the Himālaya and playing at dice with a young lady.[2] Seeing that youth quite absorbed with his game of dice, the king of the gods becomes angry and says: "Know that this universe is under my sway. I am the Lord." Seeing Indra thus filled with wrath, the *god*[3] laughed and just cast a glance upon him, and at that glance Indra, the king of the gods, became paralyzed and stood there like a stake. When the game of dice was over, he (Çiva) said to that weeping *goddess*[4]: "Bring him (Indra) hither, that I may humble his pride." But as soon as Indra is touched by that woman, his limbs give way, and he falls to the ground. And Çiva says to him: "Thou must never do that again, O Çakra. Remove this

[1] No doubt, a *golden* lotus is meant. But the text merely says: "They saw a lotus in the Ganges."

[2] As Professor Holtzmann, "Mahābhārata," i, 40, has pointed out, a similar story of Indra, who disturbs the game of Çiva and Pārvatī, and in punishment is afterwards born as a human being, viz. Çālivāhana, occurs in Ananta's Viracaritra (Jacobi in "Indische Studien," xiv, p. 100).

[3] This is the first intimation that the youth spoken of is none other than the great Çiva.

[4] The first intimation that the weeping woman is Çrī.

mighty rock,[1] for thy strength and power are immeasurable, and enter that cave where there are others like thee, endowed with the splendour of the sun." And having opened the cave of the great mountain, he saw in it four others of similar splendour (as he himself), and became much grieved, and said: "Shall I become like these?" Then Çiva, the god of the mountain, rolling his eye in anger, addressed the wielder of the thunderbolt, saying: "Enter this cave, O Çatakratu, for in thy folly thou hast insulted me before." Thus addressed by the Lord, Indra began to tremble like the wind-shaken leaf of an Açvattha tree on the summit of Mount Himālaya, and humbly he addressed Çiva: "Be thou to-day judge (?) over the whole universe" (draṣṭāçeṣasya bhuvanasya tvaṃ bhavādya).[2] But, laughing, the god replies: "People of such disposition cannot be spared"; and he commands him again to enter the cave, adding that the four others also are in the cave because they have insulted him, and that all the five will have to be re-born in the world of men, and only after having achieved great feats on earth shall they be allowed to return again to the world of Indra. The former Indras (pūrvendrāḥ) ask that, if they are to be born on earth, they might at least be begotten by the gods Dharma, Vāyu, Maghavat, and the two Açvins. Indra,[3] however, adds another request: "May I, through

[1] i, 197, 19: nivartayainaṃ ca mahādrirājam, 'turn away,' or 'remove this mighty king of rocks.' The cave seems to be shut up by a rock, like the cave of the Cyclops.

[2] i, 197, 23. The reading of the Bombay edition, adyāçeṣasya bhuvanasya tvaṃ bhavādyaḥ, looks like a conjectural emendation. The text of the following verses, also, is in a very bad state, and only a proof that the whole passage is the work of a very unskilled compiler. Take verse 24, where ete'pyevam *bhavitāraḥ* purastāt can only mean "these *have* also behaved like that formerly," with which the following words—tasmād etāṃ darīm āviçya çeshva—"therefore enter the cave and lie there" are very loosely connected.

[3] How Indra can be born as a human being (Arjuna) and *at the same time* as the god Indra beget himself as his own son, does not become clear from v. 27 seq. by any means. "The former Indras," in v. 27, seems to include all the *five* Indras, for they mention *five* gods whom they wish to be their fathers. Yet Indra prays that he may give them a fifth person produced from himself, as if he could remain a god, while (according to vv. 24–5) the five Indras ought all to share the same lot of being born as human beings. That Arjuna is a mystic name of Indra, according to the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (ii, 1, 2, 11; v, 4, 3, 7), must be somehow connected with the Epic-Pauranic tradition which makes Arjuna a son, or a kind of incarnation, of Indra.

my energy, be allowed to add to them for the accomplishment of their task a person born from myself as the fifth." Viçvabhuj, Bhūtadhāman,[1] Çibi, Çānti, and Tejasvin are the five Indras of old.[2] Çiva grants their wishes, and also ordained that the weeping woman, who was Çrī, should become their wife among the mortals.

Çiva, with the five Indras, next goes to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), who gives his sanction to all that Çiva has ordained. And then they all were born on earth.

Nārāyaṇa, on this occasion, pulls two hairs, a black one and a white one, out of his body, causes these hairs to enter the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī, and from the white hair Baladeva was born, while Kṛṣṇa was born from the black hair.

Those Indras of old, Vyāsa concludes, are now the five Pāṇḍavas, and Arjuna is a portion of Indra, while Draupadī is none other than Lakṣmī, who was appointed to be their wife. Vyāsa, ever obliging, even grants our King the boon of spiritual sight, which enables him to see the five Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī in their heavenly forms. The King is highly pleased, and pays homage to the great Vyāsa.

Finally, Vyāsa tells again the whole story of the ascetic's daughter who said five times 'Give me a husband,' told above, i, 169.[3]

That this is one of the most incoherent episodes in the Mahābhārata, seems obvious. As long ago as 1842, H. H. Wilson[4] pointed out "that this story begins in a manner so little likely to lead to the catastrophe, that there can be no doubt there is a hiatus in the narrative." For while the gods complain that men multiply

[1] He is called Dhṛtadhāman in Kṣemendra's Bhāratamañjarī, i, 1142 (Kāvyamāla edition), Ghṛtadhāman or Ghṛtidhīra in the MSS. used by Professor Kirste ("Contributions," p. 40).

[2] This is a çloka in the middle of Triṣṭubh verses, and spurious even on this account.

[3] Kṣemendra tells this story only once in i, 879–83, corresponding to Mahābhārata, i, 169.

[4] In his notes to F. Johnson's "Selections from the Mahābhārata," p. 67.

inconveniently fast, "it is not shewn how the evil is to be remedied; but if the story were entire, it would probably end in the institution of many husbands to one wife, as a very effective Malthusian device for limiting population within the means of subsistence." Th. Goldstücker[1] expresses a similar view when he says: "The story of the god of death being busy sacrificing, and therefore neglectful of his duties, and of Brahmā's consoling the other gods in their perplexity, is so loosely tacked on to the legend of the incarnation of Indra and Lakshmī, that as a justification of polyandry it would seem meaningless. But the fear of an excessive increase of mankind, as expressed by the gods, is suggestive, perhaps, of the real cause of polyandry." It is, of course, not possible for us to say definitely how the story ended in its original form.[2] But that the end must have been something like that suggested by H. H. Wilson, is also borne out by Vyāsa's words at the end of the preceding chapter. Vyāsa says there, that he is going to explain the origin of an eternal law (*dharma sanātana*), whence we should expect an Itihāsa explaining the introduction of the *custom* of polyandry; while the Upākhyāna of the five Indras as told by him could not apply to polyandry as a *sanātana dharma*, but only to the individual case of the five Pāṇḍavas.

But this is not all. It seems to me that the weeping woman also, whose tears are transformed into golden lotuses, has no visible connection with the story of the five Indras. Neither are we told why she weeps at all, nor why her tears become golden lotuses. No mention is made of her having any intimate relation to the five Indras, so that their fate should cause her distress. As a matter of fact, we are nowhere expressly told that the five Indras are

[1] "Literary Remains," p. 132.

[2] Kṣemendra, Bhāratamañjarī, i, 1121–45, follows closely the Pañcendropākhyāna of the Mahābhārata. But he tried, by a slight alteration, to connect the beginning of the story a little more closely with what follows. He says:—In days of old, when Yama was engaged in sacrificial work, the whole earth was tormented by the burden of creatures who were freed from death. Then *Indra*, eager to protect the earth, having seen Brahman, went to the place of Yama's sacrifice. There he saw golden lotuses, etc.

really only one. They have five different names as Indras, and as Pāṇḍavas they derive their new existence from five different fathers. Indra, who is to be the father of Arjuna, is somehow (by no means clearly) distinguished from the Indra who is incarnate in Arjuna.[1] And why Çrī should become their common wife, is not explained in any way. It is difficult to conceive a more artificial and less plausible justification of the polyandric marriage. The birth of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇā has nothing at all to do with the story of the five Indras. That the repetition of the story of the ascetic's daughter, who says five times "Give me a husband," is out of place here, seems palpable.

From a mythological point of view, it seems to me absolutely necessary to distinguish three different strata of religious thought in this chapter. The story of the sacrifice of the gods belongs to the period of Vedic mythology, and has also in language and character much in common with the later products of Vedic literature, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads; the story of the five Indras humbled by Çiva can only belong to a period when or, perhaps better, to a sect by which the old Vedic gods were regarded as far inferior to the new god Çiva; while the introduction of Nārāyaṇa must belong to a still more advanced creed, in which all the gods, Çiva included, had to yield to the supremacy of the greater Nārāyaṇa. We have here at least one case in which we can test Mr. Dahlmann's theory about the origin of the sectarian element in the Mahābhārata. He believes (p. 239) that the 'diaskeuasis' of the Mahābhārata has *at one and the same time* drawn equally both from Çivaïtic and Viṣṇuïtic sources, and he denies the possibility of these sectarian elements being later additions. Now in our chapter the three elements, the Brāhmanic, the Çivaïtic, and the Viṣṇuïtic, are so little organically connected, so loosely tacked on one to the other, that it seems to me impossible

[1] In Kṣemendra's Bhār., i, 1141, Indra requests: "May the fifth of them be my son. May I, by thy favour, not fall down to the earth myself."

not to see in it the work of three different hands.[1] Nay, it seems to be perfectly clear that the original story was only concerned with the gods of the Vedic-Brahmanic pantheon, that this story has been almost entirely *replaced* by a story of purely Çivaïtic workmanship, and into this Çivaïtic episode the passage concerning Nārāyaṇa was inserted by a worshipper of Viṣṇu.

I do not, however, wish to deny any of the statements made by Dr. Bühler and quoted by Mr. Dahlmann (p. 240 seqq.) as to the probable antiquity of the Çaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects, and their literature. I subscribe to every word said by Dr. Bühler[2] about the antiquity of the Purāṇas; and there can be no doubt that in many cases where similar or identical passages occur in the Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata, it is the latter which has been borrowing.[3] In fact, I feel convinced that Mahābhārata studies will never lead to satisfactory results, as long as the Pauranic literature is not thoroughly explored and investigated.

The Pañcendropākhyāna, too, occurs in a Pauranic version in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,[4] and it is most interesting to compare this version with that of the Mahābhārata.

In the fifth Adhyāya of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Jaimini's question, "How Kṛṣṇā, Drupada's daughter, could become the common wife of the five sons of Pāṇḍu," is answered

[1] Mr. Dahlmann himself says (p. 238): "Weit annehmbarer scheint die Erklärung, dass nach einander çivaitische und vishnuitische Tendenzen Einfluss auf den Text gewannen und in dem allmäligen Wachsthum des Mahābhārata bald diese, bald jene sektarisch gefärbte Erzählung einfügten. Nun will ich gleich bemerken, dass ich für eine oder die andere Erzählung dies als sehr wahrscheinlich ansehe." Possibly he would admit it for our story.

[2] "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxv, p. xci, note. See now also Dr. Bühler's important article on the Purāṇas, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxv, 1896, pp. 323–8.

[3] This applies not only to single verses. Dr. Lüders, in his important article on the Ṛṣyaçṛṅga legend ("Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga," von H. Lüders, Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, Heft 1), has lately shown that the version of this legend in the Padma-Purāṇa is older than the version in our Mahābhārata. I hope to show on some future occasion that the version of the Çakuntalā episode in the Svargakāṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa is probably older than the present Mahābhārata version, and older than Kālidāsa's drama.

[4] See Holtzmann, "Das Mahābhārata," iv, p. 51; Monier-Williams, "Indian Epic Poetry," p. 100, note.

by the sage birds in the following manner:—When Indra had slain the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he became guilty of the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.[1] In consequence of this heinous crime, his splendour and righteousness entered the god Dharma. Then, when the Prajāpati Tvaṣṭṛ heard of the murder of his son, he, overcome with wrath, tore out a lock of hair from his head and sacrificed it in the fire. And from the fire arose Vṛtra, the mighty Asura,[2] the enemy of Indra. Indra, being frightened by Vṛtra, sends the seven Ṛṣis to bring about a treaty. But Indra violates the rules of the treaty, and slays Vṛtra. In consequence of this sin his strength quits him and enters the body of Vāyu (Māruta). And when Indra violated Ahalyā, his beauty quitted his body and entered into the twin Açvins. Seeing the king of the gods bereft of his righteousness, splendour, power, and beauty, the Daityas—powerful Daityas born in the families of great kings—endeavoured to conquer him. And oppressed by the excessive weight of these Daityas the Earth went to the gods, dwelling on the top of Mount Meru, to complain. Then the gods descended from heaven to earth with portions of their glory, in order to benefit the creatures, and to alleviate the burden of the Earth. Dharma gave up the glory which he had received from Indra—and Yudhiṣṭhira was born by Kuntī. Vāyu gave up the strength (which was originally Indra's)—and Bhīma was born. And from one-half of Indra's strength Arjuna was born. And the twin Açvins, possessed of Indra's beauty, were born by Mādrī. Thus Indra became incarnate in five forms. And his wife was born as Kṛṣṇā from the fire. Thus Kṛṣṇā was the wife of Indra alone, and of nobody else, for great Yogins are able to multiply their bodies. Thus the polyandric marriage (pañcānām ekapatnītvam) is explained.

Now it will be seen that this story is entirely different

[1] The misdeeds of Indra, and especially his slaughter of Viçvarūpa, Tvaṣṭṛ's son, form the subject of many a legend in Vedic literature. See, e.g., Çatap. Br. i, 2, 3, 1 seqq.; Taitt. Saṃh. ii, 5, 1, 1 seqq.

[2] In Kṣemendra's Darpadalana iii, 108 seqq., a similar feat is related of Raibhya, who sacrifices his tuft of hair, whereupon a Rākṣasa rises from the fire.

from the story of the five Indras as told in the Mahābhārata, although the gist of the two stories is no doubt the same. The five Pāṇḍavas are really the one Indra, hence they are justified in having only one wife. But it must be admitted, I believe, that this comes out much more clearly in the Pauranic than in the Mahābhārata story. Moreover, the story in the Mahābhārata is distinctly *sectarian*, that of the Mārkaṇḍeya is *not*. This seems to point to a higher antiquity of the Pauranic story. Yet it would not be safe to draw this conclusion without further investigations into the relation of the two works. Certain it is that the author of the story in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa knew a Mahābhārata, ascribed to Vyāsa, and described as "the best of all Çāstras" (i, 5), nay, as "the best Dharmaçāstra, the best Arthaçāstra, the best Kāmaçāstra, the best Mokṣaçāstra" (i, 7), as sacred lore of the highest authority. Yet in this Mahābhārata the Pañcendropākhyāna was either missing—this seems most probable, for why should Jaimini ask his question, if it had been answered in the Mahābhārata itself?—or (if we assume that the author of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa repeated the story as he found it in his Mahābhārata) it must have been very different from the story found in our Mahābhārata. Probably different Purāṇas had different versions of the story of the five Indras, and one of these versions found its way into our Mahābhārata. It is interesting to see how the same problems are solved in different Purāṇas. The Skanda Purāṇa, for instance, makes Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers incarnations of Çiva, and Kṛṣṇā an incarnation of Umā.[1]

The other story, too, of the maiden who says to Çiva five times "Give me a husband" exists in a Pauranic version, viz. in the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa[2] (Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa, Adhyāya xii (xiv), 50 seqq.).

Draupadī is, according to this story, a re-incarnation of Sītā, although not of the real Sītā, but of the counterfeit

[1] See Holtzmann, "Das Mahābhārata," iv, p. 54.
[2] Holtzmann, l.c., iv, p. 35.

Sītā, created by Rāvaṇa.[1] When Rāvaṇa was killed, this counterfeit Sītā became the heavenly Lakṣmī,[2] and was afterwards born from the sacrificial bowl (yajñakuṇḍa, a bowl in which the sacrificial fire is kept?), when she became Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. In the Kṛta age she had been Vedavatī, the fair daughter of Kuçadhvaja. In the Tretā age she became Sītā,[3] the daughter of Janaka, the wife of Rāma, and her counterfeit became the divine Draupadī, Drupada's daughter, in the Dvāpara age. She is called Trihāyaṇī ("appearing in three ages"), because she existed successively in every age (yuga). Nārada asked Nārāyaṇa: "How is it, O best of sages, that she had five husbands? Solve the doubt of my mind in respect of this, thou solver of doubts." Nārāyaṇa replied: "The real Sītā obtained Rāma as her husband, O Nārada. But her counterfeit, possessed of beauty and youthfulness, was greatly troubled in her mind. And having, on the command of Rāma and Agni (?), undergone austerities, she prayed to Çaṃkara for a boon. Love-sick and thinking of nothing but a husband, she prayed again and again, pronouncing five times the words: 'Give me a husband, give me a husband, give me a husband, O thou three-eyed one, give me a husband, give me a husband.' And Çiva, the lord of passionate women,[4] having heard her prayer, granted her wish, saying: 'Beloved one, thou shalt have five husbands.' Therefore she became the beloved wife of the Pāṇḍavas."

I give the text from Jībānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (Calcutta, 1888), with

[1] The *chāyā* or counterfeit Sītā is no doubt the *māyā* or *Sītā māyāmayī*, produced by Rāvaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa, vi, 81, 4–5.

[2] Rāvaṇakṛtacchāyā-Sītāharaṇakathanaṃ | Rāvaṇavadhānantaraṃ Puṣkaratīrthe tapaç carantyāç chāyā-Sītāyā Lakṣmītvaprāptikathanaṃ | punas tasyā Draupadīrūpeṇa janmavṛttāntakathanaṃ | See Rājendralāla Mitra, "Notices of Sanskrit MSS.," vol. iii, p. 229.

[3] The story of Sītā, who was Vedavatī in her former birth, is told in the Rāmāyaṇa, vii, 17, and alluded to vi, 60, 10, both passages of later origin. See Jacobi, "Das Rāmāyaṇa," pp. 27 seqq., 35.

[4] Rasikeçvara is a curious epithet of Çiva. It would seem far more appropriate for Kṛṣṇā, as whose epithet it is quoted in the Petersbourgh Dictionary, s.v.

which I have compared the three Bodleian MSS., Wilson 98, fol. 111 (W.); Walker 163, fol. 132 (Wa.); and Mill 18, fol. 42 (M.). The two first are in Devanāgarī, the last in Bengali character. In these MSS. (as well as in Rājendralāla Mitra's MS.) our story occurs in the 12th chapter, while the edition has it in the 14th.

sā ca tad vacanaṃ çrutvā pratapya puṣkare tapaḥ |
divyaṃ [1] trilakṣavarṣaṃ ca svarga [2] lakṣmīr babhūva ha || 51 ||

sā ca kālena tapasā yajñakuṇḍasamudbhavā |
kāminī Pāṇḍavānāṃ ca Draupadī Drupadātmajā || 52 ||

kṛte yuge [3] Vedavatī Kuçadhvajasutā çubhā |
tretāyāṃ sā Rāmapatnī [4] Sīteti Janakātmajā || 53 ||

tacchāyā Draupadī devī dvāpare Drupadātmajā |
trihāyaṇīti sā proktā vidyamānā yuge yuge [5] || 54 ||

Nārada uvāca ||

priyāḥ pañca katham tasyā babhūvur munipuṃgava [6] |
iti me cittasaṃdeham bhañja saṃdehabhañjana || 55 ||

Nārāyaṇa uvāca ||

Laṇkāyāṃ vāstavī Sītā Rāmaṃ saṃprāpa Nārada |
rūpayauvanasampannā chāyā ca bahucintitā || 56 ||

Rāmāgnyor [7] (?) ājñayā taptvā yayāce Çaṃkaraṃ varam |
kāmāturā pativyagrā prārthayantī punaḥ punaḥ || 57 ||

patiṃ dehi patiṃ dehi patiṃ dehi triloçana |
patiṃ dehi patiṃ dehi pañcavāraṃ cakāra sā || 58 ||

Çivas tatprārthanāṃ [8] çrutvā sasmito rasikeçvaraḥ |
priye tava priyāḥ pañca bhavantv iti [9] varaṃ dadau || 59 ||

[1] divya, W.; divaṃ, M.; kṛtvā, Wa.; divyaṃ, Ed.
[2] svarge, Ed.
[3] kṛtayuge, Wa.
[4] tretāyāṃ Rāmapatnī ca, Ed.
[5] yugatraye, Ed.; yugaye, M.
[6] °gavaḥ, Wa.; °gavāḥ, M.
[7] °gnyor or °gryor? W., Wa.; rāmāgryā vājñayā, M.
[8] °naṃ, Ed.
[9] bhavaṃtvīti, Wa.; bhaviṣyati, W.; bhaviteti, M.; bhavantīti, Ed.

tena sā Pāṇḍavānāṃ ca babhūva kāminī priyā |
ity evaṃ kathitaṃ sarvaṃ prastāvaṃ vāstavaṃ çṛṇu || 60 ||

It is curious that in the two places where the story occurs in the Mahābhārata, the maiden really does not say *patiṃ dehi*, nor does she say it *five times*, but she says "again and again" (*punaḥ punaḥ*): *patiṃ sarvaguṇopetam icchāmi*. Yet the god afterwards says: "Thou hast said five times: *patiṃ dehi*." There is no such incongruity in the Purāṇa. It may also be argued that the story in the Purāṇa is related of a definite personage, while the Mahābhārata only speaks indefinitely of the "daughter of some Ṛṣi." That Draupadī is an incarnation of Sītā is not surprising in a Purāṇa where all women, and especially all heroines, are described as emanations of Prakṛti.[1]

I should not, however, venture to say that the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa was the direct source from which the story in the Mahābhārata was derived. But it seems probable enough that the story was derived from *some* Pauranic story similar to that quoted above.

The question "Why had Draupadī five husbands?" was evidently a vexed question with the authors of Purāṇas, and they tried to justify the polyandric marriage by various legends, some of which found their way into the Mahābhārata. That they asked the question at all, would seem to prove that the *old* Mahābhārata, as known to the authors of *these* Purāṇas, simply related the fact of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī without any of those weak attempts at justifying it, which we find in our present Mahābhārata.

This is also borne out by the way in which Draupadī's marriage is described in Buddhist and Jaina legends. In the Kuṇālajātaka (Fausböll, vol. v, p. 426) Draupadī chooses at her Svayamvara *all* the five Pāṇḍavas at once by throwing the garland of flowers around their heads, saying, "I choose these five men." (Kaṇhā te disvā pañcasu ṭhitesu paṭibaddhacittā hutvā pañcannam pi sīsesu mālācumbaṭakāni khipitvā: amma

[1] See H. H. Wilson, Works, iii, pp. 101–2.

ime pañca jane vāremīti āha.)[1] And in the Jaina legend, as given by Professor Leumann from the Jñātadharmakathā, xvi,[2] Draupadī's Svayamvara is described as follows:—She enters the hall and takes a beautiful garland of flowers, whereupon her companions hold a mirror before her in which she sees all the assembled princes, whose names and accomplishments are recounted by the maidens. But Draupadī passes by thousands of noble princes, being already in love with the Pāṇḍavas, throws the wreath of flowers around the necks of the five Pāṇḍavas and tells them that she has chosen them for her husbands. And the whole assembly is well pleased with her choice. Professor Leumann[3] considers it as a proof of high antiquity of the Jaina story, that no attempt is made in it to explain away the polyandric marriage. Now, I am not prepared to offer any opinion as to the date of either the Jaina or the Buddhist story. But however old or modern they may be, they prove to my mind that popular story-tellers, whether Buddhists or Jainas, were only acquainted with the fact that Draupadī was the common wife of the five Pāṇḍavas; they knew nothing about the five Indras who became the five Pāṇḍavas, nor about the maiden who asked five times for a husband. I do not believe that the Jātaka or the Jaina story contains an older version of Draupadī's Svayamvara than the original Mahābhārata, but I do believe that they are older than the legends which were invented to justify the polyandric marriage.

To sum up, we have three different stories intended to explain the polyandric marriage: (1) the story of Kuntī, who said, "May ye all enjoy it together"; (2) the story of the five Indras; (3) the story of the maiden who said five times, "Give me a husband." Not only is it highly improbable that one author should have invented all the three stories, but for every one of these stories it has been shown

[1] I do not know of any parallel to the story told in this Jātaka that Draupadī, though she had five husbands, had also a love intrigue with a sixth man, who was a cripple.

[2] See Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide. Troisième Partie, section 2: Aryenne (Leide, 1885), pp. 541–2.

[3] l.c., p. 540.

that they are full of inconsistencies and incongruities, and cannot be the work of one author. Similar stories found in Purāṇas make it probable that they were originally Pauranic stories which crept into our text of the Mahābhārata. The Buddhist and Jaina legends also tend to show that the popular ballads knew only the simple fact of the polyandric marriage.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the original Mahābhārata related the polyandric marriage as a fact, without any attempt at explaining it away, and that more especially the Pañcendropākhyāna is a later addition.

It is true, Kumārila knew not only the Pañcendropākhyāna, but he knew it exactly in the same form as we have it, with the additional story of the maiden who prayed five times for a husband.[1] But Kumārila wrote in the eighth century A.D.! What does that prove for the *old* Mahābhārata, which, for aught we know, may have existed in the eighth century B.C.? I have no doubt that the Pañcendropākhyāna is much older than Kumārila. Its high antiquity seems to be warranted by the Triṣṭubh metre in which it is composed.[2] But it may have existed in some old Çivaïtic Purāṇa for a long time, before it was inserted in our Mahābhārata. And however old it may be, even in its present form and place,[3] there must have been an older Mahābhārata which did not contain it.

And yet it is this Pañcendropākhyāna on which Mr. Dahlmann (pp. 97–8) bases his hypothesis that the marriage of the five Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, the embodiment of the goddess Çrī, is nothing but a *symbolical* representation of the joint possession of the common property belonging to the undivided family!

What Th. Goldstücker[4] objects against Lassen's allegorical

[1] See Bühler, "Contributions," p. 11.

[2] Only vv. 1, 5–6, 29, and 44–52 (the story of the maiden praying i a husband) are çlokas.

[3] That it is mentioned in the Parvasaṃgraha, i, 2, 117, is a proof that it is fairly old. For the Parvasaṃgraha must be older than the Mahābhārata of our editions. See Holtzmann, "Mahābhārata," ii, p. 8.

[4] "Literary Remains," ii, 131.

explanation of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī holds good against all similar explanations, such as M. Bergaigne's mythical, and Mr. Dahlmann's symbolical, explanation. "Either polyandry existed as an institution when this allegory was made—in that case there is no ground for considering a polyandric marriage as an improbable event in the history of the Pāṇḍavas themselves—or it as little existed in their time as in the later history of India. *In that case, however, it would have offended the national sentiment, and no allegory of this kind could have entered a poet's mind, or obtained currency.*" Goldstücker shares the view held by H. H. Wilson,[1] Professor Max Müller,[2] John Muir,[3] and other scholars, that "epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and curious feature in the life of its heroes to be changed."[2]

If I have succeeded in proving that the various and sundry apologies made for the polyandric marriage are not the work of one man, certainly not of the original poet, nothing remains but to see in this story, as Th. Goldstücker says, "a real piece of history," that is to say, a historical proof of the existence of polyandry as a *local or tribal custom* in ancient times. And we have other historical evidence proving that polyandry existed, as it exists now, in India, not, indeed, as a general legal institution, but as a local or tribal custom. Āpastamba (Dharmasūtra, ii, 27, 3: kulāya hi strī pradīyata ity upadiçanti, "they teach that a woman is given to the *family*") may or may not refer to polyandry or 'phratriogamy,'[4] but there can be no doubt about Bṛhaspati, xxvii, 20 ("Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxxiii, p. 389), where "the delivery of a marriageable damsel to a family" is mentioned as a forbidden practice "found in other countries."[5] As a matter of fact, polyandry existed or exists both in the North and in

[1] Works, iii, 340.
[2] "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 47.
[3] Indian Antiquary, 1877, pp. 260–2.
[4] E. W. Hopkins, "Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India," p. 354.
[5] See Jolly, "Tagore Law Lectures," 1883, p. 155; the same, "Recht und Sitte," Bühler's 'Grundriss,' ii, 8, 47.

the South of India. "It is still practised among some hill-tribes in the Himālaya range near Simla, and in other barren mountainous regions, such as Bhotan, where a large population could not be supported."[1] It is found among the Todas, among the Kurgs of Mysore, among the Nairs of Malabar, among the Miris, Dophlas, Butias, Sissee Abors, Khasias, and Santals. "It prevails in the Siwalik mountains, Sirmore, Ladakh, the Jounsar and Bawar hill districts attached to the Doon, Kunawar, Kotegarh, and especially in Tibet."[2]

Among the Kulus in the Himālaya mountains parents sell a daughter to several brothers, and Nair women may marry as many as twelve husbands.[3] It prevailed in Ceylon until the most recent times.[4] Mr. Dahlmann says that the custom is 'un-Aryan' (p. 96). But who can tell whether the Pāṇḍavas were Aryans or non-Aryans? Besides, what right have we to describe everything we do not like as 'un-Aryan'? Mr. John Muir has shown what strange customs were practised—according to the testimony of the Mahābhārata itself—among some of the tribes in Panjāb.[5] The state of sexual morality described in the passages quoted by Mr. Muir, is about the same as that described by Dr. C. R. Stulpnagel in his article on "Polyandry in the Himālayas."[6] The people concerned do not live outside of all Brahminical influence, as may be gathered from the following case cited by Dr. Stulpnagel[7]:—"In Pomelai, near Kōtgaḍh, there are two brothers, the elder of whom, Jhar, got properly married to his wife. Being of the Kanait caste, *the ceremony was performed in the usual manner by a Brāhman.* But, as these two brothers

[1] See Monier-Williams, "Indian Epic Poetry," p. 99, note.
[2] See E. Westermarck, "History of Human Marriage," pp. 452–3.
[3] Westermarck, l.c., pp. 116–7.
[4] Westermarck, l.c., p. 452; J. Jolly, "Recht und Sitte," Bühler's 'Grundriss,' ii, 8, 44.
[5] See his excellent article "On the question whether Polyandry ever existed in Northern Hindustān," in the Indian Antiquary, 1877, pp. 315–7.
[6] Indian Antiquary, 1878, pp. 132–5. See also a note by Mr. C. S. Kirkpatrick, ibid., p. 86.
[7] l.c., p. 135.

had a house and fields in common, it was privately arranged that the woman should also be the wife of the younger." Professor Jolly has lately pointed out that in Kumāon 'group-marriage,' in the form of several brothers having one common wife, like the Pāṇḍavas, occurs among Brāhmaṇas and Rājputs, as well as among Çūdras. And he rightly says that it cannot be proved that in ancient times it was restricted to 'un-Aryan' tribes, though we must admit that the Brāhmaṇas were opposed to the custom.[1] Also, outside India, traces of polyandry are found not only among 'barbarians.' Strabo mentions polyandry as occurring in Media, and in Arabia Felix. Caesar found polyandry among the ancient Britons; and it also existed among the Picts. And it is quite possible that the Scandinavian myth, according to which the goddess Frigg, during the absence of her husband Odin, was married to his brothers Vili and Ve, alludes to a similar custom.[2] On the other hand, it has been shown by Dr. Westermarck,[3] that both in India and in other countries polyandry was restricted to certain families, and nowhere prevailed as a general custom. A very characteristic example is quoted by Dr. Stulpnagel, who says: "Though common enough in Kunawar at the present day, it exists side by side with polygamy and monogamy. In one house there may be three brothers with one wife; in the next, three brothers with four wives, all alike in common; in the next there may be a man with three wives all to himself; in the next a man with only one wife."[4] In the Mahābhārata, also, we have to deal with a custom strictly limited to a certain family. Yudhiṣṭhira, when pleading in favour of the polyandric marriage, distinctly refers to an ancient family custom (pūrveṣām ānupūrvyeṇa yātaṃ vartmānuyāmahe,

[1] Jolly, "Recht und Sitte," l.c., p. 48. See also Jacobi, Götting. Gel. Anz. 1896, i, pp. 71–2.

[2] Westermarck, l.c., pp. 454–5.

[3] l.c., p. 455 seqq.

[4] Indian Antiquary, 1878, p. 135. Westermarck, l.c., p. 456. In the Mahābhārata, Arjuna, although living in polyandry, also marries Citrāṅgadā (i, 217) and Subhadrā (i, 221 seqq.).

i, 195, 29). If there could be any doubt as to the historical character of the 'group-marriage' of the five Pāṇḍavas, it would be removed by the story of the agreement made between the brothers, that if one of the brothers were sitting with Draupadī, none of the others should be allowed to enter the chamber, and that he who offended against this rule should be banished to the woods for twelve years.[1] This is quite parallel to the agreements made in modern times between brothers married in this fashion. Thus, among the Kulus, in the Himālayan mountains, when brothers are married to one wife, "she belongs during the first month to the eldest brother; during the second, to the next eldest; and so on." Or, with regard to the Nairs, Mr. Hamilton states that "all the husbands agree very well, for they cohabit with her in their turn, according to their priority of marriage, ten days, more or less, according as they can fix a term among themselves."[2] That polyandry is a survival of primitive promiscuity, is no longer maintained by students of anthropology. The custom, wherever it occurs, finds a far more natural explanation either in poverty, or in the scarcity of women, or in the joint-family system.[3] The last-mentioned offers itself as the most natural explanation in the case of the polyandry of the five Pāṇḍavas.

We see, then, that from every point of view the story of Draupadī and the five Pāṇḍavas has to be regarded as an ancient tradition illustrating an *actual* state of society, and in that sense as a "real piece of history," and certainly not (as Mr. Dahlmann thinks) as the invention of some teacher of law who wanted to illustrate his legal theories by a fanciful symbolical marriage of five men, who are really one Indra, with one woman, who is really the goddess Çrī.

[1] Mahābh., i, 208, 18 seqq.; 212–3.
[2] See Westermarck, l.c., pp. 116–7.
[3] A missionary report, quoted by Dr. Stulpnagel (l.c., p. 134), says that the cause of polyandry in Kunawar is "not poverty, but a desire to keep the common patrimony from being distributed among a number of brothers. The result is, that the whole family is enabled to live in comparative comfort."

Everybody, I believe, will agree with Professor Jacobi, when he says [1] that "the Mahābhārata could never have become the national epos of India, if it had been merely an illustration of the Dharmaçāstra with all its legal antiquities."

[1] Götting. Gel. Anz. 1896, i, p. 71.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. XXVI.—*Personal Reminiscences of the Bábí Insurrection at Zanján in* 1850, *written in Persian by* ÁQÁ 'ABDU'L-AḤAD-I-ZANJÁNÍ, *and translated into English by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

BESIDES Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel and his family, there reside at Famagusta, in Cyprus, three Ezelís, all natives of Zanján, who have settled there in order to be near their master. Two of these, Ustá Maḥmúd and Sheykh 'Alí Bakhsh, are brothers, sons of a certain Hájí Muḥammad Ḥuseyn, who was one of the Bábís put to death in cold blood by Amír Aslán Khán after the suppression of the Bábí rising at Zanján in the winter of 1850. The third, named Áqá 'Abdu'l-Aḥad, who is the author of the following narrative, is the most interesting personality of the three. Living alone in a small, bare lodging, surrounded by unsympathetic and suspicious Turks, and admitted to the presence of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel (for whose sake he has thus cut himself off from his friends, his relatives, and his native land) only, perhaps, once in ten days or a fortnight, he nevertheless exhibits a constant cheerfulness of demeanour, a scrupulous neatness of apparel, and an uncomplaining resignation and patience which command one's respect. I first made his acquaintance, and that of his two fellow-townsmen, during the fortnight which I spent at Famagusta in the spring of 1890; but it was not until the spring of last year (March 18–25, 1896) that I had an opportunity of seeing him again, and only then did I learn that a suggestion which I had formerly made to him, that he should set down in writing his recollections of the siege of Zanján and of the calamities which subsequently befell the Bábís there, had actually led him to compile the interesting narrative of which I here offer a translation. When I first made the

suggestion to him, he appeared unwilling to entertain it, thinking in his modesty that nothing which he, a tradesman little skilled in the use of the pen, could write, could be worthy of attention. Afterwards, however, it appears that he sought advice in the matter from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, who favoured the scheme. He therefore set to work to compose this narrative, which, as appears from the colophon, was completed two years later, in April, 1892. At this time, however, my correspondence with Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel was interrupted, and only when I returned to Famagusta last spring did I learn that a fair copy of the completed memoir was in the hands of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, who kindly handed it over to me a day or two before my departure.

Although we have several very full accounts of the siege of Zanjān, both from the Bābī and the Musulmān point of view, I do not think that any apology is needed for the publication of this narrative written by 'Abdu'l-Aḥad. He was, indeed, but a child at the time of the siege, and, moreover, appears to have resided in the western part of the town, which was occupied by the Musulmāns; but nevertheless this record of his childish impressions (in which, of course, is included also much that he learned from others of his fellow-citizens who had taken part in these events) supplies us with a good many new facts, and (what is, perhaps, not less important) new and often vivid presentations of facts already known. My original intention was to have published the text as well as the translation, and, should opportunity offer, I still hope to give effect in the future to this project. But for the present I felt that the translation would suffice, and that I ought not further to increase the length of this article. The translation, I may say, has not been altogether an easy task, for, as I have already hinted, Āqā 'Abdu'l-Aḥad is not an adept in literary composition, and the manuscript, although written by himself, is full of anacoluthons, awkwardly turned phrases, repetitions, and omissions. These I have striven to remedy, while adhering as closely as was possible under the circumstances to the text of his narrative.

It may not be out of place to set down here a few scraps of general information about sundry matters connected with the Bābīs which I learned orally from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel and his sons and followers during my last visit to Famagusta.

(I) *From Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel.* The Báb had three seals, bearing the following inscriptions:—

(1) انّنی انا حجّة اللّه و نوره ؛

(2) شهد اللّه انّه لا اله الّا هو العزیز المحبوب ؛

(3) یا علی یا محمّد ؛

Impressions of these seals were shown to me by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, as well as the original document in the Báb's handwriting nominating him successor and vicegerent, of which the text and translation are given at p. 426 of my translation of the *New History*. This document had, as I understood, been photographed some time previously by M. Nicolas. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel also gave me one of the charms or talismans distributed by the Báb amongst his followers. This is a sheet of greenish paper, measuring 27·0 × 21·2 centimetres, on which is imprinted in gold the talismanic figure, consisting of a central square of forty-nine compartments surrounded by eight concentric circles (enclosing seven zones), which are further divided by nineteen radial lines. All these compartments contain writing (verses from the Qur'ān, Names of God, isolated letters, and cabbalistic characters). The writing contained in the central ones is in black ink, and, according to Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's assertion, is in the Báb's own hand. Another talisman (*heykal*), written in the shape of a pentacle entirely in the Báb's hand, was given to me by Sheykh 'Alī Bakhsh b. Hājī Muḥammad Ḥuseyn of Zanjān.

(II) *From Riẓvān 'Alī, the son of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel* I obtained first a verbal, and later a written, list of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's writings. I here print the latter in the original, adding a few comments in English from the former.

فهرست اسماء کتب مقدّسهٔ ازلیّه روح العالمین فداه ‘

۱ کتاب دیوان الازل بر نهج روح آیات ‘ (Comprising 28 *rūḥ*.)

۲ کتاب نور ‘ سُوَر و آیات ‘ (Arabic *āyāt* arranged in *sūras* like the Qur'ān, but four times as large. Revealed at Baghdad.)

۳ کتاب علّیّین ‘ قوانین ‘ (Laws, in Arabic. Each *sūra* is called سِفْر.)

۴ کتاب لمعات الازل ‘ ۲۸ سوره آیات ‘ (*Āyāt*, 28 *sūras* on the prophets from Adam.)

۵ کتاب حیات ‘ یک سوره آیات ‘

۶ کتاب جمع ‘ یک سوره آیات ‘

۷ کتاب قدس الازل ‘ یک سوره آیات ‘ (One *sūra* of *āyāt*, equal in size to the Qur'ān.)

۸ کتاب اوّل و ثانی ‘ لوح آیات ‘

۹ کتاب مرآت البیان ‘ ۱۳۱ باب و هر بابی مشتمل است بر چهار شأن (یعنی آیات ‘ مناجات ‘ خُطبه ‘ خطاب) ‘

۱۰ کتاب اهتزاز القدس ‘ تفسیر اشعار عربی ‘ (Commentary on his own Arabic poems.)

۱۱ کتاب تدلیع الانس ‘ تفسیر اشعار عربی ‘ (Do.)

۱۲ کتاب نغمات الروح ‘ تفسیر اشعار عربی ‘ (Do.)

۱۳ کتاب بهّاج ‘ یک سوره آیات ‘ (A small volume.)

۱۴ کتاب هیاکل ‘ (1001 *heykals*, or talismanic figures, of *āyāt*.)

۱۵ کتاب فی تضریب عدّ هو باسم علی ۱۱ مناجات ‘

١٦ كتاب مستيقظ ' تفسير بعضى آيات از قيوم الاسماء '
(Commentary on some verses of the Bāb's earliest work, the *Qayyūmu'l-Asmā*, or *Commentary on the Sūra-i-Yūsuf*.)

١٧ كتاب لآلى و مجالى ' (Written in imitation of the *Durar-u'l-Ghurar* of 'Alī, the First Imām.)

١٨ كتاب آثار الازليّه ' فارسى '

١٩ صحيفهٔ قدريّه ' مناجات عديده '

٢٠ صحيفهٔ البهجيّه ' ,, ,,

٢١ صحيفهٔ هائيّه ' ,, ,,

٢٢ صحيفهٔ واويّه ' ,, ,,

٢٣ صحيفهٔ ازليّه ' ,, ,,

٢٤ صحيفهٔ هوئيّه ' ,, ,,

٢٥ صحيفهٔ انزعيّه ' ,, ,,

٢٦ صحيفهٔ هويّه ' ,, ,,

٢٧ صحيفهٔ مراثى ' دو مناجات و دو زيارت جامعهٔ كبيره و جامعهٔ صغيره '
(Of the two *Ziyārāt*, the first, called *Kabīra*, is for the visitation of the Bāb; the second, called *Ṣaghīra*, for the visitation of *Janāb-i-Quddūs*, i.e. Hājī Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī of Bārfurūsh.)

٢٨ الواح نازله لا تُعد و لا تُحصى ' (Epistles addressed to believers, etc.)

٢٩ سؤالات و جوابات بى حساب '

٣٠ تفسير قّ و سورهٔ ديگر و روم و العاديات و سورهٔ زمر مختصر از بقره '

(Forms of "visitation" of sacred places.) ۳۱ کتاب زیارات ،

۳۲ شرح قصیدهٔ عربی ،

۳۳ کتاب الاکبر فی تفسیر الذکر ،

۳۴ بقیهٔ احکام بیان ۴۷ باب ،

۳۵ دواوین اشعار عربی و فارسی ،

۳۶ دیوان اشعار عربی ،

۳۷ کتاب طوبی ، فارسی ،

۳۸ کتاب بسم اللّه فارسی بشهر دلکشا و سه جلد بی اسم ،

Riẓvān 'Alī also gave me the following list of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's children, with their approximate ages at the time (i.e. in April, 1896):—

*Sons.*

1. *Nūru'llāh*, aet. 48, now in Resht. His son, Hājī Seyyid Aḥmad, called *Rūḥu'llāh*, happened to be at Famagusta when I was there last, with his little boy, *'Ināyatu'llāh*, aet. 7, and an Isfahānī lad named Muḥammad 'Alī. He was a man of remarkable ability and of very agreeable manners, and a physician by profession.
2. *Muḥammad Hādī*, who died two years ago in the plague at Tihrān, aet. 46.
3. *Aḥmad Bahhāj*, aet. 43. Resident in Constantinople for the last thirteen or fourteen years.
4. *'Abdu'l-'Alī*, aet. 38. Resident at Famagusta.
5. *Riẓvān 'Alī*, aet. 33. At present resident at Larnaca.
6. *Fu'ādu'llāh*, who died at Famagusta eight or nine years ago, aet. 20.
7. *Muḥammad*, entitled *Beyānu'llāh*, *Bahā'u'llāh*, and *Jamālu'llāh*, aet. 29.

8. *'Abdu'l-Waḥīd* (also called *'Abdu'l-Jalīl, Muḥammad Jamīl*), aet. 24.
9. *Taqī'u'd-Dīn* (*Muḥammad Taqī*), aet. 18.

*Daughters.*

1. *Hibatu'llāh* (*Jazbatu'llāh*), aet. 36. At Constantinople.
2. *Ṭal'atu'llāh*, aet. 32. At Constantinople.
3. *Mashiyyatu'llāh*, who died twenty-one years ago, aet. 8.
4. *Bahjatu'l-Quds* (*Raf'atu'llāh*), aet. 35.
5. *Maryam Sulṭān*, aet. 20, who was married last year at Constantinople.

The following grandchildren of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel were also resident at Famagusta :—

1. *Āyatu'llāh*, or *'Ādila Sulṭān*, the only daughter of *Aḥmad Bahhāj*.
2. *Wāḥida Sulṭān*,
3. *'Āẓima Sulṭān*,
4. *Saṭwatu'llāh*,
5. Another daughter who died when 14 days old.

(2–5: daughters of *'Abdu'l-'Alī*.)

6. *Muḥammad Ẓiyā'u'llāh* (*Nūru'd-Dīn, Kalimu'd-Dīn, 'Iṣamu'd-Dīn*), dead.
7. *Fāẓila Sulṭān*.
8. *Ebediyya Sulṭān*, a little girl whom I saw repeatedly with Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel. She talks Turkish and a little French, but hardly any Persian. (The three last-mentioned are children of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's daughter *Ṭal'atu'llāh*.)

Riẓvān 'Alī promised to send me a fuller and more complete list of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's wives and family, but this I have not yet received. The total number of his wives from first to last is about eleven or twelve.

I may add that Riẓvān 'Alī's curiosity to see his father's rivals prompted him recently to pay a visit to Acre. He was received with some outward show of deference,

but complained of the disrespect to his father implied in several remarks made to him by 'Abbās Efendī. He also believed (but, as it appears to me, without any grounds) that an attempt had been made to poison him; and he congratulated himself on his safe return to Cyprus.

(III) *From Sheykh 'Alī Bakhsh b. Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥuseyn Zanjānī* I obtained the following additional particulars about the Zanjān rising. The town of Zanjān has its greatest length from east to west, and is comparatively narrow in the transverse direction from north to south. It has six gates, that of Tihrān at the east and that of Tabrīz at the west end; the Resht Gate and the citadel gate (*Darvāzé-i-Arg*) on the north side; the Hamadān Gate and the *Darvāzé-i-Qultūkh* on the south side. The east half of the town, with the Tihrān, Resht, and Hamadān gates, were in the hands of the Bābī insurgents; the other half of the town and the other three gates were in the hands of the Musulmāns. Sheykh 'Alī Bakhsh was ten years old at the time of the war. At the beginning of it there were about 3,000 Bābīs, but their numbers were gradually so reduced by deaths and desertions that only 500 were left at the end. On the surrender of the Bābīs, 74 were bayonetted to death on the same day in cold blood, and four (*Ḥājī Kāẓim*, who made two cannons for the Bābīs; *Sheykh Ramaẓān*, whose wife was killed fighting; *Āqā Suleymān*; and another) were blown from the mouths of guns. Some 150 or 200 persons (some of them children only seven or eight years of age) were imprisoned. Most of the women and children (some 500 in number) took refuge in the stables of Mullā Abū'l-Qāsim. 'Alī Bakhsh himself was amongst these, and remained there for about a month. The royalist forces finally reached a strength of about 30,000. Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī, the Bābī leader (called "*Ḥujjat*," and, throughout the following narrative, "*Janāb-i-Shahīd*," 'His Holiness the Martyr'), died three days

after he received his wound in the arm. The Bābīs surrendered four days after his death. The Bābī women displayed the utmost courage during the war, and would often pick up live shells and plunge them in water to extinguish the fuses.

Questioned as to the Ḥaydar on whose authority many traditions bearing reference to the siege of Zanjān are given in the *New History*[1] (Brit. Mus. MS.), Sheykh 'Alī Bakhsh stated that there were two Ḥaydars amongst the Bābīs, one Āqā Ḥaydar and one Ḥaydar. The latter is still probably living in Tehrān, and will now be seventy or eighty years of age. He was the son of Dī-Muḥammad, the *vazīr* of "His Holiness the Martyr," and was a comrade of Sheykh 'Alī Bakhsh's elder brother, 'Abbās 'Alī, who was about the same age. Both these young men were stripped to be killed, but their lives were spared on the intercession of some of their friends.

Fat-ḥ 'Alī b. Hājī 'Aẓīm (probably the same mentioned at pp. 146 and 155 of the *New History*) was captain of one of the eight (? eighteen or nineteen) Bābī barricades. Watchwords and passwords, changed nightly, were used by the Bābīs, generally some "Name" of God, such as "*Yā Karīm*," "*Yā Sattār*." Coins were also struck for the Bābīs by Hājī Kāẓim. These bore on one side the inscription "*Qā'im*," and on the other "*Yā Ṣāḥibu'z-Zamān*."

Farrukh Khān was guided into the Bābī quarter of Zanjān by one Isma'īl, who had turned traitor. Farrukh Khān's head was thrown amongst the enemy, but they were obliged to ransom his body by giving up ten Bābī children whom they had captured.

I have now concluded these preliminary remarks and observations, and pass to the translation of Āqā 'Abdu'l-Aḥad's Memoir.

[1] See my translation of this work, p. 135 et seqq.

[TRANSLATION OF ĀQĀ 'ABDU'L-AḤAD'S MEMOIR.]

In the Name of God, the Most Ineffable, the Most Holy.

Let it not be concealed from such as seek knowledge of these events. Know that His Holiness the Martyr[1] (may God Almighty accord him peace) was a person well known in the Land of the Supreme,[2] which is Zanjān, before the appearance of the Sun of Truth, very learned and accomplished, so that none of the doctors of Zanjān dared so much as breathe in his presence, because he was very learned, skilled in exegesis, and perfectly versed in subtleties. Now the other doctors, although outwardly on friendly terms with him, were at heart hostile, because in questions of Law he was wont to criticize and expose them in respect to their acceptance of bribes and their recourse to legal quibbles.

Now the father of His Holiness was Mullā Raḥīm, whom all the people of Zanjān regarded as a master of exegesis and as one divinely gifted, so long as he was alive. And after that his spirit had ascended to the Eternal Throne, His Holiness the Martyr sat in the place of his departed sire, and exercised the functions of a *mujtahid*, faithfully and sincerely giving effect to the Law, with unaffected piety and unremitting diligence, and restraining men from all evil deeds contrary to the Law. In consequence of this unremitting diligence of his, the devotion of the town's folk to him, and men's humility and deference towards him, were, to use his own expression, "beyond him."

Now when the other doctors of that district perceived his position and influence to be such, they began secretly to hate him, although outwardly, knowing his power, they

[1] By "His Holiness the Martyr" (جناب شهید), Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī of Zanjān is throughout intended.

[2] Zanjān is so called by the Bābīs because it corresponds numerically with اعلی, "Supreme." Both words give the number 111, when the letters composing them are reckoned up by the *abjad* notation.

were obliged to behave in a friendly manner towards him. So for a long while the affairs of His Holiness continued in this splendour and power.

Now there was a person named Aḥmad, one of His Holiness's own followers, whose ostensible trade and calling was that of a money-changer. And it so happened that he one day departed to Shīrāz, and there heard how the mission of the Point of Revelation [i.e., the Bāb] (great and glorious is He!) had been made manifest. And because—

"In earth and heav'n each atom unto itself doth draw
Atoms of like affinity, as amber snatches straw,"[1]

he, since the light of faith was in his heart, became united to the Light of the Sun of Truth. In short, this Aḥmad sought out the place of abode of the Point of Revelation (great and glorious is He!), was admitted to the presence of that Most Great Light, and, answering with "*Yea*" His appeal of "*Am I not* [thy Lord]?" at once prostrated himself in worship, kissed his holy knees, and believed. And so, when some few days had elapsed after this event, His Holiness vouchsafed to this Aḥmad permission to return; and, bestowing on him several epistles, bade him take them back with all speed to the Land of the Supreme, which is Zanjān, and hand them over to those for whom they were intended. So he, seeing that this command was from God, speedily made preparation for the journey, and returned with all haste to Zanjān.

So when he had established himself in his own place, he rose up to carry out God's command, and one by one handed over his trusts, to wit, these holy epistles, to their owners. Now, of these holy epistles, one was addressed to the Seyyid and Mujtahid, another to Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Malikī, another to another Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim, another to Mullā 'Alī Sirdānī,

[1] This verse, which appears to be from the *Mathnavī*, though I have been unable to find it, runs thus in the original:

ذرّه ذرّه اندر ایں ارض و سما ' جنس خودرا همچو کاه و کهربا '

another to the Imām Jum'a Seyyid 'Abdu'l-Wāsi', and another to the Sheykhu'l-Islām. To be brief, all the doctors of the district, after perusing these epistles, repudiated [the Bāb's claims]; as though from the day when the first human nature, which is Adam, appeared, no breath of faith had in any cycle reached their nostrils, and as though the Word of God had at no period entered their ears; or as though no Prophet in any age had foretold the Manifestation which should succeed him, whereby they might look for such a day or such a person. The drop of rain, in short, produced no effect on adamant, nor could they convey this matter to their dull brains. Indeed, this Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim even took some sheets of paper, and wrote a refutation of that holy epistle, and, weaving together sundry vain imaginings, made a book, which book he entitled "*The Knocking at the Gate*" (دقّ الباب)[1] and published amongst his adherents, who made it a matter for mirth, read it in their assemblies, and fell to mocking and derision. But the all-wise God is very patient, and be thou likewise patient, for "*verily God is with the forbearing.*"

Well—

"If thou art in sooth Sikandar, be the Dawning of the Day,
That everywhere thereafter may the Glory with thee stay,"[2]

and hear some few words as to the discerning power of the eyes of His Holiness the Martyr, and what mood came over him when he had but once glanced at that holy epistle. For this Aḥmad, after seeing the unbelief of all these doctors, turned his face towards the mosque of His Holiness the Martyr, whose presence he entered at the moment when he was concluding the prayer, and was seated near the *miḥrāb* facing the congregation; for some

[1] Of course there is a double meaning in this title. *Daqqu'l-Bāb* means "knocking at the gate," and also "the smashing" or "breaking up of the Bāb."

[2] This couplet occurs near the beginning of Book ii of the *Mathnavī* (ed. *'Alā'u'd-Dawla*, p. 106, l. 6). In the original it runs—

مطلع شمس آی اگر اسکندری ' بعد از آن هرجا روی نیکو فری '

of his followers were students, and so, after concluding the prayer, he was wont to lecture and give them a lesson. Most of his congregation, however, having recited the prayer, had departed to their homes to resume their business; yet were there some four hundred persons, men and women, still present in the mosque. One of these was my own brother, who was named 'Abdu'l-'Alī; and he witnessed what took place in the mosque, and it is from his account that I describe it. He said that just as they were preparing for the lecture, this Aḥmad brought the blessed mandate of His Holiness [the Bāb] (great and glorious is He!) and placed it in the hands of His Holiness the Martyr, who opened it; and no sooner had his eyes lighted on that noble script than the colour left his face, and he fell into the strangest state, so that for about two minutes he remained thus, as one bereft of speech and beyond bodily sensation, as if blotted out and unconscious of himself. All those present were watching his state, apprehensive of what catastrophe this might be which had so disturbed his composure; and therefore were the hearts of those present likewise troubled.

But after this His Holiness raised his head, and, after perusing the holy script, rubbed his finger in the dust on the wall, and, turning towards the congregation, cried in a loud voice: "O ye who are present! know and be aware that I give good tidings to you, both such of you as are present and such as are absent, of the appearance of that Sun of Truth whom all creatures in the world await, and who is now become manifest. This holy epistle which I hold in my hand is from that Most Great Light; and if the writer thereof regards me even so much as I regard the dust upon this finger which I rubbed upon the wall, my position and rank before the Lord will rise to so high a degree as to surpass description. And I, whom ye see to be endowed with such knowledge and virtue, and whom ye know to be faithful in word and deed, I, with all my knowledge and virtue, do believe in that Sun of Truth on merely once beholding this noble script and these wondrous

verses (آیات) which He hath inscribed therein. Wherefore let everyone who loves me and deems my word true believe in Him, even as I have believed, for this is that same Promised Deliverer (مهدیٔ موعود) whom all creatures await, and who hath now appeared. This know for a surety, and be apprised thereof." Then he began to read the wondrous verses of that blessed epistle in a loud voice, while all the congregation present in the mosque gave ear, so that you would have said that they heard from their Lord in his speech the cry of "Am I not thy Lord?" and to that appeal of "Am I not?" with one accord responded "Yea!" and bowed themselves in thankful worship to God. You have probably heard that tradition, recorded from what was said formerly, to the effect that in the Day of Resurrection a Bridge (صراطی) will be set up, finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and that there will be some who will cross like lightning over that Bridge. The meaning of this tradition of yore was made plain by those who were present in that mosque, for four hundred persons had no sooner heard these wondrous verses than they prostrated themselves in worship. Others there were who were not present in the mosque when these wondrous verses were read; but those who were present communicated this matter on that same day to those who were absent, who likewise responded "Yea," and bowed themselves in thankful worship before God, being convinced because of the whole-hearted devotion which they had in sooth and sincerity towards His Holiness the Martyr.

To be brief, it was no more than the twinkling of an eye ere some three thousand persons simultaneously and without interval believed in that Most Great Light, and, in short, the murmur of enthusiasm of the believers filled the city of Zanjān as though the Resurrection had come on that day. In short, such trepidation fell on all the unbelievers as one cannot describe, for they wondered what had taken place amongst these people that this tumultuous excitement had thus suddenly fallen upon them. And when they learned that it was still the same story of those holy

epistles which this Aḥmad had brought from Shīrāz, then, in their hatred and malice, they ground their teeth like hungry wolves, though occasion was denied to them on every side. For thereafter day by day humility and reverence increased and extended, and whosoever had in his heart so much as a spark of the Light of Faith was irresistibly drawn to believe.

Thereafter His Holiness the Martyr wrote a letter in answer to that blessed epistle to the Holy Presence of the Point of Revelation (great and glorious is He!), wherein, after discharging thanks and prayer and praise, he detailed the matter of the conversion of the people of Zanjān, and their number. Thereat was His Holiness [the Báb] (great and glorious is He!) filled with joy, and thenceforth he continually sent books and writings to His Holiness the Martyr, so that the enthusiasm and devotion of the people of Zanjān continued to wax and increase day by day, until matters reached such a point that all the believers, without fear or apprehension, used openly to read, in the mosques, in the pulpits, in their houses, and in the public thoroughfares, the exhortations, prayers, and verses of the Point of Revelation (may God give him Peace!) with sweetness and joy.

At length news came that His Holiness [the Báb] had been exiled to the Castle of Mākū, and that He was to pass through the town of Zanjān. Thereat a violent commotion fell upon the town of Zanjān, some of the believers being grieved because of His arrest, and others gladdened by the hope of meeting Him; and they were perplexed as to what they should do. At length some of the leading believers met together and waited on His Holiness the Martyr, asking him to grant them permission to deliver the Point of Revelation, so soon as He should be come there, from the hands of His oppressors, and not suffer them to bear Him away, but rather mete out to them the chastisement they merited. "We accept," they added, "whatever may be enjoined on us by that King, and will strive in His way so long as we have life."

But His Holiness [the Martyr] answered them, saying: "You are not permitted [so to act], for I am not empowered to accord you this permission, but only that Holy Being; and what shall anyone venture to command in the presence of so Supreme a Light, or what permission shall he give, seeing that it is for that Holy Being alone to permit? In the presence of such a Being we have neither authority over anyone, nor power to accord permission to anyone; for how should we dare even to breathe before Him?" Then he bade them be patient until that Holy Being should Himself come, when they could prefer this request to Himself (may God keep Him in Peace!), and see what He would direct.

So they went away until, after some few days, [His Holiness the Bāb] arrived, accompanied by twenty horsemen, of whom the actual chief was named Darvīsh 'Alī, who was groom of the bedchamber (فتراش خلوت) to Muḥammad Shāh. According to what the narrator tells, this man was good-natured and well-disposed, inasmuch as he conducted that Most Great Light with perfect respectfulness and seemly behaviour, not causing sorrow to that Holy Being in any way, though, being under the King's orders, he had no option [but to obey]. Yet had he not escorted Him, perchance greater favour would have been accorded him on the part of the Lord; but, in brief, thus was it ordained by the Divine Decree. But let me be brief, and return to the matter of that Most Great Light (great and glorious is He!).

When His Holiness [the Bāb] had set his holy feet in the Land of the Supreme, peace, quiet, and tranquillity departed from all the believers of Zanjān, who were considering in what way they might, perchance, obtain the honour of meeting that Most Great Light. But His Holiness, fearing lest a great disturbance might arise, did not grant permission to any of His followers to visit Him, and many believers were [in consequence] filled with despair, though they had no option but to acquiesce, for thus was it ordained on the part of God.

After this, His Holiness the Martyr privily despatched a letter to the presence of His Holiness (great and glorious is He!) containing the following proposal: "In case that Holy Being is disposed to escape, let Him but issue His commands, for all the believers wait on that Holy Being, and are ready to carry out aught that He may enjoin." But His Holiness, after perusing this letter, did not accord this permission in His reply, but wrote: "This thing is not expedient, lest a great tumult arise. Let the faithful abide in their own places, and not stir thence: for the Eternal Lord Himself sufficeth for all His creatures, neither hath He who abideth unceasingly on His self-supported Throne, any need of help from them."

Now when His Holiness the Martyr had received in the answer to his letter such instructions, the vehemence of the faithful was somewhat abated, though they made great endeavours not to be debarred from the visitation of that Holy Being, so that most of them went forth from the city and hid themselves by the way, that perchance they might behold the blessed countenance of that Most Great Light. Yet even this was not vouchsafed them, save in the case of three persons, to whom it was permitted to behold Him. Of these three, one still lives; and his name is Nūr Muḥammad.

To be brief, let us leave these, and hear now somewhat of the arrest of His Holiness the Martyr. It chanced that almost immediately after His Holiness [the Bāb] (great and glorious is He!) had set His holy feet outside the gate of Zanjān, and was departing, twenty horsemen, who had been appointed by Muḥammad Shāh to be on the watch to arrest His Holiness the Martyr whenever they saw him alone in his house, and to bring him to Tihrān with all speed, [arrived]. And all the followers of His Holiness the Martyr were [at this juncture] dispersed, running hither and thither in the town and the [surrounding] country, hoping that they might perhaps catch a glimpse of their Beloved; and it was as though that day was the day of "Woe, and alas!" for it seemed as though they

were turned aside from all thought of self or other, save only to obtain one glance of their Beloved, and the birds of their spirits were fluttering in the air of the Beloved, while they recked not of home and place and nest, being overpowered with the ardour of their love for Him. And so these horsemen, making a sudden descent on the house of His Holiness the Martyr, arrested him, and, hastily setting him upon a horse, started at a gallop for Tihrān, where Muḥammad Shāh had him placed under surveillance in the house of one of his lords.

So when the believers, disappointed of their hopes, returned each to his home, and became aware of what had befallen His Holiness the Martyr, wailing and lamentation fell upon them all at this double catastrophe which had overtaken them, this trouble and calamity which had suddenly befallen them. And so for some days they continued thus in wailing and lamentation, having no resource of any kind, until a year had elapsed from this occurrence, when tidings came that the bird of Muḥammad Shāh's spirit had flown from the cage of his body, and that, in consequence of his death, confusion prevailed at Tihrān, no one heeding another, but each engrossed in the thought of his own peril and the preservation of his own property. So, when His Holiness the Martyr saw the arena open, and perceived that none observed him on any side, he bade his servants (for he had two servants, natives of Zanjān, the one named Muḥammad 'Alī and the other Sā'il) procure three horses; and they went and, in some way or other, managed to procure the horses, and His Holiness mounted and galloped away towards the town of Zanjān.

Now when he was come within two stages of Zanjān, to a village which they call Khurram-daré, he sent his two servants on before him to Zanjān to convey the news to his partisans, that they might prepare to escort him in, and to give the good news to all the faithful. So they came and apprised all the faithful, who became with one accord joyful and glad; and thereafter most of them came out these two stages to meet him, and some even prepared

sacrifices. Thus, two days later, he entered Zanjān with this multitude of followers; and ere he had passed through the city gate, his partisans, male and female, all came forth from the gate to meet him, and, in brief, from the gate to the door of his house some three hundred offerings were slain. Indeed, the matter reached such a pass that several of his followers led out their children by the hand to sacrifice them, but His Holiness the Martyr did not accord permission, and refused to consent to this. And so at last, with a thousand clamourings and demonstrations of enthusiasm, they brought him into his own house.

To be brief, for several days they feasted one another and made merry, to the vexation of their enemies, and thenceforth, day by day, the enthusiastic love and devotion of his followers continued to increase. Every Friday, when His Holiness the Martyr went to the Friday prayer, they set him and his son Muḥammad Ḥuseyn on their horses with a thousand manifestations of reverence and respect, and escorted him, to the number of three or four hundred persons, going before and behind, to the Mosque. And the Mosque was divided down the midst into two portions, whereof the women occupied one and the men the other, so that they stood in ranks which extended even into the court of the Mosque, and performed their prayers behind His Holiness. And, because of the multitude of his followers, *mukabbirs*[1] cried [the *takbīr*] in each of the seven parishes, and, after completing it, ascended into their pulpits and preached.

Now the manner in which these people disposed themselves in the Mosque was as follows: The poor sat on the right[2] side of the pulpit, and the rich on the left side; and I myself repeatedly beheld in my childhood that His Holiness, when preaching, ever turned his face towards the poor, only at times glancing towards the rich. And

[1] As the Bābī *takbīr*, or cry of "*Allāhu akbar*," corresponds to the Muḥammadan *azān*, so the Bābī *mukabbir* is equivalent to the Muḥammadan *mu'azzin*.

[2] That is to say, in the place of honour.

he always preached in a loud voice, so that all the faithful might hear; and after he had risen up from his discourse, his followers brought him back with the same reverence and respect, and then returned [to their homes], leaving him in his place.

To be brief, matters continued thus with His Holiness and his followers for a long while, until one day by chance one of the partisans of His Holiness the Martyr, by name 'Abdu'l-'Alī, had an altercation with another man, an unbeliever, called Abu'l-Qāsim. And this Abu'l-Qāsim, who was not of the Friends, first drew a dagger on him to inflict a wound on his body; but 'Abdu'l-'Alī deftly anticipated him, drew his dagger more quickly, and wounded him in the body. Now I had a brother named Naqd 'Alī who chanced to be present at that altercation, and he also, both for the sake of this man and also for the sake of the Friends, drew his dagger and gave assistance to 'Abdu'l-'Alī. So the cries and clamour rose high, but several of the malignants who were not of the Friends assembled, arrested 'Abdu'l-'Alī, and then would have arrested Naqd 'Alī also, but he eluded them and fled.

So they dragged 'Abdu'l-'Alī before Amīr Aslān Khān, the Governor of Zanjān, who ordered him to be cast into prison, after which he bade his *Farrāsh-bāshī* go and seize Naqd 'Alī and bring him also [before him]. In short, thereupon the *farrāshes* raided our house to arrest Naqd 'Alī, but he, with two other brothers, escaped and was not caught, although they even despatched several horsemen after them, who went some stages [in pursuit]; but, finding no trace of them, returned. But on the day when they raided our house, they seized my father instead of my brother, and brought him also before Amīr Aslān Khān, who sentenced him too to imprisonment. Since, however, he was the head-man (*Kedkhudā*) of the district, he was kept in prison only two or three days, after which they released him, though they exacted from him a fine of one hundred gold pieces (*ashrafī*) by reason of his son's participation in the strife.

After this, the man 'Abdu'l-'Alī remained in prison for about a month, and no one inquired [*lit.* went] after him; until, after a month, several of the faithful went and petitioned His Holiness the Martyr to vouchsafe them a letter, which one should carry to Amīr Aslān Khān, to secure the release of 'Abdu'l-'Alī and bring him back to them. So His Holiness the Martyr was graciously pleased to write a letter, which he gave to one of his followers whose name was Mīr Jalīl, a very brave and stout-hearted young man. So he took the letter, kissed it, put it to his eyes, and set off, alone and unaccompanied, taking none other with him. So when he was come into the presence of Amīr Aslān Khān, he bowed his head, handed over the letter of His Holiness to Amīr Aslān Khān, and stood before him awaiting his answer. So Amīr Aslān Khān took the letter of His Holiness; and, when he had read it, he fell into a violent rage, and, turning his face towards Mīr Jalīl, said: "If I be governor of this province on behalf of the king, I know my own business, with which no one else shall meddle or interfere. Go and tell him [who sent you] that the Amīr has not granted [the prisoner's] release, but says, 'The affairs of the people of this city are in my hands, and have nothing to do with anyone else.'"

So this man Mīr Jalīl, seeing that it was useless to reply, came back and communicated the Amīr's answer, exactly as he had given it, to His Holiness the Martyr. Then His Holiness the Martyr again wrote another note, saying: "This man belongs to me; be good enough to forgive me his fault, and I will consent to pay whatever fine may be required of him." Then he gave this note into the hands of this same Mīr Jalīl, and bade him say: "You must certainly release him; and I will submit to any punishment which you may inflict."

Then Mīr Jalīl took this letter and again brought it into the presence of the Amīr, who, after reading it, fell into a rage and passion even more violent than before, and answered with hatred and enmity, saying: "The answer

is the same as that which was given before. Go and say that I have not set him free." But this time this young man Mīr Jalīl, filled with anger like a roaring lion, turned right round, set his face towards the door of the prison, and, amidst all the *farrāshes* and *farrāsh-bāshīs* and myrmidons of the court, cried out, saying: "Whosoever is weary of his life, let him set his footsteps towards [us]!"[1] Then he turned to the prison-door, and, taking hold of the door-handle, broke it open by sheer strength of arm, entered the prison, and set free therefrom all [the prisoners], from the murderers down to those guilty of every [minor] crime. He also carried off 'Abdu'l-'Alī; and, setting all these before him, moved off, himself following after them, through all the myrmidons of the court, like a lion carrying off his prey, crying the while that none who should move from his place might deem his life his own. Thus did this lion-hearted man come through the midst of two or three hundred persons, not one of whom, for fear of his life, dared approach him, until he had set free all those prisoners, brought 'Abdu'l-'Alī into the presence of His Holiness the Martyr, and related to him what had happened. And His Holiness smiled and said, "What has happened is for the best."

Now, at the very moment when Mīr Jalīl was breaking open the door of the prison-house, the *farrāshes* ran to Amīr Aslān Khān, and informed him, saying: "Mīr Jalīl is breaking open the prison: what do you command?" When Amīr Aslān Khān heard this news, his position was as that of an ass lying in the mud. He plunged into the sea of thought, but was unable to issue any instructions as to how he should be dealt with: firstly, because he had already heard of Mīr Jalīl's courage, and knew that, in what way soever he might command him to be arrested, he would not quit the door until he had slain several *farrāshes*; secondly, he reflected that harm would surely

[1] The MS. has—هر کس از خود سیر گشته قدمی سوی بگذارد. There seems to be an omission after سوی, which I have endeavoured to supply.

accrue to himself from ordering his arrest, that these people would attack him, and that then neither he nor his court would remain. Moved by these considerations, he swallowed down his anger, and was unable to issue any explicit order respecting this man, although inwardly he was immersed in the sea of thought as to how he should gratify his hatred and enmity, and continued devising plans to meet this crisis until a whole day had elapsed since the event.

So, when it was the next day, he convened all the doctors of Zanjān, entertained them at a banquet, and related to them in full this affair of Mīr Jalīl, in order that they might find a remedy for his distress. And they, because from of old they harboured an inward grudge and hatred against His Holiness the Martyr, fastened upon this occurrence [as a pretext], and, assembled in solemn conclave, decided that it was expedient for them all to pass sentence of death upon him, and to forward this sentence, sealed with their seals, to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, who would send an army to put an end to His Holiness the Martyr and his followers.

So all the doctors, being agreed as to the expediency of this course of action, sealed the warrant and declaration sentencing His Holiness the Martyr and all his followers to death, setting forth the conduct of Mīr Jalīl towards Aslān Khān, and falsely alleging against His Holiness the Martyr sundry breaches of the Law. All these things they set down in writing in this statement, which they then gave to Amīr Aslān Khān, who sealed it, placed it in an envelope, and forwarded it to Tihrān, to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. O ye who see with just eyes! behold these doctors, who toiled for many years, labouring and striving to acquire theological science (علم اجتهادی), whereby they should be fitted to sit at the administration of justice, to give effect to God's commands, and to guide mankind in the Faith of God's Apostle, imagining within their unclean hearts that they were doing God good service and pronouncing sentence according to His Will! For these men, quitting the religion of God's Apostle, and acting contrary to the dictates

of His Law, command and cause the blood of some thousands of their fellow-creatures to be shed. See to what a pitch the wickedness of their hearts had attained, that, for the sake of a moment's authority in the Amīr's presence, for the sake of a moment's self-indulgence at his banquet, they were ready to bring about the death of several thousand persons, innocent or guilty, not reflecting—such was the wickedness of their hearts and the blindness of their inward sight—that all these people, whose blood was to be shed on the ground, as though they were no more than ants or locusts, were Musulmāns, who had not left the faith of God's Apostle. Who caused the death of those who perished in consequence of this sentence, who are answerable for their blood, and who brought about this great mischief? Yet, if thou lookest, these doctors did commit, according to their own imagining, no great fault in pronouncing sentence of death on all these people, for it seems that perchance they had not marked the meaning of that verse which the Lord of the Universe hath revealed in the Qur'ān: "*Whosoever slayeth one soul, it is as though he had slain all mankind*" [Qur. v, 35]. "*So those who have wrought evil shall know,*" saith the Almighty, "*with what a turn they shall be turned!*" [Qur. xxvi, 228].

In short, in every cycle the Lord of the Universe hath made manifest the Manifestation of the Sun of His Will, to guide His people into the Way of God, so that He may deliver men from the fire of separation, and bring them into the Paradise of Union with Him. But no sooner hath the Sun of Truth shone forth from its horizon than the Devil also, clothing himself in raiment of sanctity of the former dye,[1] prepares himself in all lands for that deceiving which is of his essential nature, so that, when the Dawn of the Effulgence of the Sun of Truth appears, in whatever land It may rise, he too, aided by his progeny, displays the

[1] The MS. has—لباس تقدس صبغت قبل را پوشید. The third word must be emended to سبقت or صبغت, and the latter emendation seems to me preferable. The meaning is "*sanctimonious garb coloured with* [the ideas, forms, and phraseology of] *the previous* [and now abrogated] *dispensation.*"

darkness of his denial in opposition to the light of that Sun of Truth, even as is seen in this dispensation. For whoever hath in his heart so much as a particle of the light of faith, or of the desire to please God, would not, by reason of the tenderness of his heart, be willing to cause even an ant to stumble beneath his feet, much less to slay it; while another, bidding his heart acquiesce in so grievous a mischief, wherein he brings about the death of a hundred thousand innocent and godly persons, doth yet deem himself a divine, while knowing that none save Eternal God can create so much as a single hair on the head of one of His creatures. How can he pronounce sentence of death on all these creatures of God, not even reflecting—"It is the Lord who hath called them into being: how, then, shall I cause their blood to be shed?"

Now this statement which I set down in writing I have not heard from another, but have seen with mine own eyes; and I declare that these divines, in that great trouble, came forth and cried in the midst of that concourse of people: "O people! to-day is the day of war for the faith! Ye must strive in the way of your religion." And so, having made men's bosoms shields for the arrows of great affliction, they themselves turned aside, and in their own luxurious abodes bade their servants bring in the *samovar*, and set the best Austrian tea of the finest quality to draw, because, forsooth, they had been put to much trouble by going forth amidst the throng of people, and were tired! Then, reclining on their cushions, they would open their books to look up doubtful points connected with the menstrual discharges and the lochia.[1] In short they themselves sat thus, taking their ease and busied with their own comfort, while so many fellow-creatures, urged on by them to religious warfare, fell to the ground in that strife like ants or grasshoppers. Neither did this trouble them to the

[1] That is, with the isolation and purification which these necessitate according to Shi'ite Law. See Querry's *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, pp. 19–22 and 27. The minute legislation of the Shi'ite doctors on these and kindred matters is a constant butt of Bábí ridicule.

extent of a mustard-seed, but they continued to busy themselves only with their own comfort. And had this religious war been against such as denied their faith, and law, and scripture, there had been no harm; but this war was against those who cried like themselves: "*There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, 'Alī is the Friend of God!*" Moreover, if you regard the obvious aspect of the matter, God Himself is witness what hair-splitting refinements in matters connected with the Law of the Qur'ān and the Faith of Islām were made at that time by His Holiness the Martyr, such as were beyond the power of every one of the doctors of that province. For I myself, being then but a child, observed, according to my understanding, how in certain matters no one so enforced the Law of the Qur'ān; for it was due to the firmness of his rule that none dared transgress the path of the Law, or commit any vile or evil deed. Thus he had enacted that wine should not be sold in any district, because, firstly, this thing is forbidden in the Law, and, secondly, whoever drinks it will commit evil deeds. And there were certain Christian merchants who used to sell wine, and he sent some of his followers to break all their wine-jars and pour out the wine, nor did one of them, for fear of himself, venture to utter a word.

In short, under his jurisdiction, Zanjān was purified in every way which you can conceive from unnatural crimes and fornications, and such things as are forbidden by Religion and Law, and all those people who were devoted to His Holiness were ever intent, in sincere humility and self-abasement, on their devotions, neither did they neglect by so much as a moment the seasons of prayer and fasting, nor did one of his men omit his devotions or tolerate any misdeed which infringed the Law. Yet still, notwithstanding all this, the divines set on foot all this ado about His Holiness, pronouncing sentence of death on him, and not only on him but on his followers, and sealing the declaration and forwarding it to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. And he, being in the first pride of youth and but recently seated

on the throne, and reading this document, containing the declarations of the divines and the Governor of the province, couched in such a strain, thought within himself: "Yes, the Bābīs have indeed risen in rebellion, have taken possession of Zanjān, and have issued and put in force orders contrary to our Law, wherefore they are infidels, their lives and property are forfeit, and Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, Pivot of the World, must devise means for dealing with these enemies of religion, lest the faith and Law of Islām be trodden under foot," and so forth.

So, to be brief, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, when he had read this document, wherein a thousand absurd calumnies were falsely and untruly hurled at His Holiness and recorded in writing against him, had been moved to anger, and had ordered the advance of an army [against Zanjān]. So several regiments of soldiers, with their officers and a few guns, were despatched by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh to Zanjān to dispose of this holy cause; and on the first night of the month of Rajab, A.H. 1265 [= May 23, 1849],[1] was the beginning of the fighting, when the army of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh entered the city of Zanjān.

Now on the morrow they ordered a herald to make proclamation in the market, saying: "This is the Governor's order, that the Muṣulmāns shall separate themselves from the Bābīs, for the fighting is about to begin." So every one sought for himself a place and abode, and they separated one from the other.

Now His Holiness the Martyr used to go every Friday to public worship, and on the next Friday, according to his former habit, he again went to prayer. But while he was at prayer, the Musulmāns, knowing in advance that he would go forth on the Friday to pray, thought within themselves to assemble and slay and put to the sword all the Bābīs while they were engaged in their devotions. They therefore prepared to give effect to this plan, and, assembling every man noted for his strength, and every

[1] This is an error. The year should be A.H. 1266 [=May 13, 1850]. See my translation of the *New History*, p. 144 and n. 2.

bold youth in the city of Zanjān, they advanced in mass, followed by the several regiments of soldiers which Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh had sent, intending to kill His Holiness the Martyr, together with all his followers, at their prayers in the Mosque, and then to return. But when they had begun to go thither, one of the friends, outstripping them, brought tidings of this matter to His Holiness in the Mosque, saying: "Even now they are marching to the attack, and they will rush upon you to slay you all, so be prepared!" And the Bābīs had not yet completed the noonday prayer.

Now there was a man called Mīr Ṣalāḥ who had two brothers besides himself, the one named Mīr Jalīl and the other Mīr Riẓā. This Mīr Jalīl was the same man who had, at the beginning of this affair, broken open the door of Amīr Aslān Khān's prison. All three brothers were endowed with great courage. At the moment when all these people were preparing to attack, three of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr were not at the prayers, having probably been left [outside] as sentinels to be on the look out lest anything should happen. Of these three, one was named Sheykh Muḥammad, who was *mu'ezzin* to His Holiness the Martyr; another was the above-mentioned Mīr Ṣalāḥ; and the third they called "Janāb-i-Sheykh." That brave man whose name was Mīr Ṣalāḥ, hearing so much, that the people were preparing to attack, at once dashed forth, prompted by the zeal of his manhood, from the door of the Mosque, in order to oppose this host, lest they should inflict some injury on His Holiness the Martyr and the rest while they were at prayer. These, however, were still distant some fifty or sixty paces from the door of the Mosque when Mīr Ṣalāḥ, alone and unaccompanied, came forth, and raised from his very heart a cry of "*Yā Ṣāḥibu'z-Zamān*," inspired by such zeal, courage, and valour as caused the limbs of these people to tremble with apprehension; for they thought that perhaps all the followers of His Holiness the Martyr had been warned, and were coming upon them sword in hand.

So, being thus filled with fear for their lives, all these people turned their faces to flight, and departed; and those who led them, although before it had seemed to outward appearance that one might have withstood a hundred, yet at that time turned to flee from fear of the shout of one. And of those who formed this vanguard, one was Pahlavān Asadu'llāh, another Pahlavān Qurbān 'Alī, another Pahlavān Sheykh 'Alī, another Pahlavān Ṣādiq, and another Ḥasan-'Alī, all of whom were men who passed in Zanjān as being most brave and valorous, for which reason they had been placed in the vanguard of all that host.

Now there was a longish lane close to the Mosque of His Holiness the Martyr, and along this the assailants fled until they reached the end of it. There Pahlavān Asadu'llāh cast a glance behind him, expecting to see all the Bābīs, sword in hand, pursuing them; instead of which he saw that one solitary individual who, sword in hand, was following them with cries of "*Yā Ṣāḥibu'z-Zamān.*" So when Pahlavān Asadu'llāh saw that none but this one man had drawn the sword against them, he took courage, and cried out: "O women! whither do ye flee from before one man? Turn back!" And when the mob heard his cry, they turned their heads, and saw that there was not a soul in the lane save this one man, whereat they all plucked up courage, and came to a halt. Then they saw this man continue to advance towards them, roaring like a male lion, and making no more account of all these people than of a gnat; and he swiftly came towards the edge of the crowd. Then Pahlavān Asadu'llāh, plucking up his courage, raised his shield over his head, and hurled himself on Mīr Ṣalāḥ's sword-blade. The narrator of this incident of the sword-stroke which he delivered told me himself, confirming it with an oath, as follows: "I, myself," said he, "was in the midst of that crowd, and saw Mīr Ṣalāḥ, so soon as he was within striking distance, bring down his sword like lightning on the shield of Pahlavān Asadu'llāh so that his shield was cleft in two over his head, and one half of it fell to the right and the other

to the left, while his four fingers were cut off, and the sword lighted on his head."[1] And when Pahlavān Asadu'llāh felt his hand deal such a blow, he sank down on the ground, crying: "One blow of the sword has done for me: do not strike again!" So Mīr Ṣalāḥ left him on the ground and turned upon the mob, who, having seen him strike such a stroke, did not venture near him, but drew back. And all those men of might [*pahlavān-hā*] who had led the vanguard looked to their own reckoning, and not one of them dared to cross his path; but, seeing themselves held in check, they cried out to stone him. Then all the mob began to cast stones at one single solitary individual, so that, as the narrator used to say, "some thousand men encompassed him on every side, and pelted him with stones, so that even the women cast stones upon him from the roof." And in whatever direction that brave man charged, the mob made way for him, casting stones at him from afar.

In short, they felled him to the ground, stunned by the stones which they rained upon him. Then, when they saw that he had not life enough left in him to stand up, they advanced, and, all drawing their daggers, smote him on the head and body until they had accomplished his martyrdom.

Now these two men who had been placed as sentries at the door of the Mosque, hearing this turmoil of strife and clamour of war, came forth also from the Mosque, intending to go to the help of Mīr Ṣalāḥ. Then they, too, drawing their swords, directed their steps towards the army; and when they came over against it, they saw that Mīr Ṣalāḥ had already suffered martyrdom. And the cowardly mob pelted these two also with stones from a distance, and slew them also; for they accomplished the martyrdom of

[1] The original text runs—چهار انگشت اورا نیز قلم کرده و چهار انگشت هم بر سر او شمشیر نشسته. I think that the words چهار انگشت هم have been repeated through inadvertence, and should be omitted. If not, the meaning may be—"While his four fingers were split, and the sword stopped [or stuck] at the root of the four fingers." It is not clear whether the words of the narrator here cited

the *mu'ezzin* [Sheykh Muḥammad], and took captive the other Sheykh, after that they had inflicted on him several wounds.

At the time when these three men went forth from the Mosque, His Holiness the Martyr was still at prayer, having not yet finished his devotions. Had he been aware of what was taking place, grievous mischief would have resulted on that day; but these three had gone forth suddenly and without the knowledge [of their friends]. So after they had dispersed from their devotions and had come forth from the Mosque, and had heard all this matter, they sorrowed greatly; and when their grief had somewhat subsided, they desired to march with drawn swords against the mob, and to avenge these three victims upon all these people. But His Holiness the Martyr, reflecting that if he should grant permission [for this] by declaring a religious war, in any case three or four hundred persons would perish, did not deem it expedient [so to do], and withheld his permission.

But as for the Sheykh whom the mob had taken captive, they dragged him with a thousand insults into the presence of Amīr Aslān Khān, who, after sundry unworthy maledictions, said: "If" (God pardon me for repeating the words) "thou wilt curse the Founder of thy religion and Mullā Muḥammad Alī" (that is to say, His Holiness the Martyr), "I will not slay thee." But that brave man, putting aside fear and hope alike, replied: "Curses be upon thine own foul nature, even unto seventy generations of thy forbears, for that they have been instrumental in producing a bastard like thee, who hast brought about such great mischief and trouble!" Then Amīr Aslān Khān, overcome with fury, drew his sword from his side, and struck him with all his might upon the mouth; and I myself saw the Sheykh's mouth laid open from ear to ear. Then he commanded the people to strike; and each one of that ungenerous mob, each with the dagger that he had in his hand, struck him on the head and body; so that a carpenter's adze had inflicted a wound which had penetrated his head to the

depth of four fingers, and had broken in two and there remained. In short they accomplished his martyrdom also, and cast his naked body out into the square to be a warning and terror to the people.

Now this beginning of hostilities fell on a Friday, and thus did the whole matter of strife become defined, and the streets which gave passage were blocked on either side, and all intercourse was cut off [between the two parts of the town]. Then guns and muskets were brought into play, and on every high vantage-ground stockades were constructed on both sides; and on their side each stockade was entrusted to a captain or a major, while on our side also His Holiness the Martyr entrusted each stockade to some brave champion, and likewise nineteen men who should be under his authority. In short, they divided the town of Zanjān into two parts: in the eastern part was His Holiness the Martyr with his followers, and in the western part abode the other people. And it was by the Lord of the Universe also that the matter was thus determined, as to which party, even in the world of appearance, should be on the eastern side and which on the western, which on the right hand and which on the left.[1] Yet are these people far from [apprehending] this matter, but remain benighted.

Let me be brief, however, and not let my subject slip from the hand. The city of Zanjān has but one bazaar, which, beginning at the Tihrān gate, ends close to the Tabrīz gate. This bazaar, also, they had cut in two, so that the part towards the Tihrān gate, which is to the east, was in the hands of His Holiness the Martyr and his followers, while the Tabrīz part, which is the western, was in the hands of his adversaries. But the followers of His Holiness the Martyr had wholly suspended all buying and

[1] For from the East comes the Dawn, the illumination both of hearts and horizons (الاشراق في الانفس و الافاق), while in the West is the setting and declination. "The people of the right hand," and "the people of the left hand," in the Qur'ān as in the Gospels, signify the blessed and the damned (Qur'ān, lvi, 26 et seq.).

selling, and had placed the shop-goods in store; while on the other side some kept their shops open, and others closed them. My object in mentioning this is that you may know every detail of the matter.

After this His Holiness the Martyr commanded his followers that they should all be as one family and one household, and that all things, from eatables to clothing, whatever there was, should be divided for use; and his followers did even as he had commanded, so that they even opened their houses to one another, and passed in and out in unity and concord. But since it was as yet but the first beginning of warfare, intercourse was still maintained between the two parties by some who were united outwardly by family ties and kinsmanship, nor were the channels of communication yet entirely cut between them. These communications continued for about a week, until the foolish divines attempted to take advantage of them in order to compass the death of His Holiness the Martyr; but the Lord of the Universe did not favour the desire wherewith their doctrine had inspired them, so that it did not succeed.

Now the stratagem whereby they endeavoured to give effect to their designs was as follows. They instructed a certain man, having promised to give him one hundred *tūmāns* in money, to go in disguise, and, by some means or other, to slay His Holiness the Martyr, and so return; "and we," they added, "will treat you with honour and respect so long as you live."

So this accursed fellow acquiesced in this proposal, and went away to put on his disguise, in order to approach His Holiness the Martyr by some device and slay him. The scoundrel had grown up from his very childhood on the bread of His Holiness the Martyr, had been a servant in his house, and had paraded himself outwardly in the guise of the Friends; but in the inner world he was a devilish-minded bastard, the like of whom the eye of time hath not beheld; and his unclean name was Hājī Dādāsh. To be brief, this accursed villain, on hearing the promise of a hundred *tūmāns* in money, fell into foolish and brain-sick

fancies, imagining that he had undertaken an easy task, and so set off, like another Ibn Muljam,[1] to accomplish his work.

Now His Holiness the Martyr used still to go every Friday to the Mosque, and had not abandoned public prayer; but at the time of this occurrence he had ceased to go out to the Mosque, and had arranged to perform public prayer with his followers in his own house. And this villain had deferred his attempt to Friday, thinking that he might perhaps succeed in firing a shot at His Holiness the Martyr while he was at prayer, and might then flee. So he went and put on a woman's dress, took with him a small gun, which he concealed about his person, and started off so as to arrive at the time when His Holiness the Martyr, having finished the public prayers, was seated on his stool and was exhorting the people. Now in the court of this building only men were seated, but on the roof round about it a number of women also; and this accursed fellow, having veiled his foul face, was seated amongst the company of women as a woman, awaiting his opportunity to fire his shot at His Holiness the Martyr, and then flee. Well speaks Mawlānā [Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī] on this subject in this couplet:—

"God's Grace deals gently with thee, till at last
It shames thee, when the bearing-point is passed."

To be brief, this accursed fellow was continually protruding the muzzle of his gun from beneath the woman's wrapper which he wore, and, because of his nervousness, was in constant movement and agitation. Now there was sitting in front of him a certain brave woman, who, noticing the restlessness of this [supposed] woman, turned her face towards this accursed fellow to say, "How restless you are!" Then her eye fell on the muzzle of the gun, which was protruded some two inches beyond the mantle, for the assassin was intending to fire. No sooner had this

[1] The name of the Khārijite who assassinated 'Alī.

brave woman perceived this than she seized the muzzle of his gun, dragged it forth, and swiftly plucked the veil from his face, and saw that—good heavens!—the person had a beard! Then she caught hold of him, crying, "O, seize this accursed fellow"; and the crowd of women, hearing her cries, quickly surrounded him, hemmed him in, and tore the *chādar* from his head, so that his bogey-[1] face was revealed, and all recognized him. Then these brave women, surrounding him, beat him with their fists on the face and head in a manner which baffles description; and presently the men, informed by the cries and clamour of the women, arose and came up, and took him out of the women's hands, and pounded his face and mouth beyond measure. After this they dragged him before His Holiness the Martyr, who, on raising his eyes, saw that it was none other than Hājī Dādāsh, who had been a servant in his house, and whose ingratitude had reached this pitch. Then he said: "God curse thee and thy deed, and those who instigated thee to this deed! How ungrateful art thou become that thou hast stooped to so foul an act, not reflecting that thy very hair has grown out of the salt of this house, and withal thou art thus shameless and graceless!" Then [Hājī Dādāsh] said, with tears and lamentations: "They led me astray after the manner of the Devil. Forgive me! I repent. Overlook my fault!" So His Holiness the Martyr, moved to pity by his lamentations and tears, overlooked his fault and released him; and the accursed wretch abode for some days amongst the believers, but afterwards, prompted by his accursedness, fled back [to the enemy]. And thenceforth, in consequence of this occurrence, all intercourse between the two sides was cut off, the roads of communication were blocked, and the streets were barricaded at every point.

To be brief, war raged with the utmost fury for about

[1] I translate نسناس by 'bogey.' Concerning the popular superstitions about the *nesnās* prevalent in Persia, see my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165 and 267, as well as the dictionaries.

two months, both by day and night, so that not for one single moment did men's ears rest from the noise of cannons and muskets, and bullets constantly fell through the air like rain on every side, until matters reached such a pass that the army sent by Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh was all finished off. So a courier was sent to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh to tell him that the army was insufficient, and that he must send reinforcements. Then Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh again sent five thousand more troops under the command of the Sardár Bábá Khán with several pieces of artillery. In short they sent to Zanján seventeen cannons and two mortars; but these again, ere two or three months had elapsed, were finished up. Then several thousand troops were sent from Tabríz, but these also proved insufficient. Then, to make a long story short, they poured into the city of Zanján some twenty thousand troops from every side, from Urúmiyya, Hamadán, Garrús, and sundry other towns; and still they did not suffice. Then they collected and brought up more than ten thousand irregulars[1] from the different districts of Khamsa, which is [the province wherein lies] Zanján, but it availed nothing. In short, not a day or a night passed but two or three hundred men shed their blood like ants or grasshoppers; and if you have heard tell of "the Trouble of the Last Time," it was even this which had come to pass, though none knew it save those who knew.

So matters dragged on, with the same turmoil and trouble, for some six months. And it was in the midst of the war that one named Farrukh Khán proposed before Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh in Tihrán to go with several horsemen and bring back the head of Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí. So the King granted him a few horsemen, and made him chief and commander over them, and sent them off.

Now this ill-starred Farrukh Khán was the brother of that Suleymán Khán who afterwards suffered the candle-

[1] The word چلاک, not to be found in the dictionaries, is explained by my friend Mírzá Ḥuseyn-Qulí Khán as = عساکر بی نظام.

torture,[1] and whom they thus led through the bazaars of Tihrān, because he belonged to this sect. And when Farrukh Khān came to Zanjān, his brother Suleymān Khān, with a thousand kindly warnings, bade him abandon this enterprise; "for," said he, "thou wilt not fare well on this journey." But Farrukh Khān, in his vain-glorious pride, would not consent to this, but persisted that he would go. Then Suleymān Khān had said: "Since thou wilt not hearken to my advice, thou shalt go; but they will strip thy skin over thy head." And even thus it fell out, exactly as he had spoken; for they took the skin from his head, nay, his whole head from his body, and made the flesh of his body even as minced meat, because he had not hearkened to the counsels of so perfect a being [as his brother Suleymān Khān], but had rather lent an ear to his own foolish reasonings. Well says Ḥāfiẓ in this couplet on this matter—

"Hear, I pray, sweet friend, my counsel; blessed youths will dearer hold
Even than dear life itself the wise monitions of the old."[2]

To continue. He refused to listen to his brother's advice, and came into Zanjān with his horsemen in brave show. And the people of Zanjān showed him and his horsemen much respect and consideration, as though he were a man of extraordinary valour and courage, at whose hands many doughty deeds should be accomplished; but they knew not the inner truth that, if God so wills it, one single person could deal with this whole mob, and that, moreover, without gear or weapons of war.

[1] The torture in question (شمع آجین) consists in wounding the victim's flesh with knives, and inserting into each wound a lighted wick or candle, which, when it has consumed its own grease, feeds itself on the fat of the sufferer. Hājī Suleymān Khān suffered death on Sept. 15, 1852. See Vámbéry's *Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, p. 299; my *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 326, 332–4; the *New History*, pp. 228–30.

[2] *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ, ed. Rosenzweig-Schwannan, vol. i, p. 24, penultimate couplet.

To the outward eyes of the people of Zanjān, however, it seemed that the followers of His Holiness the Martyr were but as a handful of chickens in the grip of this doughty champion, who would just thrust in his hand, pluck them from their nest, cut off their heads one after another, and so leave them. So they feasted and entertained these gentlemen, and did them honour for several nights, until it was ultimately agreed that on that very night they should display their prowess and show their valour to all the people. Then Farrukh Khān said: "To-night all the bravest youths of Zanjān must be my guests, and they shall all drink wine and *'araq* until they be somewhat emboldened, so that they may not flee from the fray." So they acted in accordance with his instructions; and that night he assembled all the bravest of the people of Zanjān, and gave them all wine and *'araq* to drink, so that even himself and his horsemen were blind drunk.

In short, he made some three or four hundred men as drunk as himself; and, when some five or six hours of the night had passed, he led them forth, and they set out, intending to take the Bābīs off their guard and attack them. And he placed these youths of Zanjān in front to show the way, and they went right out of the town and re-entered it by the Hamadān gate, until he had brought himself and his host to a rest-house which was actually the key to the position occupied by the followers of His Holiness the Martyr.[1] But now one of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr named 'Azīz, whose abode was situated near that rest-house, hearing the footfalls of all this host, at once sprang to his feet, and peeped through a crack in the door to see what was happening. Then he saw some three or four hundred men, all fully armed, standing in the court of the rest-house and consulting together on which side they should attack the Bābīs.

[1] I am uncertain as to the translation of this passage, which runs as follows: تا آنکه خودرا با آن جمعیّت رسانید بیک تکیهٔ که اصل بزنگاه عرصهٔ میدان اصحاب جناب شهید آنجا بود. I am informed that بزنگاه = موقع, فرصت.

To be brief, when he had carefully observed the condition of these people, he saw that they were all senseless with drink, so that they were unable either to walk or speak aright, and, having lost their reckoning, knew neither whence they were come nor whither they were going. Then he noticed that in the midst of all this crowd there was one who seemed to be a leader, and whose weapons of war excelled those of the others. So this brave fellow, seizing his opportunity, and placing his trust in the Eternal God, threw open the door, and, alone and unsupported, without arms, ran out, seized Farrukh Khān from behind in the midst of all that multitude, and tucked him under his arm. And that great host no sooner saw that Farrukh Khān was taken than, drunk as they were, they fancied that perhaps the followers of His Holiness the Martyr had received information, and were even then about to attack them and put them all to the sword. Then such as were natives of Zanjān, knowing the way, fled with one accord, while the horsemen who were with Farrukh Khān, knowing not whither to flee, were unable to make their escape.

But as for the young man who had seized Farrukh Khān from behind, Farrukh Khān, strive as he would to free himself from his hands, could do nothing. He drew a pistol from his girdle and fired over his shoulder at the youth 'Azīz, who instantly drew himself back so that the bullet passed by him. Then he fired again on the other side, but again it missed him, and still he did not leave hold of Farrukh Khān.

No sooner was the report of Farrukh Khān's pistol heard than all the Bābīs who were in the neighbourhood instantly hurried to the rest-house to see what was the matter. Then, when they saw them, they seized them all; but ere they bore Farrukh Khān before His Holiness the Martyr, they had left scarcely a trace of his existence, for they had hacked his body in pieces ere they bore it away, and when he came before His Holiness the Martyr he had already surrendered up his soul.

In short, God willed not that the frowardness of those

should succeed who, deeming these men so valorous, had sent them to cut off the heads of His Holiness the Martyr and some of his followers, and to bring in the others captive; but they themselves were overtaken by ruin. For they beheaded them all, stuck their heads on spears, and set them up on the roofs, so that their late comrades might see them and take warning and reckon for themselves. So when the night had passed and morning dawned, all those heads were visible on the roofs, and their friends seeing them were filled with grief, and for some time there was discussion amongst them as they pointed them out to one another from afar off.

Then Amīr Aslān Khān commanded them to beg the dead body of Farrukh Khān from the followers of His Holiness the Martyr, thinking that perhaps they might obtain it. So they demanded it; and the Bābīs took the head of Farrukh Khān and cast it towards them. So they picked it up and bore it to Amīr Aslān Khān, who said, "Obtain possession of his body also." Then they went back once more and demanded his body, but this the Bābīs would not give them. Then Amīr Aslān Khān agreed to give up ten young Bābīs whom he had in prison that he might receive in exchange the body of Farrukh Khān, and to this exchange the followers of His Holiness the Martyr agreed. So they took over the ten young men and then surrendered the body of Farrukh Khān.

To make a long story short, this war dragged on for about a year with the same turmoil and trouble, so that none rested for a moment from the noise of artillery and musketry, while bullets fell from heaven to earth like rain. Yet never during all this strife did His Holiness the Martyr proclaim a religious war, save once towards the end of the struggle, when he could not help himself. And all that the followers of His Holiness the Martyr wrought, they wrought by their courage and valour; but what their adversaries did, they effected by cowardly deceit and guile. Thus the Bābīs were never seen to go and

make a sudden attack on their opponents when seven or eight hours of the night had passed, and to rush upon them when they were off their guard; but the others constantly fought in this cowardly fashion, waiting until several hours of the night had elapsed, and then suddenly falling upon the followers of His Holiness the Martyr unawares; though, notwithstanding this stratagem, they were still defeated and driven back. For example, one kind of stratagem which they employed in their warfare was this, that they would dig a mine underground from their quarters beneath a house inhabited by some of the Bābīs, deposit a cauldron full of gunpowder there, retire, and fire it from their side, so that the house collapsed, and if there were people in it they all perished, and if not, the house was laid in ruins. But after they had done this several times, the followers of His Holiness the Martyr were on the look out, and would from time to time lay their ears to the ground and hear the sound of the picks. Then they too would begin to dig on their side until the two mines met, when they either killed the miner there in the mine, or dragged him out and slew him. It often happened that they removed the cauldron of powder, while the other side, not knowing that it was gone, fired the fuse, expecting that the house would fall upon them. And when they saw that there was neither stir nor sound, they were filled with wonder as to what had happened. And when they went to look, they would see no trace of cauldron or powder, and would return bewildered.

Sometimes, again, they would fill cannon-balls (i.e. grenades) with powder, and when they came to close quarters they would light them and throw them with their hands into the houses of the Bābīs, who, however, soon learned to deal with them, for they would run swiftly to them, pull out the fuse, and so extinguish them, so that they did not burst or do any harm. But often, too, there was no time for this, and they did great damage, sometimes killing men, and sometimes injuring them. In short, all their fighting was in this cowardly fashion.

You must know also that the women of the Bābīs fought more bravely than the men on the other side. To take one instance, a girl appeared amongst the followers of His Holiness the Martyr of extraordinary courage, so that she became famous even amongst all these brave disciples for her quickness and dexterity in battle, so that they named her Rustam 'Alī as a fit tribute to her valour. In short, she was a master in every artifice of war, and had no compeer in swordsmanship or in shooting; and when she fought she always wore man's attire, nor could anyone distinguish her by her fighting from a man. Now they had erected barricades in every thoroughfare, and His Holiness the Martyr had stationed at each barricade a man of valour, and had placed under his authority nineteen young men who should be at his command. And to this girl also, because of her courage, they gave a barricade, and under her command, too, they placed nineteen men. Let me tell you somewhat of her prowess, that you may know it.

One night, to take an instance, an attack was made by the enemy at midnight on her barricade; and she, as soon as she was aware of it, sent one to wait on His Holiness the Martyr to request his permission to fight, saying, "Let us, too, repel the foe who is about to attack us." And His Holiness the Martyr granted this permission, bidding her not to attack, but to repel the enemy herself. So she sent again several times, but His Holiness the Martyr would not permit them to arise and attack the enemy, but bade them only drive the foe back from about the position which they themselves occupied. So when she saw that there was no other way, and that the enemy were just about to set their feet on the barricade, she saw nothing for it but to let them come close to where she stood and give them their answer fighting. Then, without constraining her comrades to join her rash venture, she suddenly drew her sword from its scabbard, and hurled herself against an army of seven thousand foes. As she did so she raised from her

very soul a cry of "*Yā Ṣāḥibu'z-Zamān!*" and so great a host, imagining within themselves that the Bābīs were about to make a simultaneous attack, all turned their faces to flight, she pursuing them the while, until she had made her way to the heart of the army. Thither had she no sooner come than her first sword-cut was delivered on the head of the standard-bearer, so that the standard fell from his hand, and he himself passed to hell. Then the girl raised his standard from the ground, and again turned her face towards the army, until she had wounded several of them in the back. Then, having seen so many foes annihilated before her sight, that young lioness, carrying the standard in her hand, turned back towards her barricade. Thereupon all her comrades rose up from their places to do her honour, with warm welcomes and applause; after which they brought her into the presence of His Holiness the Martyr, who received her very graciously, and applauded her in the most flattering terms. So, in consequence of this act of bravery, she was highly esteemed and honoured in the eyes of all the believers, for, although outwardly but a woman, she was in truth the very Rustam of her time, nor can there be produced or pointed out amongst the women of any age or time one who was like her, nor another instance of several thousand soldiers abandoning their standard and fleeing before the sword of one girl in man's apparel.

In short, this thing also was from God, that men might recognize the power of the Truth against Falsehood; though these people were so sunk in heedlessness that even should the Lord of the Universe raise up one little child five years old amongst all created beings, and maintain him, and bestow on him power of every kind, and give him authority over all mankind, still these people would not recognize the power of his strength as from God, but would deny this. Consider, for instance, what fear of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr the Lord of the Universe cast into the hearts of those people, so that one day in the midst of the war an incident occurred in the bazaar of Zanjān which was indeed very ludicrous.

For they had blocked the thoroughfare of the bazaar of Zanjān in the middle, but there remained an aperture in the midst [of the barricade], large enough to allow the voice of anyone speaking or crying out to be heard through it. Now a few tradesmen of the other side continued their business and trade. One day, however, they heard through this hole a shout of "*Yā Ṣāḥibu'z-Zamān!*" whereupon they all abandoned their shops and fled. But one of them, a grocer, had a customer, and was busy weighing with his scales. Directly he saw all the people running away, he too sprang from his place to flee, and the scales caught round his neck and there hung; and the grocer, because of the fear and dread of his life which possessed him, did not observe that the scales were hanging round his neck, nor did he notice that they hung there until he was come close to the Tabrīz gate. But just outside the gate one said to him, "So-and-so, it seems that these scales were what you prized most of the goods and chattels of your shop, that you have brought them all this way with you." Then the grocer was astonished at himself, and answered: "Now that you tell me, I notice that it is so; but until I arrived here I was so fearful and terrified for myself that I never noticed it, nor did I know whether the scales were round my neck or not." Now this hole was such that a cat's body would hardly have squeezed through it, much less a man's! In short, they had seen no one, nor had anyone pursued them; but, merely on hearing one shout, all these people had leaped from their places and taken to their heels.

Know, in short, that God cast into the hearts of these people fear of even the dead bodies of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr; how much more, then, when they were alive! And this I saw with my own eyes; for one day, when the war was at its very fiercest, I came out, as children love to do, to explore and look about me. And thus I came to the gate of Amīr Aslān Khān's house, close to which there was an open space. There a great crowd was assembled, for it was in this open space that

they used to put to death such of the Bábís as they took prisoners. So when I entered this square, I saw lying in the midst of the open space several decapitated bodies, naked and covered with wounds. The season was winter, and the air bitterly cold; and in that cruel cold these holy bodies had lain several days and nights. Several loads of tree-prunings had been deposited in a corner of the square, in order that anyone who liked might pick up some of these green sticks and beat the naked bodies of these dead and lifeless forms, to gratify the malice which they bore in their hearts. Then I saw a soldier go and pick up several switches from these wood-heaps, and begin to beat the naked body of a dead man whose corpse already bore several wounds. But when he had struck a few blows on this dead body, as God is my witness, I, being there present, saw this dead body rise up from the earth, and sit on the ground without support of hands, and for a moment begin to look at all these people. And there were round about it three or four hundred people, all of whom, when their gaze fell upon it as it sat up regarding them, took to their heels, and only when they had withdrawn to some distance began to look in amazement at it. Even that accursed soldier who had been beating it with the switch, even he, I say, began to flee, and, standing afar off, regarded the dead body with astonishment. Yet withal this accursed fellow, having seen this, did not fear God, but returned, levelled his musket, and fired several successive shots into the back of its head, whereupon the dead body again fell to the ground. But all the people marvelled at this thing, because this dead, naked body, leaving out of reckoning the several mortal wounds which it bore, had lain naked, probably for two days and two nights, in that bitter cold, amidst the snow and rain. For assuredly the man must have died from exposure to this cruel cold during two days and two nights, even had he not succumbed to his wounds; or, at any rate, some sign of life, some motion or movement, would have been perceptible and apparent during this

period, and no such thing was observed. How, then, did he suddenly rise to a sitting posture, and wonderingly regard all these people? Even I, notwithstanding my tender years, marvelled what mystery this might be. For it was afterwards that I entered into this matter [i.e. the Bābī faith].

On another subsequent occasion I saw an inhuman soldier carrying about the head of a man which he had cut off and stuck on the bayonet of his gun. As soon as my eyes fell on it, I knew to what poor wretch the head belonged. Consider what a quintessence of irreligion these people were, so that at no time or epoch have men so devoid of humanity or justice been seen by anyone; for this head was the head of a poor, half-witted fellow named Naqī, whom the people called "*Delī Naqī*" ("Crazy Naqī"), who used to wander about, daft and demented, in the streets and bazaars, an object of mirth and sport to the children, not having sense enough even to beg; but when men gave him a trifle in pity, he ate; and when they did not give [he went hungry].[1] Now this accursed inhuman soldier, coming across this poor wretch standing half-witted and crazy in I know not what back lane, had thrown him down and cut off his head. For Aslān Khān had issued an order that anyone bringing the head of one of His Holiness the Martyr's followers, should receive a reward of five *qrāns* Persian money, which is one *mejīdiyyé* in Ottoman coin; and this shameless ruffian, thinking to get these five *qrāns*, had cut off this poor wretch's head in a quiet corner, stuck it on his bayonet, and paraded it before all these people. And, though all of them recognized it, not one of this unmanly crowd dared tell that shameless soldier what he had done. So, in brief, carrying it thus, he brought the head before Amīr Aslān Khān, who knew not whose it was, not having been informed about his state, but imagined that it was the head of one of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr. So this mine of generosity took it, and was

[1] The MS. has: هر کس از روی ترحم باو چیزی میداد و او میخورد نمیداد. I think that the word نمیخورد has been accidentally omitted at the end of this sentence, and have supplied it in translating.

graciously pleased to give and bestow on him [i.e. the soldier] one *qrān* in Persian money, which is equivalent to five piastres. Did Ḥātim [Ṭā'ī] [1] in his most generous mood ever see such bounty or munificence?

Consider, now, the deeds of these people, in how extraordinary a degree they reveal their inward uncleanness, so that they will compass a man's death for the sake of getting one *qrān* in money! Imagine whether any eye hath seen, or any ear heard, wickedness so great as this from the time of Adam until the appearance of the Qā'im!

So [the soldier], after he had received this bounty of one *qrān*, brought the poor idiot's head and cast it by those dead bodies which lay in the square, and went his way.

Our original topic was, however, that you should consider the degree of this people's inhumanity, to what a pitch it reached. For instance, every house which they took and entered, they first of all thought of the rafters thereof, to pluck them forth and sell them, and each rafter thereof they would sell for two *shāhīs* Persian money, which is equivalent to one *qamarī* of Ottoman coinage, never considering of what religion or sect the owner of the house might be, or whether a thousand or two thousand *tūmāns* had been spent on the house, or how many years its owner had laboured to build it up; such considerations they absolutely and utterly disregarded. Thus, in short, did these persons of judgment, understanding, and perception comprehend justice, so that finally they laid the house in ruins, so that you would see each rafter of that house in the hands of two soldiers, who sold it in partnership. They even tore off and sold all the window-shutters in the Mosque, which is the House of God, because His Holiness the Martyr had occupied the Mosque, never considering what wrong the Mosque, which was the House of God's worship, had committed. For the upshot of the matter was this, that had he who occupied it not performed the prayers

[1] An Arab whose open-handedness has made him a proverb for generosity. Of course all this passage is bitter irony.

there, no one else would have done so. Matters reached such a pass that every house belonging to one of the followers of His Holiness the Martyr which they took, they plundered his furniture, destroyed his house, and took his wife and children captive, besides inflicting on them a thousand calamities, so that, after they had taken them captive, they placed them in the very stables of those divines devoid of the practice of virtue. Indeed, matters came to such a pass that girls twelve years of age used to be bought and sold amongst the town's folk for one *qrān* in money, while most of them were carried away to other towns and villages.

In short, for nearly a year things were so that all these people had not a single moment's peace on either side. But His Holiness the Martyr, from the very beginning of the war until the end, repeatedly, while seated on the daïs in his house, urged his followers to depart, so that he even made known to them every calamity that would befall them, and the whole matter, ere its occurrence, either from shame [of bringing this suffering upon them without warning], or that there might be no compulsion [to suffer for the Cause] amongst them, but that each might of his own free will set his feet in God's way. And most of them, believing this test-proposal [to be made in earnest], went away; and if anyone asked, "Whither goest thou?" they would reply, "If he himself is a Proof[1] unto us, then his word also is a Proof unto us, and he bids us go." In short, this matter was like what is related to have occurred in the case of [the Imām Ḥuseyn] the Chief of Martyrs in the land of Ṭaff,[2] for he saw and knew with the inward eye of the heart that all those Arabs who were round him were faithless and disloyal, wherefore, drawing his blessed cloak over his head, he proposed to all those

[1] "His Holiness the Proof" (جناب حجت) is the title commonly given by the Bābīs to Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī.

[2] Lit. "the bank," or "shore," especially of the Euphrates; or, the part of the land of the Arabs that overlooks the cultivated regions of el-'Irāq; or, a place near Kūfa. See Lane's *Ar.-Engl. Lex.*, pt. v, p. 1858, s.v. طفّ.

Arabs, to test them, that they should go. And they, at the mere suggestion of this on the part of the Chief of Martyrs, seized on this pretext, came one by one to kiss the blessed hand of His Holiness, and departed; for His Holiness had said, "We, too, will depart"; but their departure was not on account of what he had said, but because they saw the enemy encompassing them round about, and knew for a surety that they would not save their lives from the arena thus hemmed in by all these foes, thence it was that they seized this pretext for setting their faces to flight. Observe how they linked together the thought of losing their own lives with the allegation that the Word of His Holiness was a Proof, and this, too, was in itself a great sin, apart from the sin of fleeing from before His Holiness, for fear of losing their own lives. His word *was* a Proof; but not when it was [uttered merely] to try the disposition of the waverer's heart. Rather that saying of His Holiness was to ascertain the mental temper of all his supporters on that battlefield, where life was to be surrendered. And the proof of this is that this test-proposal was made also to 'Abbās, the brother of the Chief of Martyrs: why, then, did not he set his foot outside the circle of steadfastness?

In short, only the immediate adherents of His Holiness the Martyr, who stood firm in their vow and covenant with him, attained the rank of martyrdom. And at the beginning of the war His Holiness the Martyr had round about him some three thousand followers; but after he had several times made the [above-mentioned] proposal to them, some thousand of them took advantage of it as a pretext to withdraw, while those who stood by His Holiness the Martyr until the end of the war hardly exceeded about two thousand.

To be brief, there were sixty barricades round about [the Bābī position], and at each barricade nineteen men, while the rest patrolled the circuit. But during this year's period of warfare, the Musulmāns thrice wrote, and sent to His Holiness the Martyr, letters, attested by oaths

sworn on the Qur'ān and sealed with the seals of all, small and great, including their divines, to this effect: "We are unwilling that all this killing and plundering should continue in our midst. Come out, and let us agree on terms of peace, for we swear on this Qur'ān and on this verse that we will do you no harm, so do you likewise refrain from harming us." So His Holiness the Martyr, out of respect for the Qur'ān, agreed; and after that he had agreed, several of the great men and nobles of the province assembled and waited upon him, and requested a reconciliation. And his Holiness the Martyr said in reply: "If ye were not yourselves content that these people should be slain and plundered, I did not desire it; for I sat in my own house, neither interfering nor meddling with the affairs of anyone, nor doing violence to anyone, nor seeking to pluck any man's faith from his hand, nor acting contrary to the commandments of the Law and Path of Islām, nor enjoining aught on any man but what God hath commanded; neither hath any deed contrary to the religion of God's Apostle been wrought by me or my followers, nor do I say aught save, '*There is no god but God, Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, 'Alī is the friend of God.*' Wherefore, then, do your divines stigmatize us as apostates from their faith? Why have they passed sentence of death on me and my followers? Why have they brought against me twenty thousand troops and all these muskets, cannons, and munitions of war? If they do not desire that I should continue in their country, then let them grant me free passage, so that I may take my wife and children by the hand and go to Europe. But they have encompassed me in on every side, and cut off help in every quarter. And had my authority been exercised frowardly at that time when I was in a position of manifestly superior strength, in the course of a few hours I would not have left a single soul [of the Musulmāns] alive in this province; but, during all this period of strife, what day hath there been, or what night, whereon I have commanded a religious war, save only that

I was constantly considering how we might ward off your assaults from our wives and children, for we have no choice but to defend ourselves? Do not, therefore, regard me as culpable in this matter; all which has happened or will happen has been brought about by your own divines and by the governor of the province. If you desire peace, I for my part never declared war, but my influence was ever for peace."

In short, preliminaries of peace were arranged, and the delegates [of the Musulmāns] returned to their own quarters. Then men began to pass to and fro between the two sides; but, ere two or three days had passed, fools again provoked a conflict, and [fresh] dissension arose between [the two sides], and they separated from one another. Finally they perceived that no peace could be concluded, but that the war must work itself out. Then the Musulmāns saw that no arrangement was possible, and they made a shelter out of thick planks, placed it on carriages, and so advanced. But the followers of His Holiness the Martyr battered the shelter with cannon, and broke it in pieces and shattered it; for they had made two guns of iron. In short, matters reached such a pass that there was no street in which you could set your foot where several dead bodies did not lie fallen on the ground, nor a single pit left which was not choked with dead bodies, nor a ditch wherein corpses were not cast one upon another, nor a tent unfilled with the dead and their gear and chattels. In a word, whoever has desired to behold the Trouble of the Last Time, would that he had come and watched this from afar!

To make a long story short, war continued with unabated violence between the two factions for a period of about one year, till matters reached such a pass that only some three or four hundred adherents still stood by His Holiness the Martyr, all the rest having attained martyrdom. And, whenever one of the barricades on the side of His Holiness the Martyr was left devoid of men, the enemy were quickly made aware of it, and entered and occupied it, until, little

by little, they surrounded the sides of His Holiness the Martyr's own house, and, when they had thus surrounded it, they desired to enter it.

Then His Holiness the Martyr, perceiving that all was over, took a sword in his own hand, summoned his few remaining followers to do battle for the faith, and, himself preceding them, grasped his sword, and, with his adherents, hurled himself into the midst of that host of foes. Notwithstanding the fewness of his following, he succeeded in driving back the enemy from several houses, but that very day he received a bullet-wound in the arm, and the bullet splintered his arm-bone. He survived this wound for three days, at the end of which time he bade farewell to this transitory world, and the bird of his spirit flew to the branches of the Ṭūbā-tree. May God have mercy on him—abundant mercy!

Now, while he was yet alive, that glorified saint [آن مرفوع] had given injunctions that his holy body should be placed in a chest and buried in his own house. So his followers placed the body in a chest, and buried him in his own house, even as he had enjoined them. And, after his death, about a hundred of his followers still survived, who continued to fight for five days. But when five days had elapsed, the other side imagined within themselves to capture them by a stratagem, else in no other way would they succeed. So again they wrote letters, sealed with their seals, and attested by oaths sworn on the Qur'ān, saying: "We have no sort of quarrel with you; let there only be peace between us, that so much killing and looting may not take place." But they were not yet aware of the death of His Holiness the Martyr.

In short, the followers of His Holiness the Martyr, in order that the Proof might be fulfilled to all, accepted the [pledge given on the] Qur'ān which had been sent to them. But their antagonists did not keep faith with the pledge of that Book which was the fountain-head of their religion, and by the token of which they had sworn. They received it back, and, after they had received it, intercourse

between the two parties was again re-established; and this time they completely succeeded in making their way to the house of His Holiness the Martyr, and in entering it. Then they questioned the followers of His Holiness as to where their Master was; and these answered that he had fulfilled his martyrdom. But, question as they might each of his followers as to the locality of his place of burial, none would point it out. Then they waxed wroth, and ordered all the followers of His Holiness the Martyr to be seized, and their arms pinioned, after which they sent them, escorted by drums and music, before Amīr Aslān Khān. And after they had sent them, they fell upon the wives and children of His Holiness the Martyr and seized them also, and God alone knows with what disrespect and cruelty this shameless band brought them before Amīr Aslān Khān. It was a man named Luṭf 'Alī who related this incident to me, and he said, "I myself was there at the time, and saw how they brought them."

هو[1]

تا کی بجای دوستان ای دهر دونان پروری ‘
هر کفر ظلمت‌را شرف در جای ایمان پروری ‘

بر عکس دایم واژگون بودست دور چرخ تو ‘
در کار هر سودی زیان در عدل نقصان پروری ‘

اشرار در لهو [و] لعب ابرار در تاب و تعب ‘
اهل خردرا در صعب جهل جوانان پروری ‘

در جای عاقل جاهلان در [جای] جاهل عاقلان ‘
آنرا نظر در جای این این‌را سر آن پروری ‘

[1] I do not know who is the author of this poem, but I presume that it is by Āqā 'Abdu'l-Aḥad himself. As it is an expression of sentiments, not a statement of facts, I give the original without a translation.

هر جاهلی را در جهان آمر بهر امرش کنی ‘
هر عاقلیرا منزوی هر گوشه پنهان پروری ‘

شمس حقیقت را مکان در کوه دادی از جفا ‘
بر تخت زرّین نفی را در ملک سلطان پروری ‘

شمس [و] قمررا در حصار با جملهٔ انجم کنی ‘
از برگ اشجار آن همه انوار سبحان پروری ‘

شمس ازل را منجلی از طور نورش میکنی ‘
در مرکز قافش چنان با جمله عدوان پروری ‘

در گردش دوران تو این رسم باشد از قدیم ‘
در هر سری الف از خدا اینگونه مهمان پروری ‘

شمس حقیقت را چه خور زیر سحابش افگنی ‘
از ابر بارانش همه خار بیابان پروری ‘

دُرّ از لب بحر ازل گیری بجلد چون صدف ‘
از پای تا سر دون او زان دُرّ غلطان پروری ‘

در دست دونان آن دُرَر بی قدر داری دایما ‘
با آنکه از یکدانه اش صد تاج سلطان پروری ‘

احباب اورا دائما مضطرّ از آن نعمت کنی ‘
کفران نعمت را هر آن کردست آنسان پروری ‘

انصار اورا دائما بر تنگی [و] ضیقش کشی ‘
اشرار اورا در سعه با روی احسان پروری ‘

بندی دو دست از ناصرش بکشائی از کفّار دست ‘
در بند زنجیرش همه در حبس و زندان پروری ‘

آنانکه اورا رشتهٔ دل بسته بر حبّ خدا ،
دائم بدست مکر دون مثل اسیران پروری ،

تا کی نداری پردهٔ غفلت ز چشم منکران ،
در عین ظلمت دائما امثال کوران پروری ،

آخر دمی بکشای چشم از غیرت خلق جهان ،
تا جمله‌را بر وحدتش در حبّ یکسان پروری ،

آخر مراد حق نه این بودست در ایجاد تو ،
تا خلق عالم‌را همه در خُلق آنسان پروری ،

تا کی تو تخم ظلم‌را در ارض دلها افگنی ،
و آن ارض دلهارا همه در دست شیطان پروری ،

آن تخم کو شیطان ورا خود آب باری میکند ،
از خُلق انسانش بری در خوی حیوان پروری ،

حیوانی ار باری کشد از بهر انسان باک نیست ،
لیکن تو گرگان و سگان در شکل انسان پروری ،

گرگان [و] سگ‌را این ستم در حق انسان کی کنی ،
گرگ [و] سگان انس‌را دونی بایمان پروری ،

گرگان [و] سگرا کی ضرر بر دین [و] ایمان میرسد ،
لیکن تو این فطرت نگر در جنب انسان پروری ،

انسان که کارش ظلم شد حیوان از این نیکوتراست ،
زیرا ورا دشمن بنان آنرا تو بر جان پروری ،

تنها نه بر جان زخم او از خرس دنیا میرسد ،
بل صد هزاران روح اگر با نور ایمان پروری ،

گر صد هزاران نفس‌را در پیش چشمش سر برد
در چشم ناید جـزورا از لاشـهٔ دندان پـروری

To resume. This Luṭf 'Alī related as follows. "The first of the mob to enter the house of His Holiness the Martyr seized as plunder all the furniture and utensils of the house, but the wives of His Holiness the Martyr had removed all the money that there was in cash to their own apartments before the arrival of the mob." And according to the narrative given by this informant, every man had carried off fifty *tūmāns* in silver with him. In short, after looting the furniture, they beat the wives and children of His Holiness the Martyr as much as they could, in order that they might reveal the place where he was buried; but this they would not do. Then they desired to bring them also before Amīr Aslān Khān; but so fiercely had they beaten them that some of them did not retain enough sensation in their bodies to enable them to walk, so that this Luṭf 'Alī related, saying: "I took one of the daughters of His Holiness the Martyr on my shoulders and carried her."

The wives and children of His Holiness the Martyr were in all eleven persons, and these they took and carried before Amīr Aslān Khān. But as for the cash which they had taken, ere they came to the Amīr's gate they had placed a silver *qrān* in the hand of each one present, and had finished it up. And of these eleven persons, three were the wives of His Holiness the Martyr, six his daughters [one his son],[1] and one his brother. The names of his wives were Sulṭān Khānum, Sakīna, Khadīja, and Gulpasand; but Khadīja had been blown in pieces by a cannon-ball during the war, though [this fact] was not before the bystanders.[2] And the names of his daughters were Ruqeyya,

[1] These words, evidently required from what follows, as well as to complete the tale, are omitted in the MS.

[2] MS. ولی پیش حاضرین نبود. I am not sure that I have rightly apprehended the meaning of these words.

Fáṭima, Ṣafiyya, Ḥamída, Khadíja, and Zubeyda; and the name of his son was Muḥammad Ḥuseyn, and of his brother, as I think, Mullá 'Alí. These, in short, they brought before Amír Aslán Khán, who spoke such unseemly words to them as accorded with his evil nature. Then he commanded, saying: "Take them before the divines of the province, for it is not my place to deal with them." So he sent them before Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim, he who had written a refutation against the blessed Epistle of the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Báb] (great and glorious is He!); and they again led them forth, like the captives in the market-place of Damascus,[1] and brought them to the house of Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim. God above knows what they suffered at the hands of the ignorant mob, from their spitting and their foul speech.

And when they were come before that ignorant doctor [i.e. Mírzá Abu'l-Qásim], he poured forth foul invectives against this sect and [particularly] against His Holiness the Martyr, such as were worthy of himself, whatever came into his unclean mouth. Then he ordered them to be taken to his stable and there assigned a place. In short, he housed the wives and children of His Holiness the Martyr in his stable, where the captives remained for some days.

Then Amír Aslán Khán sent a courier to inform Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh that the wives and children and followers of His Holiness the Martyr had been taken captive, and to request instructions as to his proper course of action. Then Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh ordered them to send the wives and children of His Holiness the Martyr to Shíráz; as for the remainder of his followers, if the *'Ulamá* of the province should pronounce sentence of death against them, they should all be bayonetted to death,[2] save some few who should be blown from guns, but that, in short, they should make an end of them.

To make a long story short, when these instructions

[1] i.e. the relatives of the Imám Huseyn, who were taken captive after the massacre of Kerbelá and brought before Yezíd at Damascus.

[2] همه‌را نیزه بیچ نمایند.

from Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh arrived, Amīr Aslān Khān sent and obtained from the assembled *'Ulamā* a condemnation to death of all the followers of His Holiness the Martyr. Now there was close by the gate of his residence a wide open space, and here he assembled them all to the sound of drums, trumpets, and music; and the number of the victims thus assembled was seventy-five. Amīr Aslān Khān had a lofty balcony over the door of his residence, and here he established himself with some of the *'Ulamā* to look on at the executions.

When they had assembled the victims, he commanded to strip them all naked in that bitter cold. Then they made them all sit down in rows, pinioned, in the middle of the square, and each row they assigned to a regiment of soldiers. But three of them, because during the war they had made cannons of iron, Amīr Aslān Khān summoned before himself and questioned, saying: "So far as can be ascertained, it was you who made the guns." They answered, "Yes, we made them." Then the Amīr commanded that these three men should be blown from the mouths of guns; and their names were Suleymān, Seyyid Ramaẓān, and Hājī Kāẓim. So these the artillery-men carried off to bind them to the guns. Then the Amīr again sent a servant to bid them bring back him who was named Suleymān. So his *farrāshes* ran swiftly and brought Suleymān back, ere he had been placed before the gun, into the Amīr's presence. Then the Amīr turned his face towards Suleymān and said: "If thou wilt tell me the place where His Holiness the Martyr is buried, we will order them not to place thee before the gun's mouth again." The poor wretch, not understanding that they were deceiving him, and thinking to save his life from this whirlpool of destruction, hastily replied, "We buried him in his own house." Then several *farrāshes* were sent with this Suleymān, and they went [thither together], and dragged forth the blessed body of His Holiness the Martyr from the place where it had been buried, and brought it with the coffin before the Amīr, who heaped foul abuse, such

as accorded with his evil nature, on the blessed body of His Holiness the Martyr, and then again commanded them to lead Suleymán away and blow him from a gun. So they led him forth once more and set him at the cannon's mouth.

Now out of the ranks of those seventy-five men whom they had stripped naked to bayonet them to death, two did not attain the rank of martyrdom. Of these two, the one was named Najaf 'Alí and the other 'Abbás 'Alí. For, since the father and brothers of Najaf 'Alí were on the other [i.e. the Muḥammadan] side, they interceded for him with the Amír and effected his deliverance, and brought him forth from the ranks [of the condemned] and led him away. And Ḥájí Yár Muḥammad, the *Naqíb* of the province, interceded for 'Abbás 'Alí, and brought him forth from the ranks [of the condemned]. But this Najaf 'Alí ultimately became the Mírzá's[1] servant, and, while engaged in his service, finally reached hell[2] by the commands of Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh. And as for 'Abbás Alí, he was the brother of that Maḥmúd Ustád whom you have seen in this land [i.e. at Famagusta]; and his father's name was Ḥájí Muḥammad Ḥuseyn, who attained martyrdom in the ranks of these martyrs by a bayonet-thrust.

But to be brief, lest the thread of the discourse be lost. After they had made all these believers sit down in ranks, naked, with their hands bound, in that bitter cold, on the snow in the midst of the square, orders were issued by the Amír and those *'Ulamá* [who sat beside him] that they should be bayonetted to death. Then they raised a blare of trumpets, and the soldiers, amidst music and the beating of drums, martyred all of them with their bayonets. Then [came the turn of] those three men whom they had bound to the mouths of cannons, and they fired the cannons, so that every fragment of their bodies was

[1] By "the Mírzá" the Ezelís mean the late Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí, better known as Behá'u'lláh, Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's half-brother and rival. The Behá'í Bábís, whose *qibla* is Acre, are always called "*Mírzá'ís*" by the Ezelís residing in Cyprus.

[2] i.e. was put to death.

blown through the air to a different spot. Neither did they rest satisfied with this harsh sentence, but again ordered that the blessed body of His Holiness the Martyr should be taken out of its coffin, that a puppy-dog should be tied to its neck and a rope to its feet, and that it should be dragged on the ground by that rope through the streets and bazaars, and round about the city, as a warning to the people. And the shameless mob did more even than had been commanded, so that they dragged his blessed body from house to house, making a mock of it, and demanding from each house one or two *shāhis* in money. And for three days they continuously dragged it round about the city to every house, nor did they even then leave it, lest it might be decently buried somewhere; but there was a ditch outside the Tabrīz gate, in the Citadel of the Fortress, in which they had deposited many dead bodies, and thither they bore his blessed body and laid it beside them, even withholding a handful of earth to cover it.

Now, on the outskirts of the city, in certain spots, there were houses for those who suffered from the disease of leprosy; and when two or three days had elapsed after the occurrences above detailed, these lepers saw at midnight several men, mounted on horses, each carrying a lighted lantern in his hand, come from the direction of Tabrīz and go straight to the ditch where those dead bodies lay. Then they began to search [amongst them], and presently discovered the blessed body of His Holiness the Martyr amongst all those dead bodies, placed it in a coffin, loaded this on a horse, and bore it away. And thereat were these lepers greatly astonished, marvelling what mystery this might be, and whether these were men or angels. So they slept not all that night, and when they had passed the night [in wakefulness] till morning, they thought that to make known this wonderful mystery to the *'Ulamā* and people of the city would be a source of advantage to them. So all those who had seen and witnessed this occurrence assembled and went with gladness of heart

before the *'Ulamā*, and described this incident to them in detail, saying, "Such a thing did we behold at midnight."

But the *'Ulamā* of the city were greatly vexed and disturbed at this occurrence, because this thing tended to break down the validity of the sentence which they had promulgated in respect to His Holiness the Martyr, and to cause the townsfolk to fall into doubt, and because it would be interpreted in favour of the validity of His Holiness the Martyr's claim. Therefore, being moved by their inward malice to a grudging envy, they commanded men to go and burn to the ground the quarter and the dwelling-houses inhabited by these poor unfortunates, and to drive them forth from the outskirts of the city. So they sent and obtained from Amīr Aslān Khān also a few *farrāshes*, and went and set fire to all the houses of these poor unfortunates. And at that time I myself was present, with a few other children, looking on. As God is my witness, the lamentations of these poor lepers were such that it seemed as though the very stones of the earth, the wilderness, the valley, and the plain were weeping over their pitiful plight, and were consumed with the fire of their hearts; but the stony hearts, hard as adamant, of those cruel men, it seemed as though that fire could not affect.

After they had burned their houses, they gathered together all the lepers, and drove them on foot before the horsemen several parasangs from the town boundary, and left each one, wailing and crying for pity, at a different spot in the wilderness, and then returned. Let this deed hereafter serve as an example to warn the discerning with what fierce violence the principle of hatred and malice showed itself in this Cycle against its true teachers of truth, and what actions they dared to commit for the sake of a brief span [lit. two days] of sensual pleasure, and to maintain their position and power in this transitory world, although they have no power to prolong their lives by so much as a single moment; while every day they sit in their

pulpits preaching that in the Day of Resurrection God will require from his creatures an account of everything, from a grain to a *mithqāl*. But the Resurrection hath come,[1] and the Reckoning hath been taken with all creatures, and themselves have entered into Hell-fire, ere they have yet awakened from the slumber of heedlessness. Yet still they continue to say, "The Resurrection will come, and God will call men to account, even for every grain"; but the atoms of their own beings are the very primal source of the essence of rebelliousness, in the fire of heedlessness and denial of which all these weak creatures are consumed. They see not this mountain of Qāf before their own eyes, yet they split hairs in the eyes of another.

However, to be brief, after a while the Lord of the Universe, in His justice, sent the souls of such people as these, who had been the cause of such mischief and trouble, one by one to hell, each by some different calamity, so that should one hear the account thereof, on no more than hearing it he would cry, "Our refuge is in God!" First of all over him who was the chief of frowardness in this trouble and mischief, to wit, this Amīr Aslān Khān, God caused an evil disease to prevail, the like of which may He not inflict on any of His servants! This began with a dropsy, such that in a single day he would drink a whole skin-full of water, and even this did not suffice to quench his thirst. Many were the physicians who treated him for this morbid thirst, which, however, proved refractory to all treatment, and did but increase in violence. At length the physicians advised him secretly, saying: "You must eat the liver of a boy who has not yet reached the age of puberty,[2] so that it may quench the painful thirst which

[1] According to the Bābī doctrine, all these things are to be understood allegorically or symbolically. The Resurrection (قیامت) is the Arising of the Promised Deliverer (قائم); Hell-fire is denial; Heaven is faith and love; the Bridge of *Ṣirāṭ*, "finer than a hair and sharper than a sword," is the difficult passage from unbelief to sure conviction, and so forth. See J.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, p. 930 et seqq.

[2] For a parallel to this, see *Gulistān*, ed. Platts, p. 34.

consumes your liver, else will it yield to no other treatment." So he, being thus advised, disclosed the matter to none, but secretly gave bribes to his servants to go out into the town in disguise, and, by night or day, to kidnap any young boy of the age specified, wherever they might find him, either by bribes, or fair words, or forcible abduction; but that in whatever way his capture might be effected, they must find him and bring him secretly before that accursed wretch. Then they separated the head of the child from his body, cut open his belly, took out his liver, and roasted it, and he ate it, that perchance he might thereby cure the grievous thirst that consumed his liver. But the heat of his liver shall continue, like hell, to cry till the Judgment-day, "Is there any more?"[1] nor shall the glow of his painful thirst be extinguished. In short, day by day his sufferings increased, and no remedy could be found for his painful thirst, until a rumour arose amongst the people in the city of Zanjān that every few days some one's son suddenly disappeared, so that they supposed that perhaps a wolf entered the city from outside and carried off these children. So they placed watchmen, by day and by night, in every thoroughfare, who went the rounds, that perhaps they might catch this man-eating wolf, or else shoot it with their guns and kill it. After a while the wolf was discovered, but no man was found to give it its deserts, but only the Lord of the Universe, who slew him with such pains that all the dependents of his household were filled with wonder at his death-pangs, and were admonished, and cried, "God is our Refuge!" For a *farrāsh* who was himself in the household of the Amīr related this matter to me myself; and the name of this *farrāsh* was Najaf 'Alī Beg. Briefly, he related as follows: "I was present beside him when he was in the death-agony, attending to him: for he was in mortal throes for a whole week. And as he lay at the point of death, he constantly cried, as though he were answering some

[1] Qur'ān, ii, 29.

[unseen] questioner; and in this crying he constantly exclaimed and repeated aloud, 'Did I do it?' 'Did I order it?' 'In what way am I to blame? It was all the doing of the clergy, and it was they who brought it about.' In short, until the day when he sent forth his soul to hell, his tongue was constantly repeating such regretful and remorseful expressions as these."

Afterwards each one of these divines also surrendered up his soul to the Angel of Death with divers pains, the like of which may God not inflict on any others of His servants! Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim, who had written the [treatise entitled] *Daqqu'l-Bāb* in refutation of the Blessed Epistle of the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Bāb] (great and glorious is He!), was attacked by paralysis, so that his mouth was twisted crooked, and drawn to his ear. After six months he was bedridden, and his mouth and body became all covered with sores, and the stench arising from him was such that his family and wives and children would not approach him for the disgust they felt, but they hired with money an attendant, who attended him for one or two days, after which he too was inspired with such disgust that he fled without even demanding his payment for these two days, because of his violent aversion from the foul stench from his body which filled his nostrils. In short, he too, in that sickness, passed to the dark eternal tomb.

Another, Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim Malikī, took the plague, and for seven days and nights continued to cry aloud in such wise that his cries could be heard seven houses off. If I were to mention all, my discourse would be unduly protracted; but, in a word, the Lord of the Universe, as a warning to His creatures, took the soul of each and removed them from this transitory world with a different pain, so that they might know the meaning of "There is no strength and no power save in God," to wit that, save the Lord of the Universe, there is none possessed of strength and power amongst all beings which exist in the world. But what avails it, since these creatures associate

the strength and power of the creature with the strength and power of the Creator, and continue to act as they do?

Now, after all these shiftings, none knoweth to this day where they buried the blessed body of His Holiness the Martyr after those of whom I spoke bore it away, nor who these were, nor whence they came, nor whither they went. In short, it is not known to what land the blessed body of His Holiness was assigned; but it seems to me that the right of territorial sanctity belongs to that spot where he was first buried, namely, his own house. But one of the people of Zanjān, named 'Abbās-qulī Khān, a retainer of Amīr Aslān Khān's (in whose hands, though he was but a servant, all the authority of the Amīr was vested, so that to him was entrusted the entire control of the different quarters of Zanjān and the administration of all the villages surrounding its suburbs), had, as it chanced, his dwelling-place opposite the house of His Holiness the Martyr, only a little space intervening between the two. This accursed fellow had many beasts and mules and horses; and, seeing that the house of His Holiness the Martyr had for some years stood untenanted, and was falling into ruins, and that none owned it, he went and took possession of it. And when he had taken possession of it, he gave over those broken walls to be destroyed, and had a stable erected anew for his beasts and mules and horses. But after some while, because of the disrespect which he had shown towards His Holiness the Martyr and his house, he too, when a little time had elapsed, and the Amīr, who was his master, had passed into hell, fell into such straits that he used to beg of the servants who attended at the Governor's Palace, and all that pomp of mastery slipped from his hands, so that the very place, abode, and house which he had all passed out of his possession, and he remained homeless and a wanderer, so that I myself have seen his children begging in the streets.

To conclude. Two books composed by His Holiness the Martyr have survived. The one was called *Bāriqa* [i.e.

"the Lightning-flash"], and the other *Ṣā'iqa* [i.e. "the Thunder-bolt"]. The former consisted entirely of poems; while the latter was an explanation of the true nature of the Manifestation of the Point of Revelation (great and glorious is He!), and a denunciation of the *'Ulamā*.[1] This *Ṣā'iqa* consisted of about forty quires [*juz'*, each containing, as a rule, sixteen pages], while the *Bāriqa* contained about ten quires. Should one seek for them in Zanjān, he might perhaps discover them. I myself possessed a copy of the *Ṣā'iqa* in Zanjān; but there was a certain believer of Hamadān, named Mīrzā Ṣādiq (who was, indeed, a true friend to me), who was engaged in the practice of medicine in Zanjān, and he asked me to lend it to him that he might read a little of it. And afterwards, when it fell to my lot to undertake the journey to Baghdad, I set out, leaving this book entitled *Ṣā'iqa* in the hands of this physician. I know not what happened to it after this, but it never again came into my possession; and that physician, moreover, has passed into God's mercy. May God exalt his degree, for he was a man of lovable disposition!

*Written by this least and humblest servant* [*of God*] *'Abdu'l-Aḥad. In the blessed month of Ramaẓān did it reach completion*, A.H. 1309 [= April, 1892].

باز آی ای جان در خضر از بهر دیدار ازل ٭
تا باز بینم مر ترا در دور ادوار ازل ٭
تا با تو چون استارگان در گرد ماه بدر تام ٭
در حول ماه روی او باشیم سیّار ازل ٭
در عهد حور روی او سعی نما در سوی او ٭
جنات خاک کوی او بنگر بانهار ازل ٭

[1] I think this is what is meant by the words و خطاب برعلما, though they may be interpreted as meaning, "and an appeal to the *'Ulamā*."

بگذار دور اندیش را و امر قضای پیش را ‘
در یاب وقت خویش را در عهد آثار ازل ‘
گر عاشق نوری ورا چون موسیّ طوری ورا ‘
باز آی تا آن جلوه را بنگر بکهسار ازل ‘
نوریکه ماغوساستی موسیّ و هم عیساستی ‘
هم احمد است و هم علی هم شمش تو ار ازل ‘
هر دم باسمی در سماء ظاهر درین ابرج بود ‘
تا حوت از بدء حمل بودی باکوار ازل ‘
از اوّل و آخر ورا کس می نجوید انتها ‘
از دور آخر گیر و تا بر دور ادوار ازل ‘
اوّل همان آخر بدی آخر همان اوّل ز نور ‘
نوریکه در آخر بدی بودی برخسار ازل ‘
تا بود از عالم نشان کس می نداده زو نشان ‘
ثابت بجائی از مکان بر شمس انوار ازل ‘
هر دور دور او بدی هر کور کور او بدی ‘
هر نور نور او بدی این است اطوار ازل ‘
هر دم که در هر حال بود بی عدل و بی امثال بود ‘
زانان که پیش ارسال بود آیات آثار ازل ‘
حقیر الفقیر عبد الاحد ‘

ART. XXVII.—*Notes on Alaṅkāra Literature.* By Colonel G. A. JACOB, Indian Staff Corps.

## II.

THE present section is exclusively devoted to the text of Udbhaṭa's *Alaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*, a short account of which was given in the former part of these Notes. Unfortunately I have had to depend almost entirely upon one manuscript, a copy, in Dr. Bühler's collection, of that found by him in Jesalmir and deposited in the Government Library in Poona. It is neatly and carefully written, however, and can generally be relied upon; and, where the text-portion of it fails, the commentary which accompanies it not infrequently supplies the deficiency. Besides these, the quotations from Udbhaṭa which are found in later writers have afforded valuable aid.

In interpreting the verses which illustrate the various ornaments it must be borne in mind that they are all taken from the author's own poem entitled *Kumārasambhava*, and therefore relate more or less directly to the sayings and doings of Śiva and Pārvatī. Mention has been already made of our author's larger work, the *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*, for which vigorous search ought to be made; for its recovery would restore to us not only the system of that ancient authority who is now little more than a name, but also the more important portion of Udbhaṭa's own work, of which the present text is only a small fragment. To facilitate reference I have appended indexes to the *alaṅkāras*, the definitions, and the illustrations.

*Alaṅkārasārasaṅgraha.*

## I.

Punaruktavadabhāsaṁ Chekānuprāsa eva ca
Anuprāsas tridhā Lāṭānuprāso Rūpakaṁ catuḥ || 1 ||

Upamā Dīpakaṁ caiva Prativastūpamā tathā
Ityeta evālaṅkārā vācāṁ kaiścid udāhṛtāḥ || 2 ||

**Punaruktābhāsam** abhinnavastvivodbhāsi bhinnarūpapadam
**Chekānuprāsas** tu dvayor dvayoḥ susadṛśoktīkṛtau || 3 ||

Tadāprabhṛti niḥsaṅgo nāgakuñjarakṛttibhṛt
Śitikaṇṭhaḥ kālagalatsatīśokānalavyathaḥ || 4 ||

Sa devo divasān ninye tasmin śailendrakandare
Garishṭhagoshṭhīprathamaiḥ prathamaiḥ paryupāsitaḥ[1] || 5 ||

Sarūpavyañjananyāsaṁ tisṛshvetāsu vṛttishu
Pṛthak pṛthag **Anuprāsam** uśanti kavayaḥ sadā || 6 ||

Śashābhyām rephasaṁyoge shṭavargeṇa ca yojitā
**Parushā** nāma vṛttiḥ syād hlahvahyādyaiś ca saṁyutā || 7 ||

Tatra toyāśayāśeshavyākośitakuśeśayā
Cakāśe śālikiṁśārukapiśāśāmukhā śarat || 8 ||

Sarūpasaṁyogayutām mūrdhni vargāntyayogibhiḥ
Sparśair yutāṁ ca manyanta **Upanāgarikām** budhāḥ || 9 ||

Sāndrāravindavṛndotthamakarandāmbubindubhiḥ
Syandibhiḥ sundarasyandaṁ nanditendindirā kvacit || 10 ||

Śeshair varṇair yathāyogaṁ kathitāṁ Komalākhyayā[2]
**Grāmyām** vṛttim praśaṁsanti kāvyeshvādṛtabuddhayaḥ || 11 ||

[1] These two verses illustrate 3*a* and 3*b* respectively.
[2] "Tasyā eva ca aparaṁ nāmadheyaṁ Komaleti."—*Commentary.*

Kelilolālimālānaṁ kalaiḥ kolāhalaiḥ kvacit
Kurvatī kānanārūḍhaśrīnūpararavabhramam || 12 ||

Svarūpārthāviśeshe pi punaruktiḥ phalāntarāt
Śabdānām[1] vā padānām vā **Lāṭānuprāsa** ishyate || 13 ||

Sapadadvitayasthityā dvayor ekasya pūrvavat
Tadanyasya svatantratvād dvayor vaikapadāśrayāt || 14 ||

Svatantrapadarūpeṇa dvayor vāpi prayogataḥ
Bhidyate 'nekadhā bhedaiḥ pādābhyāsakrameṇa ca || 15 ||

Kāśāḥ kāśā ivābhānti sarāṁsīva sarāṁsi ca
Cetāṁsyācikshipur yūnāṁ nimnagā iva nimnagāḥ[2] || 16 ||

Striyo mahati bhartṛbhya āgasyapi na cakrudhuḥ
Bhartāro pi sati strībhya āgasyapi na cakrudhuḥ || 17 ||

Kvacid utphullakamalā kamalabhrāntashaṭpadā
Shaṭpadakvaṇamukharā mukharasphārasārasā || 18 ||

[3]Jitānyapushpakiñjalkakiñjalkaśreṇiśobhitam
Lebhe 'vataṁsatām nārīmukhendushvasitotpalam || 19 ||

Padminīpadminīgāḍhaspṛhayāgatya Mānasāt
Antar danturayāmāsur[4] haṁsā haṁsakulālayāt || 20 ||

Śrutyā sambandhavirahād yat padena padāntaram
Guṇavṛttipradhānena yujyate **Rūpakaṁ** tu tat || 21 ||

Bandhas tasya yataḥ śrutyā śrutyarthābhyāṁ ca tena tat
Samastavastuvishayam ekadeśavivarti ca || 22 ||

[1] "*Śabdānām* anupalabhymānasuptiṅām. *Padānām* upalabhyamānasuptiṅām." —*Com.*

[2] Verses 16–20 illustrate 15*a*, 15*b*, 14*a* (down to 'dvayoḥ'), 14*b* (from 'dvayor vaika'), and the rest of 14, respectively. In verse 16, the reading 'iyābhānti' is that of *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (p. 23) where the verse occurs. The MS. gives 'ivodbhrāṁsi,' which seems impossible. For the datives in verse 17, see *Pāṇini*, i, 4. 37.

[3] The MS. has 'pushṭya.' I suggest 'pushpa.'

[4] "*Danturayāmāsuḥ* mahattvāc chuklatvāc ca unnatadantā iva chakruḥ." —*Com.*

Samastavastuvishayam Mālārūpakam ucyate
Yadvaikadeśavṛtti syāt pararūpeṇa rūpaṇāt || 23 ||

Śabdopacārāt tādrūpyaṁ Rūpake kaiścid ucyate
Tādrūpyāropataś cānyaiḥ śabdāropo 'tra kathyate || 24 ||

Upamānagunais tulyān upameyagatān guṇān
Paśyatāṁ tu sakṛd bhāti tatra tacchabdarūpatā || 25 ||

[1] Jyotsnāmbunendukumbhena tārākusumaśāritam
Kramaśo rātrikanyābhir vyomodyānam asicyata || 26 ||

Utpatadbhiḥ patadbhiś ca pichalībālaśālibhiḥ
[2] Rājahaṁsair avijyanta śaradaiva saronṛpāḥ || 27 ||

Vanāntadevatāveṇyaḥ pānthastrīkālaśṛṅkhalāḥ
Māraparīrāsilatā bhṛṅgamālāś cakāśire || 28 ||

Āsāradhārāviśikhair nabhobhāgaprabhāsibhiḥ
Prasādhyate sma dhavalair āśārājyam balāhakaiḥ || 29 ||

Ādimadhyāntavishayāḥ prādhānyetarayoginaḥ
Antargatopadharmāṇām yatra tad Dīpakaṁ viduḥ || 30 ||

[3] Sañjahāra śaratkālaḥ kadambakusumaśriyā
Prāyo viyoginīnaṁ ca niḥśeshasukhasampadaḥ || 31 ||

Videśavasatiyātapatikājanadarśanam
Duḥkhāya kevalam abhūc charac cāsau pravāsinām || 32 ||

[1] This and the three following verses illustrate, respectively, verse 22 (first quarter), the rest of 22, 23*a*, and 23*b*. The commentator gives a very curious explanation of the expression *ekadeśavṛtti* in verse 23. He says: "Ekadeśavṛtti ityatra hi ekadā anyadā īśaḥ prabhavishṇur yo 'sau vākyārthas tadvṛttitvaṁ Rūpakasyābhimatam." He goes on to say that Udbhaṭa explained the expression in the same way when it occurred in a verse, defining *viśeshokti*, in his *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*. The verse in question, "Ekadeśasya vigame," is given in full, under 'Udbhaṭa,' in the first section of these Notes.

[2] This line is quoted on pp. 36 and 207 of Abhinavagupta's *Locana*. In the second instance the reading is 'śaradīva.'

[3] The three verses illustrate *ādi*, *madhya*, and *anta* respectively.

Tadānīṁ sphītalāvaṇyacandrikābharanirbharaḥ
Kāntānanendur induś ca kasya nānandako 'bhavat || 33 ||

Yac cetohāri sādharmyam upamānopameyayoḥ
Mithovibhinnakālādiśabdayor **Upamā** tu tat || 34 ||

Yathevaśabdayogena sā srutyānvayam arhati
Sadṛśādipadaśleshād anyathetyuditā dvidhā || 35 ||

Saṅkshepābhihitāpyeshā sāmyavācakavicyutaiḥ
Sāmyopameyatadvāciviyogāc ca nibadhyate || 36 ||

Upamānopameyoktau sāmyatadvācivicyavāt
Kvacit samāse tadvāciviraheṇa kvacit ca sā || 37 ||

Tathopamānād ācāre kyacpratyayabaloktitaḥ
Kvacit sā kartur ācāre kyaṅā sā ca kvipā kvacit || 38 ||

Upamāne karmaṇi vā kartari vā yo ṇamul kashādigataḥ
Tadvācyā sā vatinā ca karmasāmānyavacanena || 39 ||

Shashṭhīsaptamyantāc ca yo vatir nāmatas tadabhidheyā
Kalpapprabhṛtibhir anyaiś ca taddhitaiḥ sā nibadhyate
kavibhiḥ || 40 ||

Kshaṇaṁ kāmajvarāsthityai bhūyaḥ santāpavṛddhaye
Viyoginām abhūc cāndrī candrikā candanaṁ yathā || 41 ||

Netrair ivotpalaiḥ padmair mukhair iva saraḥśriyaḥ
[1]Taruṇya iva bhānti sma cakravākaiḥ stanair iva || 42 ||

Prabodhād dhavalaṁ rātrau kiñjalkālīnashaṭpadam
Pūrṇendubimbapratimam āsīt kumudakānanam || 43 ||

Api sā sumukhī tishṭhed dṛshṭeḥ pathi kathaṁcana
Aprārthitopasampannā patitā 'nabhravṛshṭivat || 44 ||

[1] In *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (p. 92), where this verse is quoted, the reading is "Pade pade vibhānti."

Kiṁ syur utkalikā madvat tasyā api nirargalāḥ
Akāṇḍoddāmarāgaṅgahatakena samarthitāḥ || 45 ||

[1] Iti kāle kalollāpikādambakulasaṅkule
Tridaśādhīśaśārdūlaḥ paścāttāpena Dhūrjaṭiḥ || 46 ||

Tāṁ śaśichāyavadanāṁ nīlotpaladalekshaṇām
Sarojakarṇikāgauriṁ Gaurīm prati mano dadhe || 47 ||

Sa duḥsthīyan kṛtārtho pi niḥśeshaiśvaryasampadā
Nikāmakamanīye pi narakīyati kānane || 48 ||

Kṛśānuvaj jagat tasya paśyatas tām priyāṁ vinā
Khadyotāyitum ārabdham tattvajñānamahāmahaḥ || 49 ||

Tasyetaramanodāham adahat prajvalanmanaḥ
Umām prati tapaḥśaktyākṛshṭabuddheḥ smarānalaḥ || 50 ||

[2] Sa dagdhavigraheṇāpi vīryamātrasthitātmanā
Spṛshṭaḥ kāmena sāmānyaprāṇicintam acintayat || 51 ||

Caṇḍālakalpe kandarpaplushṭā mayi tirohite
Saṅjātātulanairāśyā kiṁ sā śokān mṛtā bhavet || 52 ||

Kṛttaddhitasamāsebhyaḥ subdhātor atha vākyataḥ
Pūrṇā luptaikadeśā ca gamyate dvividhopamā || 53 ||

Ekadvayatrayāṇāṁ ca lopāt syāl lopinī tridhā
Pūrvau bhedau dvidhā cātra tṛtīyas tvekarūpakaḥ || 54 ||

Upamānasannidhāne ca sāmyavācyucyate budhair yatra
Upameyasya ca kavibhiḥ sā **Prativastūpamā** gaditā || 55 ||

Prākaraṇiketaratvasthityai kaś copameyatāṁ labhate
Upamānatvaṁ cāpara ityupamāvāciśūnyatvam || 56 ||

[1] Verses 46 and 47 are to be taken together.
[2] The MS. reads "Sadadya." Compare iv, 14.

[1] Ivāder apratītāpi śabdasaṁskārataḥ kvacit
Upamā lakshyate 'nyatra kevalārthanibandhanā || 57 ||

Viralās tādṛśo loke śīlasaundaryasampadaḥ
Niśāḥ kiyantyo varshe pi yāsvinduḥ pūrṇamaṇḍalaḥ || 58 ||

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## II.

Ākshepo 'rthāntaranyāso Vyatireko Vibhāvanā
Samāsātiśayoktī cetyalaṅkārān pare viduḥ || 1 ||

[2] Pratishedha iveshṭasya yo viśeshābhidhitsayā
**Ākshepa** iti santaḥ śaṁsanti kavayaḥ sadā || 2 ||

Vakshyamāṇoktavishayaḥ sa ca dvividha ishyate
Nishedheneva tadbandho vidheyasya ca kīrtitaḥ || 3 ||

Aho smarasya māhātmyaṁ yad Rudre pi daśedṛśī
Iyad āstāṁ samudrāmbhaḥ kumbhair mātuṁ tu ke vayam || 4 ||

Iti cintayatas tasya citraṁ cintāvadhir na yat
Kva vā kāmavikalpānām antaḥ kālasya cekshitaḥ || 5 ||

[1] I suggest this reading. That of the MŚ. is 'Ivodarapratītāpi.' There is no colophon at the end of the text, but the Commentary has the following: "Iti mahāśrīpratihārendurājaviracitāyām Udbhaṭālaṅkārasārasaṅgrahalaghuvṛttau prathamo vargaḥ." There is a similar one at the end of each chapter of the Commentary.

[2] Abhinavagupta (*Locana*, p. 36) combines this line with 3*a*, making the latter read thus in its second half: "sa ākshepo dvidhā mataḥ." The same two in combination form Mammaṭa's definition of *Ākshepa*, except that he reads "Nishedho vaktum ishṭasya" as the first half of line one. In the *Alaṅkāravimarśinī* (p. 114), our 3*a*, altered in accordance with the reading of Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa, appears as the first line of a verse, and is ascribed by Jayaratha to *Bhāmaha*. His second line is—"Ekarūpatayā śeshā nirdiśyante yathākramam." It should be noted that our verse 6 is a part of the definition of *Ākshepa*; that of *Arthāntaranyāsa* begins with 7.

Śabdaspṛshṭe 'thavāpyārthe vaktum ishṭe nishiddhatā
Tadaṅgaṁ tadvirodhena yatrākshepo bhaved asau || 6 ||

Samarthakasya pūrvaṁ yad vaco 'nyasya ca pṛshṭhataḥ
Viparyayeṇa vā yat syād dhiśabdoktyanyathāpi vā || 7 ||

[1] Jneyaḥ so 'rthāntaranyāsaḥ prakṛtārthasamarthanāt
Aprastutapraśaṁsāyā dṛshṭāntāc ca pṛthak sthitaḥ || 8 ||

Tan nāsti yan na kurute loko hyatyantakāryikaḥ
Esha Sarvo pi bhagavān baṭūbhūya sma vartate || 9 ||

Pracchannā śasyate vṛttiḥ strīṇām bhāvaparīkshaṇe
Pratasthe Dhūrjaṭir atas tanuṁ svīkṛtya bāṭavīm || 10 ||

Haro 'tha dhyānam ātasthau saṁsthāpyātmānam ātmanā
Visaṁvaded dhi pratyakshaṁ nirdhyātaṁ dhyānato na tu || 11 ||

Apaśyac cātikashṭāni tapyamānāṁ tapāṁsy Umām
Asambhāvyapatīcchānāṁ kanyānāṁ kāparā gatiḥ || 12 ||

Viśeshopādānaṁ yat syād upamānopameyayoḥ
Nimittādṛshṭidṛshṭibhyāṁ **Vyatireko** dvidhā tu saḥ || 13 ||

Sā Gaurī śikharaṁ gatvā dadarśomāṁ tapaḥkṛśām
Rāhupītaprabhasyendor jayantīm dūratas tanum || 14 ||

Padmaṁ ca niśi niḥśrīkam divā candraṁ ca niḥprabham
Sphuracchāyena satatam mukhenādhaḥ prakurvatīm || 15 ||

Yo vaidharmyeṇa dṛshṭānto yathevādisamanvitaḥ
Vyatireko 'tra so 'pīshṭo viśeshopādānānvayāt || 16 ||

[2] Śīrṇaparṇāmbuvātāśakashṭe pi tapasi sthitām
Samudvahantīṁ nāpūrvaṁ garvam anyatapasvivat || 17 ||

[1] This verse, which forms a necessary part of the definition, has been accidentally omitted from the MS. It appears, however, piecemeal, in the Commentary; so I have joined it together and put it in its place.

[2] Śīrṇaparṇāmbuvātānām āśo bhakshaṇam."—*Com.*

Śliṣhṭoktiyogyaśabdasya pṛthak pṛthag udāhṛtau
Viśeshopādānaṁ yat syād Vyatirekaḥ sa ca smṛtaḥ || 18 ||

[1] Yā śaiśirī śrīs tapasā māsenaikena viśrutā
Tapasā tāṁ sudīrgheṇa dūrād vidadhatīm adhaḥ || 19 ||

[2] Kriyāyāḥ pratishedhe yā tatphalasya vibhāvanā
Jneyā **Vibhāvanaivāsau** samādhau[3] sulabhe sati || 20 ||

Aṅgalekhām akāśmīrasamālambhanapiñjarām
Analaktakatāmrābhām oshṭhamudrāṁ ca bibhratīm || 21 ||

Prakṛtārthena vākyena tatsamānair viśeshaṇaiḥ
Aprastutārthakathanaṁ **Samāsoktir** udāhṛtā || 22 ||

[4] Dantaprabhāsumanasam pāṇipallavaśobhinīm
Tanvīṁ vanagatāṁ līnajaṭāshaṭcaraṇāvalim || 23 ||

Nimittato yat tu vaco lokātikrāntagocaram
Manyante 'tiśayoktiṁ tām alaṅkāratayā budhāḥ || 24 ||

Bhede 'nanyatvam anyatra nānātvam yatra badhyate
Tathā sambhāvyamānārthanibandhe 'tiśayoktir gīḥ || 25 ||

Kāryakāraṇayor yatra paurvāparyaviparyayāt
Āśubhāvaṁ samālambya badhyate so pi pūrvavat || 26 ||

Tapastejasphuritayā nijalāvaṇyasampadā
Kṛśām apyakṛśām eva dṛśyamānām asaṁśayam || 27 ||

Acintayac ca bhagavān aho nu ramaṇīyatā
Tapasāsyāḥ kṛtānyatvaṁ kaumārād yena lakshyate || 28 ||

Pated yadi śaśidyotachaṭā padme vikāśini
Muktāphalākshamālāyāḥ kare 'syāḥ syāt tadopamā || 29 ||

[1] "Ekatra tapo Māgho māsaḥ."—*Com.*

[2] Jayaratha (p. 125) quotes this line, slightly modified, and the first two words of second; and Ruyyaka, on p. 126, quotes the example.

[3] "Samādhiḥ parihāraḥ. Yatra virodhasya sulabhaḥ parihāra ityarthaḥ."—*Com.*

[4] Compare the very similar line under Ruyyaka's definition of *Samāsokti*, p. 86.

Manye ca nipatantyasyāḥ kaṭākshā dikshu prshṭhataḥ
Prāyeṇāgre tu gacchanti Smarabāṇaparamparāḥ || 30 ||

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## III.

Yathāsaṅkhyam athotprekshām Svabhāvoktim tathaiva ca
Apare trīn alaṅkārān girām āhur alaṅkṛtau || 1 ||

Bhūyasām upadishṭānām arthānām asadharmaṇām
Kramaśo yo 'nunirdeśo **Yathāsaṅkhyam** tad ucyate || 2 ||

Mṛṇālahaṁsapadmāni bāhucaṅkramaṇānanaiḥ
Nirjayantyānayā vyaktam nalinyaḥ sakalā jitāḥ || 3 ||

Sāmyarūpāvivakshāyām vācyevādyātmabhiḥ padaiḥ
Atadguṇakriyāyogād **Utprekshā** 'tiśayānvitā || 4 ||

Lokātikrāntavishayā bhāvābhāvābhimānataḥ
[1]Sambhāvaneyam Utprekshā . . . . . || 5 ||

Asyāḥ sadārkabimbasthadṛshṭipītātapair japaiḥ
Śyāmikāṅkena patitam mukhe candrabhramād iva || 6 ||

[2]Kapolaphalakāv asyāḥ kashṭam bhūtvā tathāvidhau
Apaśyantāv ivānyonyam īdṛkshām kshāmatām gatau || 7 ||

[3]Kriyāyām sampravṛttasya hevakānām nibandhanam
Kasyachin mṛgaḍimbhādeḥ **Svabhāvoktir** udāhṛtā || 8 ||

Kshaṇam naṁshṭvārdhavalitaḥ śṛṇgeṇāgre kshaṇam nudan
Lolīkaroti praṇayād imām esha mṛgārbhakaḥ || 9 ||

[1] This line is incomplete in the MS. and the missing portion is not given in the Commentary. Indurāja quotes here, anonymously, from *Dhvanyāloka* the verse "Candanāsaktabhujaga."

[2] This stanza is quoted in *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 59.

[3] "Mṛgabālādeḥ svasamucite vyāpāre pravṛttasya ye hevakāḥ svajātyānurūpyeṇābhiniveśaviśeshās tadupanibandhaḥ."—*Com.*

## IV.

Preyo-Rasavad Ūrjasvi Paryāyoktaṁ Samāhitam
Dvidhodāttaṁ tathā Ślishṭam alaṅkārān pare viduḥ || 1 ||

Ratyādikānām bhāvānām anubhāvādisūcanaiḥ
Yat kāvyam badhyate sadbhis tat **Preyasvad** udāhṛtam || 2 ||

Iyaṁ ca sutavāllabhyān nirviśeshaspṛhāvatī
Ullāpayitum ārabdhā kṛtvemaṁ kroḍa ātmanaḥ || 3 ||

**Rasavad** darśitaspashṭaśṛṇgārādirasād ayam
Svaśabdasthāyisañcārivibhāvābhinayāspadam || 4 ||

[1] Śṛṅgārahāsyakaruṇaraudravīrabhayānakāḥ
Bībhatsādbhutaśāntāś ca nava nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ || 5 ||

Caturvargetarau prāpya parihāryau kramād yataḥ
Caitanyabhedād āsvādyāt sa rasas tādṛśo mataḥ || 6 ||

Iti bhāvayatas tasya samastān Pārvatīguṇān
Sambhṛtānalpasaṅkalpaḥ Kandarpaḥ prabalo'bhavat || 7 ||

Khidyatāpi sa gātreṇa babhāra pulakotkaram
[2] Kadambakalikākośakesaraprakaropamam || 8 ||

Kshaṇam autsukyagarbhiṇyā cintāniścalayā kshaṇam
Kshaṇam pramodālasayā dṛśāsyāsyam abhūshyata || 9 ||

Anaucityapravṛttānāṁ kāmakrodhādikāraṇāt
Bhāvānāṁ ca rasānāṁ ca bandha **Ūrjasvi** kathyate || 10 ||

Tathā kāmo 'sya vavṛdhe yathā Himagireḥ sutām
Saṅgrahītum pravṛttas tu haṭhenāpāsya satpatham || 11 ||

[3] **Paryāyoktam** yad anyena prakāreṇābhidhīyate
Vācyavācakavṛttibhyāṁ śūnyenāvagamātmanā || 12 ||

[1] This differs from Bharata's vi, 15, in admitting *śānta*, and so making nine whilst he allows eight only.
[2] "Kadambakalikākośaḥ kadambakalikābhyantaram."—*Com.*
[3] Abhinavagupta quotes this in *Locana*, p. 39.

[1] Yena lambālakaḥ sāśraḥ karāghātāruṇastanaḥ
Akāri bhagnavalayo gajāsuravadhūjanaḥ || 13 ||

So pi yena kṛtaḥ plushṭadehenāpy evamākulaḥ
Namo 'stvavāryavīryāya tasmai Makarketave || 14 ||

Rasabhāvatadābhāsavṛttaiḥ praśamabandhanam
Anyānubhāvaniḥśūnyarūpam yat tat **Samāhitam** || 15 ||

Atha kāntādṛśaṁ dṛshṭvā vibhramāc ca bhramaṁ bhruvoḥ
Prasannam mukharāgaṁ ca romāñcasvedasaṅkulam || 16 ||

Smarajvarapradīptāni sarvāṅgāni samādadhat
Upāsarpad girisutāṁ Girīśaḥ svastipūrvakam ||
[2] Samādadhan nije rūpe 'vasthāpayan samādadhat || 17 ||

**Udāttam** ṛddhimad vastu caritaṁ ca mahātmanāṁ
Upalakshaṇatām prāptaṁ neti vṛttatvam āgatam || 18 ||

[3] Uvāca ca yataḥ kroḍe veṇukuñjarajanmabhiḥ
Muktāphalair alaṅkāraḥ Śabarīṇām apīcchayā || 19 ||

[4] Pushṭyendranīlavaiḍūryapadmarāgamayair viyat
Śirobhir ullikhad yatra śikharaṁ Gandhamādanam || 20 ||

[1] Quoted in *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 106.

[2] The other half of this verse is not given.

[3] "Yasya evaṁvidharūpatā 'Himādrer bhavatī sutā' [verse 23] iti sambandhaḥ. Kroḍaḥ sūkaraḥ. Pushṭyo (?) maṇiviśeshaḥ. Gandhamādanam parvataviśeshaḥ. Pradhānaṁ svarṇaṁ kārtasvarādi. Urvīndhraḥ parvataḥ. Saṅkshayaḥ kalpāntaḥ. Bhūmer adhogamanād bhūmyāśliṣhṭasya pradeśasya bhūmiviviktatvād Himavataḥ kalpānte āyāmaḥ prakaṭībhūtaḥ."—*Com.*

[4] This word *pushṭya*, which is given here and in the Commentary, is not in the lexicons, and is doubtless a mistake of the copyist. Perhaps *pushpa* is meant, but that is neuter, whilst the word explained in the Commentary is masculine. In the list of gems given in *Sahṛdayalīlā*, ii, 2, we find 'pushyarāga,' which Dr. Pischel tells us is the reading of a Śāradā MS., and which he considers to be more correct than the 'pushparāga' of our lexicons. Possibly, then, 'pushya' is the word which the copyist has misread; for as the dictionaries give both 'pushpa' and 'pushparāga' as meaning 'topaz,' we may assume the existence of this pair also.

Uttaropatyakā yasya pradhānasvarṇabhūmayaḥ
Mahān marakatorvīndhraḥ pādopāntaṁ ca saṁśritaḥ || 21 ||

Babhūva yasya pātālapātinyāṁ saṅkshaye kshitau
Patanaṁ na tayā sārdham āyāmas tu prakaṭyabhūt || 22 ||

Tasyādikroḍapīnaṁsanigharshe pi punaḥ punaḥ
Nishkampasya sthitavato Himādrer bhavatī sutā || 23 ||

Ekaprayatnoccāryāṇāṁ tacchāyāṁ caiva bibhratām
Svaritādiguṇair bhinnair bandhaḥ Ślishṭam ihocyate || 24 ||

Alaṅkārāntaragatām pratibhāṁ janayat padaiḥ
Dvividhair arthaśabdoktiviśishṭaṁ tat pratīyatām || 25 ||

[1] Svayaṁ ca pallavātāmrabhāsvatkaravirājinī
Prabhātasandhyevāsvāpaphalalubdhehitapradā || 26 ||

Indukāntamukhī snigdhamahānīlaśiroruhā
Muktāśrīs trijagadratnam padmarāgāṅghripallavā || 27 ||

[2] Apārijātavārtāpi nandanaśrīr bhuvi sthitā
Abindusundarī nityaṁ galallāvaṇyabindukā || 28 ||

[1] Quoted on pp. 242 and 369 of *Kāvyaprakāśa*; and verse 28*b* is cited on p. 245 of the same.

[2] "Apārijātavārtāpītyatra Bhagavatyajātaśatrutvād apagataśatrusamūhavārtā. Tadīyā ca śobhā sarvasya cittam āvarjayatītyato nandanā śrīr yasyās tathāvidhā. Udakamadhyavartitayā ca yo 'sau apsu udake pratibimbita indus tadvat sundarī nityaṁ ca galallāvaṇyapravāhā. Yadā tvasau Bhagavatī nandanaśrīśabdasya devodyānaśobhālakshaṇārthāntarābhidhāyitvād rūpakapratibhotpattinibandhanena śleshenaitadbhāvam āpadyate tadā tatsamāśryatvena apārijātavārtāpītyādiparyālocanayā virodhapratibhāhetor asyāpi śleshasyāvirbhāvo bhavati na khalu devodyānaśobhā avidyamānapārijātākhyavṛkshaviśeshavṛttāntā bhavati na cāsau bhūmau tishṭhati. Abindusundarītyatra tu bindubhir yasyāḥ saundaryaṁ nāsti tasyāḥ katham lāvaṇyabindavaḥ prasareyur iti virodhapratibhotpattihetuḥ śleshaḥ."—*Com.*

## V.

Apahnutiṁ Viśeshoktiṁ Virodhaṁ Tulyayogitāṁ
Aprastutaprasaṁsāṁ ca Vyājastuti-Vidarśane || 1 ||

Upameyopamāṁ caiva Sahoktiṁ Saṅkaraṁ tathā
Parivṛittiṁ ca jagadur alaṅkārān pare girām || 2 ||

[1] **Apahnutir** abhīshṭasya kiñcidantargatopamā
Bhūtārthāpahnavenāsyā nibandhaḥ kriyate budhaiḥ || 3 ||

Etad dhi na tapaḥ satyam idaṁ hālāhalaṁ visham
Viśeshataḥ śaśikalā komalānāṁ bhavādṛśām || 4 ||

Yat sāmagrye pi śaktīnāṁ phalānutpattibandhanam
Viśeshasyābhidhitsātas tad **Vis'eshoktir** ucyate || 5 ||

Darśitena nimittena nimittādarśanena ca
Tasyā bandho dvidhā lakshye dṛśyate lalitātmakaḥ || 6 ||

Maharddhini gṛhe janma rūpaṁ Smarasuhṛd vayaḥ
Tathāpi na sukhaprāptiḥ kasyacin nīyate na dhīḥ || 7 ||

Itthaṁ visaṁshṭhulaṁ dṛshṭvā tāvakīnam viceshṭitam
Nodeti kimapi prashṭuṁ satvarasyāpi me vacaḥ || 8 ||

Guṇasya vā kriyāyā vā viruddhānyakriyāvacaḥ
Yad viśeshābhidhānāya **Virodhaṁ** taṁ pracakshate || 9 ||

Yadvā māṁ kiṁ karomyesha vācālayati vismayaḥ
Bhavatyāḥ kvāyam ākāraḥ kvedaṁ tapasi pāṭavam || 10 ||

Upamānopameyoktiśūnyair aprastutair vacaḥ
Sāmyābhidhāyi prastāvabhāgbhir vā **Tulyayogitā** || 11 ||

[1] 'Abhīshṭasya' is the reading in the *Locana* (p. 38), where the first line is quoted; the MS. has 'anīshṭā ca.'

[1] Tvadaṅgamārdavaṁ drashṭuḥ kasya citte na bhāsate
Mālatīśaśabhṛllekhākadalīnāṁ kaṭhoratā || 12 ||

Yogapaṭṭo jaṭājālaṁ tāravī tvag mṛgājinam
Ucitāni tavāṅgasya yadyamūni tad ucyatām || 13 ||

[2] Ādhikārād apetasya vastuno 'nyasya yā stutiḥ
**Aprastutaprasaṁseyaṁ** prastutārthānubandhinī || 14 ||

Yānti svadeheshu jarām asamprāptopabhoktṛkāḥ
Phalapushparddhibhājo pi durgadeśavanaśriyaḥ || 15 ||

Śabdaśaktisvabhāvena yatra nindeva gamyate
Vastutas tu stutiḥ śreshṭhā **Vyājastutir** asau matā || 16 ||

Dhig ananyopamām etāṁ tāvakīṁ rūpasampadam
Trailokye 'pyanurūpo yad varas tava na labhyate || 17 ||

[3] Abhavan vastusambandho bhavan vā yatra kalpayet
Upamānopameyatvaṁ kathyate sā **Vidarśanā** || 18 ||

Vinocitena patyā ca rūpavatyapi kaminī
Vidhuvandhyavibhāvaryāḥ prabibharti viśobhatām || 19 ||

[4] Anekālaṅkriyollekhe samaṁ tadvṛttyasambhave
Ekasya ca grahe nyāyadoshābhāve ca **Saṅkaraḥ** || 20 ||

Yadyapyatyantam ucito varendus tena labhyate
Tathāpi vacmi kutrāpi kriyatām ādaro vare || 21 ||

[1] This verse and the next are quoted on p. 71 of *Alaṅkārasarvasva*.
[2] Abhinavagupta quotes this verse on p. 42. The last quarter reads "trividhā parikīrtitā."
[3] Indurāja points out that verse 19 is an illustration of the former kind of *vidarśanā*, viz. of *vastvasambandha*; and as Udbhaṭa has no example of the other he gives us one from Bhāmaha, namely the verse "Ayam mandadyutir bhāsvān," already quoted on p. 285 of this Journal.
[4] This stanza, slightly modified, is quoted on p. 40 of the *Locana*. Indurāja names four varieties of *saṅkara*, viz., *sandeha*, *śabdārthavartyalaṅkāra*, *ekaśabdābhidhāna*, and *anugrāhyānugrāhaka*. The first is defined in verse 20, the second and third in 22, and the last in 25.

[1] Śabdārthavartyalaṅkārā vākya ekatra bhāsinaḥ
Saṅkaraś caikavākyāṁśapraveśād vābhidhīyate || 22 ||

Itthaṁ sthitir varārthā cen mā kṛthā vyarthām arthitām
Rūpeṇa te yuvā sarvaḥ pādabaddho hi kiṅkaraḥ || 23 ||

[2] Maivamevāsvasacchāyavarṇikācārukarṇikā (?)
Ambhojinīva citrasthā dṛshṭimātrasukhapradā || 24 ||

[3] Parasparopakāreṇa yatrālaṅkṛtayaḥ sthitāḥ
Svātantryeṇātmalābhaṁ no labhante so pi Saṅkaraḥ || 25 ||

Hareṇeva Smaravyādhas tvayānaṅgīkṛto pi san
Tvadvapuḥ kshaṇam apyesha dhārshṭyād iva na muñcati
|| 26 ||

Anyonyaṃ eva yatra syād upamānopameyatā
**Upameyopamām** āhus tāṁ pakshāntarahānigām || 27 ||

Śirāṁsi paṅkajānīva vegāt pātayato dvisham
Ājau karopamaṁ cakraṁ yasya cakropamaḥ karaḥ || 28 ||

Tulyakāle kriye yatra vastudvayasamāśrite
Padenaikena kathyete sā **Sahoktir** matā satām || 29 ||

[4] Dyujano mṛtyunā sārdhaṁ yasyājau Tārakāmaye
Cakre cakrābhidhānena praishyeṇāptamanorathaḥ || 30 ||

Samanyūnaviśishṭais tu kasyacit parivartanam
Arthānarthasvabhāvaṁ yat **Parivṛttir** abhāṇi sā || 31 ||

[1] This is quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 41) and by Jayaratha (p. 204).

[2] This verse puzzles me. The MS. is manifestly incorrect, and I have adopted in part the reading given in *Alaṅkāravimarśinī* (p. 205), where it is quoted. Here is a portion of Indurāja's comment on it: "Ambhojinī upamānaṁ, Gaurī upameyā, dṛshṭimātrasukhapradatvaṁ sādhāraṇo dharma ityupamā. Sacchāyavarṇikācārukarṇiketi śleshaḥ. Ambhojinyāṁ hi varṇā rājāvartādayaḥ, Gauryāṁ tu gauratvam. Ambhojinyāṁ karṇikā kamalamadhyavartī bījakośaḥ, Gauryāṁ tu cārukarṇau."

[3] Quoted by Abhinavagupta on p. 41.

[4] "Yasya praishyeṇa ājñākāriṇā cakrasañjnakena kartṛbhūtena mṛtyunā sārdhaṁ apṛthakkālatayā dyujana āptamanorathaḥ kṛta iti. Anekalokakavalīkaraṇān mṛtyor manorathāvāptir dyujanasya ca śatruvināśāt."—*Com.* The stanza is cited on p. 82 of *Alaṅkārasarvasva.*

[1] Uro dattvāmarārīṇāṁ yena yuddheshvagṛhyata
Hiraṇyākshavadhādyeshu yaśaḥ sākaṁ jayaśriyā || 32 ||

[2] Netroragabalabhrāmyanmadarādriśiraścyutaiḥ
Ratnair āpūrya dugdhābdhiṁ yaḥ samādatta kaustubham || 33 ||

[3] Yāvatau (?) vyāptabhūsīmni makhena dyāṁ jigīshati
Abhayaṁ svargasadmabhyo dattvā jagrāha kharvatām || 34 ||

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## VI.

Ananvayaṁ Sasandehaṁ Saṁsṛshṭim Bhāvikaṁ tathā
Kāvyadṛshṭāntahetū cetyalaṅkārān pare viduḥ || 1 ||

[4] Upamānena tattvaṁ ca bhedaṁ ca vadataḥ punaḥ
Sasandehaṁ vacaḥ stutyai Sasandehaṁ vidur budhāḥ || 2 ||

[5] Haste kim asya niḥśeshadaityahṛdalalodbhavaḥ (?)
Yaśaḥsañcaya esha syāt piṇḍībhāvo 'sya kiṁ kṛtaḥ || 3 ||

[6] Nābhipadmaspṛhāyātaḥ kiṁ haṁso naisha cañcalaḥ
Iti yasyābhitaḥ śaṅkham aśaṅkishṭārjavo janaḥ || 4 ||

[1] Ruyyaka quotes this in his *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, p. 152. The three stanzas illustrate *sama*, *nyūna*, and *viśishṭa* respectively.

[2] "Netrabhūta urago Vāsukiḥ. Atra kaustubhasyotkṛshṭasya nikṛshṭaratnaparityāgena grahaṇān nikṛshṭenotkṛshṭasya parivartanam."—*Com.*

[3] The first word is clearly wrong. The stanza refers to the Vāmana incarnation for the destruction of Bali. I would suggest the reading 'Yo Balau.'

[4] Quoted in *Locana*, p. 107.

[5] The second part of this line is meaningless. I suggest 'hṛddalanodbhavaḥ.'

[6] "Ārjavo mūrkhaḥ. Śaṅkha upameyaḥ, yaśaḥsañcayo haṁsaś copamānam . . . Yaśasañcayaḥ khalu prasaraṇaśīlo 'sya tu tadviruddhaḥ piṇḍībhāvo dṛsyate tena nāyaṁ yaśaḥsañcaya iti . . . Haṁsasya cañcalatvam nāma dharma iha ca tan nopalabhyate tasmān naiva haṁsa iti."—*Com.*

Alaṅkārāntaracchāyāṁ yat kṛtvā dhīshu bandhanam
Asandehe pi sandeharūpaṁ Sandehanāma tat || 5 ||

[1] Nīlābdaḥ kim ayam Merau dhūmo 'tha pralayānale
Iti yaḥ śaṅkyate śyāmaḥ pakshīndre 'rkatvishi sthitaḥ || 6 ||

Yatra tenaiva tasya syād upamānopameyatā
Asādṛśyavivakshātas tam ityāhur Ananvayam || 7 ||

Yasya vāṇī svavāṇīva svakriyeva kriyāmalā
Rūpaṁ svamiva rūpaṁ ca lokalocanalobhanam || 8 ||

Alaṅkṛtīnāṁ bahvīnāṁ dvayor vāpi samāśrayaḥ
Ekatra nirapekshāṇām mithaḥ Saṁsṛshṭir ucyate || 9 ||

Tvatkṛte so pi Vaikuṇṭhaḥ śaśīvoshasi candrikām
Atha dhārāṁ sudhāvṛshṭim manye tyajati tāṁ śriyam || 10 ||

Tad uttishṭhātidhanyena kenāpi kamalekshaṇe
Vareṇa saha tāruṇyaṁ nirviśantī [2] gṛhe vasa || 11 ||

[3] Pratyakshā iva yatrārthā dṛśyante bhūtabhāvinaḥ
Atyadbhutāḥ syāt tad vācām anākulyena Bhāvikam || 12 ||

Rāsollāsī kaver ātmā svacche śabdārthadarpaṇe
Mādhuryaujoyutaprauḍhe prativindya prakāśate || 13 ||

Saṁvītasvacchaśabdārthadrāvitābhyantaras tataḥ
Śrotā tatsāmyataḥ pushṭiṁ caturvarge parāṁ vrajet || 14 ||

Karoshi pīḍāṁ prītiṁ ca nirañjanavilocanāt
Mūrtyānayā samudvīkshya nānābharaṇaśobhayā || 15 ||

[1] "Atra Meror uparivartī nīlo balāhakaḥ kalpāntavahnyāśrayaś ca dhūma ityetad ubhayam upamānam. Garuḍārūḍhas tu Bhagavān kṛshṇāvapur upameyaḥ."—*Com.*

[2] Nirviśantī = upabhuñjānā. The MS. reads 'vasan' at end of line.

[3] Quoted in *Kāvyaprakāśa*, x, 28; by Ruyyaka on p. 183, and by Jayaratha on p. 178. Indurāja cites here Bhāmaha's stanza 'Citrodāttādbhutārthatvam,' which I have given in full on p. 285 of this Journal. The second line is quoted in *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (p. 183) and ascribed to Bhāmaha.

[1] Śrutam ekaṁ yad anyatra smṛter anubhavasya vā
Hetutāṁ pratipadyeta **Kāvyaliṅgaṁ** tad ucyate || 16 ||

[2] Rasādyadhishṭhitaṁ kāvyaṁ jīvadrūpatayā yataḥ
Kathyate tad rasādīnāṁ kāvyātmatvaṁ vyavasthitam || 17 ||

Chāyeyaṁ tava śeshāṅgakānteḥ kiñcid anujvalā
Vibhūshāghaṭanādeśān darśayantī dunoti mām || 18 ||

Ishṭasyārthasya vispashṭapratibimbanidarśanam
Yathevādipadaiḥ śūnyaṁ budhair **Dṛshṭānta** ucyate || 19 ||

Kiṁ cātra bahunoktena vraja bhartāram āpnuhi
Udanvatam anāsādya mahānadyaḥ kim āsate || 20 ||

[1] Quoted on pp. 34 and 148 of *Alaṅkāravimarśinī*.
[2] Indurāja points out that this is opposed to Bhāmaha's verse 'Vṛttadevādicaritam,' for which see page 286, supra.

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ART. XXVIII.—*A Modern Parallel to the Culla-Paduma Jataka* (193). Told and recorded by Ram-Rap, Brahman, of Dattawali, district Aligarh. [Communicated by W. H. D. ROUSE, M.R.A.S.]

[Mr. W. Crooke, late of Mirzapur, and Editor of North Indian *Notes and Queries*, kindly gave me the notes of the following story as told by the Brahman. In his version the story is much shortened, the Iguana episode does not occur, and the finale is different. But this story is more dramatic than the Jataka, and it is not improbable that here we have a version nearer than that is to the original.]

In a certain village lived a Brahman, who had a very beautiful wife; so fair was she, that all the women of her family envied her. When the Brahman saw the state of things, he gave up his wealth, and, taking his wife with him, journeyed away to another country. After they had gone some distance, the wife said to her husband: "O my good husband, I am very thirsty." The Brahman replied: "O my wife, sit down here, and I will go find you water." The wife sat down, and away went her husband on the search for water. The wife suffered so for want of water that at last she died, and when her husband returned he found her dead, and began to bewail his loss. Suddenly there came a voice from above, which said: "O Brahman, why do you weep? Your wife is dead, but if you love her very much, you may give half of your life to her, and then she will revive." The Brahman purified himself by bathing; and then, taking some water in his right hand, and some kusha grass, he gave half of his life to his wife. The woman revived; they drank water and went onwards.

By-and-bye they came to a village, and there halted in a garden. The Brahman went into the village to beg alms, and in the meanwhile his wife took a walk in the garden.

The woman saw a cripple in the garden, drawing water from a well, and singing as he drew water. She went up to the cripple and heard the singing with delight; in fact, she fell in love with the man for his singing, and told him so, begging him to gratify her. At first he refused, pleading that he was a cripple; but she persisted, threatening to curse him should he not consent, and the cripple at last did as she wished. Then the woman said: "Henceforth my life is yours, and all that I have."

By this time the Brahman had returned. He brought food with him, and the wife cooked it, and gave to him and the cripple, and they did eat.

When they were ready to go, the woman said to her husband, "Here is a cripple who has pleased me very much with his songs, and I beg of you to take him also with us." "My dear wife," replied the Brahman, "it is hard enough to look after ourselves on the journey, and who will look after this cripple? Leave him to go about his business." But the woman said: "My lord, bring me a bamboo box, and I will carry the cripple in it. He shall not trouble you." The Brahman was a kind man, and did as his wife asked: he brought her a box, and she put the cripple in it, and carried it on her head. Thus they set out towards the forest.

In the heart of the forest, the woman thought to herself, that so long as this Brahman lived, she would not be able to gratify her desires without fear. So watching her chance, while the Brahman was leaning over a well, she pushed him in, and then proceeded with her cripple paramour upon her head in the box.

They came to a city, and the servants of the Raja brought her into the Raja's presence. They opened the box, and finding in it the cripple, asked who he was? The woman replied: "He is my husband: for fear of his enemies I wander about with him on my head, and now I have

taken refuge in your kingdom. Do with us as you please." The king said: "You may dwell here, and you shall have a monthly allowance. When your husband's enemy comes, send word to me."

The woman then began to live comfortably in the city.

Now it so happened that some Banjaras[1] went into the forest and fished the Brahman out of the water. It is said that before a man's life is completed, nothing can do him harm; not man nor beast, fire nor water. So the Brahman revived, and he went to the same city where his wife was with her paramour. The woman saw her husband, and hurrying before the Raja, said to him: "O Raja, my husband's enemy has come." The Raja then sent his men, and at the direction of the false wife they brought the Brahman into court as the enemy. The Raja asked: "O man, why dost thou trouble that poor cripple?" The Brahman thought to himself: "What is the use of my loving this woman any more, when she has no love for me, and all but murdered me herself?" Then he said: "O Raja, I do not trouble her or her husband. All I ask of her is the half of my life, which she owes to me. Let her give me that, and I will have no more to do with her or her husband." The Raja, on hearing this, thought the man was a liar; and the woman, who did not know how the Brahman had lent her his life, said, "How can I do this which he asks?" The Brahman said: "Wash your hands and feet, and put on a new dress, pure and clean, and then say after me the words I shall tell you." She did so, and repeated: "What I received from this Brahman I now give him again." As she said the words, she fell down dead. The Raja was astonished to see this, and inquired what it all meant. When the Brahman had told his story, the Raja said: "It is foolish to believe the words of a woman."

[1] A tribe whose chief occupation is the carrying of grain.

# ART. XXIX.—*The Conquests of Samudra Gupta* By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following dissertation is the second in my series of "Prolegomena to Ancient Indian History," of which the first was the essay entitled "The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihraulī) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra)" published in this Journal in January, 1897. The article entitled "Samudra Gupta," published in the same number of the Journal, gives in narrative form the history of the Emperor Samudra Gupta. The present paper is devoted to the detailed technical discussion of the authorities for the statements of that narrative. I may perhaps be pardoned for inviting attention to the proposed identification of King Acyuta; the justification of the reading Mahendragiri as a king's name; the probable identification of the kings Viṣṇugōpa and Hastivarman; the certain identification of the kingdom of Pālakka; the suggested identifications of the kingdoms of Devarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura; the probable identification of King Candravarman; the location of the Ābhīra tribe; and the attempted identification and differentiation of the Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, and Daivaputra kings.

V. A. SMITH,

*August* 23, 1897. Gorakhpur.

## SECTION I.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to *circa* A.D. 345), father and predecessor of Samudra Gupta, assumed the rank of emperor (*mahārājādhirāja*), and established the Gupta Era to commemorate his assumption of supreme power in Northern India. His capital was Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the ancient seat of the Maurya Empire, and his dominions appear to have included the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, and the whole, or the greater part, of Oudh. In other words, his territory extended from Bhāgalpur (Campā) on the east, along the valley of the Ganges, to Allahabad (Prayāga) and Lucknow (Sāketa) on the east.[1]

Our knowledge of the conquests of Samudra Gupta rests mainly on the inscription of the Allahabad Pillar, recorded in or about A.D. 380 by order of his son and successor, Candra Gupta II. Other inscriptions and coins supply a few additional details.

[1] It is, I hope, hardly necessary now to repeat the proof that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the first and second Gupta emperors. The subject has been fully discussed in my various publications on the Gupta coinage. (J.A.S.B., vol. liii, part 1, 1884, pp. 156–163; J.R.A.S. 1889, pp. 55, 56; J.R.A.S. 1893, p. 86. See also Bühler, "On the Gupta and Valabhi Era," p. 13.)

The limits of the dominions of Candra Gupta I are deduced from the details of the conquests effected by his successors, and the language of the Purāṇas, which state that the Gupta territory extended from Magadha (Bihār) along the Ganges to Prayāga, and included Sāketa (Wilson's "Vishnu Purāṇa," 4to edition, p. 479). The Purānic definition is altogether inapplicable to the extended empire of Samudra Gupta, and to the still vaster dominions of his son and successor, Candra Gupta II. It can only be applied to the reign of Candra Gupta I, the earliest emperor, and to the beginning of the reign of his successor. The eastern limit of Magadha seems to have lain in the neighbourhood of Campā (Bhāgalpur).

The site of Sāketa has not been satisfactorily determined. The confident identification by Cunningham ("Reports," vol. i, p. 317) of Sāketa with Ayodhya, the ancient Hindu city near Fyzabad, is demonstrably erroneous, and has been justly criticized by Fergusson ("Archaeology in India," appendix B. Trübner & Co., London, 1884). Dr. Führer's identification with Sañchāṅkoṭ (Sujāṅkoṭ, Rāṁkoṭ) in the Unāo District of Oudh is not proved, though not, perhaps, impossible ("Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh," p. 275). Fergusson was convinced that Lucknow itself is the true representative of Sāketa, and I agree with him that the site of Sāketa must be looked for at or near Lucknow. A full explanation of the reasons for this opinion would require a long dissertation. The general course of the argument is indicated by Fergusson.

The first passage in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, which deals with the conquests, is unfortunately mutilated. It is, however, so far legible as to plainly record that the emperor, with extraneous assistance, uprooted princes named Acyuta and Nāgasena, and effected the capture of a member of the family, or clan, of the Kotas. An allusion is made to the capital city Pāṭaliputra, under the well-known synonym of Pushpapura.[1]

Dr. Fleet's hesitation to identify "the city called Pushpa" with Pāṭaliputra appears to me quite unwarranted, and I have no doubt that the phrase "taking his pleasure at Pushpapura" refers to the fact that the royal city of Pāṭaliputra was the conqueror's residence and capital. The enumeration of the more distant conquests does not begin till line 19. The mention of the subjugation of Acyuta, Nāgasena, and the Kota prince in an earlier verse, and in a metrical passage completely detached from the general prose list of conquests, and coupled with the allusion to the victor's capital city, may reasonably be interpreted as implying that the victories mentioned in the earlier passage were gained in regions not very remote from the capital. The further inference that the first-mentioned conquests were the first accomplished likewise seems to be justified.

The name Acyuta ('unfallen, firm, imperishable') is of frequent occurrence. I have noted the following examples: (1) an epithet of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa (Dowson, "Classical Dictionary," Benfey, "Dictionary"); (2) the name Acyutappa in an inscription from Tranquebar in the Tanjore District, probably dated A.D. 1627 (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 116); (3) Acyutarāya, a king of Vijayanagara (ibid., xx, 306); (4) Acyuta Vijaya Rāghava Naikar, a king of

[1] Fleet's translation of this passage is as follows:—"(l. 13)—By whom,—having unassisted, with the force of the prowess of (*his*) arm that rose up so as to pass all bounds, uprooted Achyuta and Nāgasêna . . . .—(*by whom*), causing him who was born in the family of the *Kôtas* to be captured by (*his*) armies, (*and*) taking his pleasure at (*the city*) that had the name of Pushpa, while the sun . . . . the banks . . . . ;—" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 12).

Tanjore (ibid., vii, 25); (5) Acyutadanti, or Acyutanti—a warrior tribe (Pāṇ., v, 3, 116); (6) Acyutasthala—a place in the Pañjāb (*Mahābh.*, viii, 2,062). The last two references are given by Burgess in his valuable, though too brief, article on "The Identification of Places in the Sanskrit Geography of India" (*Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 322).

The quotations show that the name was in use both in Northern and Southern India. Certain curious and little-known coins have suggested to me the notion that the Acyuta, conquered by Samudra Gupta, may have been a king of Ahichatra (Rāmnagar, near Āonlā in Bareli District of North-Western Provinces), the ancient capital of Pañchāla. These coins, of which all the known specimens were obtained at Rāmnagar, may be described as follows:—

Type 1. *Obverse.* The legend अच्यु, *Acyu*, in bold characters, occupying the field, in dotted circle.

*Reverse.* An eight-rayed wheel or sun.

Type 2. *Obverse.* Portrait bust of king to right; the letter अ, *A*, behind king's head, and the letters च्यु, *cyu*, in front.

*Reverse.* As in type 1.

The coins are of copper, about ·6 of an inch in diameter. Weight of type No. 1, 12 to 25·5 grains. These coins were first described by Messrs. Rivett-Carnac and Carlleyle (J.A.S.B., vol. xlix, part 1, 1880, p. 87, pl. vii, 2 A and B). The form of the characters on the B coin differs from that of the characters on A. Type 2 is known only from an unique specimen in the possession of Mr. C. S. Delmerick, who also obtained two specimens of the A variety of type 1, one of which he presented to me. This coin in my possession appears to be cast, and I have no doubt that the coin is of early date, and it may well be contemporary with Samudra Gupta.

The legend can be read only as *Acyu*, and nothing else, and the completion of the word to *Acyuta* seems inevitable.

The characters closely resemble those of the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Pillar (Bühler, "Ind. Palæographie," Tafel iv).

Rāmnagar is distant about 430 miles in a direct line from Patna, and about 150 miles from Lucknow. Ahichatra, therefore, cannot have been very far from the frontier of the dominions of Candra Gupta I, which included Lucknow.

I am inclined to believe that the rare coins above described are those of Acyuta, a king of Ahichatra, conquered by Samudra Gupta early in the reign of that monarch, about A.D. 345–350.

These coins are not mentioned by Cunningham in his work on the "Coins of Ancient India." Ten specimens of this type are in the Indian Museum (Cat., iii, 36); the highest weight is 25·5 grains, the lowest weight of a complete coin being 12 grains. Three specimens weigh 16 grains each.

I have failed to discover any clue to the identity of Nāgasena. The family, or clan (*kula*), named Kota is equally unknown. The late Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī sought to identify the Kota clan with the tribe named Koḍa, mentioned in an inscription found near Sopāra in the Thāna District, Bombay, and with the Kāda of the *Kādasa* coins found near Sahāranpur in the North-Western Provinces ("Sopāra and Padaṇa," pamph., p. 18). But these identifications are obviously not convincing. The *Kādasa* coin obtained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī had a legend in characters of about the Aśoka period. A specimen of the same "snake type" is described by Cunningham, and associated with the coins of Taxila ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 62, pl. ii, 21). Another type of *Kādasa* coins characterized by a "*bodhi*-tree" device appears to be of the same early age, and is grouped by Cunningham with the Kuniuda coins of the region near Sahāranpur (ibid., p. 71, pl. v, 6). A Kota tribe still exists in the Nīlgiris in the South of India (*Ind. Ant.*, iii, 36, 96, 205).

The principal historical passage of the inscription is contained in lines 19–23, and is in prose.

The enumeration of the emperor's victories begins with a list of "the kings of the region of the south," whom he "captured and then liberated," a phrase which is clearly meant to express the fact of temporary subjugation, as contrasted with permanent conquest.

The list of the kings of the south is as follows:—1, Mahendra of Kosala; 2, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra; 3, Mantarāja of Kerala; 4, Mahendragiri of Pishtapura; 5, Svāmidatta of Kottūra; 6, Damana of Erandapalla; 7, Vishnugōpa of Kāñcī; 8, Nīlarāja of Avamukta; 9, Hastivarman of Vengī; 10, Ugrasena of Pālakka; 11, Kuvera of Devarāshtra; 12, Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura.

## SECTION II.—THE KINGS OF THE SOUTH.

I proceed to discuss in the order of the text the names in this list of the kings of the south.

### 1. Mahendra of Kosala.

The above list of twelve countries and their kings is concerned solely with "the region of the south," as distinguished from Āryavarta, or Hindūstān. In other words, the countries enumerated all lay to the south of the Narmadā (Nerbudda) river. Consequently, the country Kosala must be the southern Kosala, and not the northern Kosala, which corresponds roughly with Oudh.

The name Kosala is sometimes spelled with the dental *s* (कोसल), and sometimes with the palatal *ś* (कोशल). Dr. Fleet considers the dental form more correct.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* places the Kauśalaka (in text *Ko°*) people in the eastern division of India, and the country Kośala in the eastern division, stating that diamonds are found there.[1]

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, xxii, pp. 181, 182.

Southern, Dakṣiṇa-, or "Mahā-Kosala" comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahānadī and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmadā at Amarkantak on the north, to the source of the Mahānadī itself near Kānker on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gaṅgā on the west to the Hasda and Joṅk rivers on the east.

But these limits have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Bālāghāt on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gaṅgā, and the middle valley of the Mahānadī on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur. Under some of the earlier rulers the supremacy of the king of Mahā-Kosala was acknowledged by the Rājas of Orissa. Thus Yayāti Kesari . . . . speaks of Śiva Gupta of Mahākosala as the sovereign lord of the whole country.[1]

Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south, by 125 miles in breadth from east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary province of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each side. At the time of Hiuen-Tsiang's visit in A.D. 639, he describes the kingdom as 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles, in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by the inclusion of . . . . the present districts of Chāndā, Nāgpur, and Seonī.[2]

The province, therefore, comprised the southern and eastern districts of the Central Provinces, of which the capital is now Nāgpur. The ancient capital was Śrīpura (Sirpur) on the

[1] Cunningham gives the erroneous date of A.D. 481 for Yayātikesarin, which I have omitted in my quotation with reference to Dr. Fleet's observation that "the date of Yayātikesarin, derived from the Orissa records, is altogether unreliable, and is too early by at least about four centuries" ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 294).

[2] Cunningham, "Archaeological Reports," xvii, p. 68. The words which I have omitted are "the great district of Vākāṭaka on the west, comprising—." Cunningham supposed that the country Vākāṭaka is represented by the modern Bhāndak in the Chāndā district, but Dr. Fleet shows that this identification is a philological impossibility. He further shows that the adjectival name Vākāṭaka (derived from Vakāṭa) is properly the name of a people or tribe, and could only be used secondarily as the name of a country. The passages in which the name has been supposed to denote a country do not bear the construction put on them ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 234).

Mahānadī in the Rāipur District. From this place Tivaradeva, "supreme lord of Kosala," issued a grant in or about the year A.D. 800.[1]

In order to attack Kosala, Samudra Gupta must have marched from Prayāga (Allahabad) across the hills and jungles of Rīwā. The direct distance from Allahabad to Sirpur is about 280 miles. Nothing more is known about King Mahendra of Kosala, who was "captured and liberated."

## 2. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra.

The name Mahākāntāra means "great forest or wilderness," and well describes the wilder parts of the Central Provinces, the modern districts of Baitūl, Cindwāra, etc., which are probably the region designated by the inscription, bordering on the west the kingdom of Kosala.

The name is equivalent to the term *mahāṭavi* used in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* to designate a country in the southern division of India.

The "kings of all the forest countries" (*sarvāṭavikarāja*), who are alleged in the next line (l. 21) of the inscription to have "become servants" of Samudra Gupta, must evidently be distinguished from King Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who was "captured and then liberated."

These "kings of all the forest countries" may be identified with the rulers of the "eighteen forest kingdoms" (*aṣṭadaśāṭavirājya*) who were subject in A.D. 527 to the Mahārāja Saṁkṣoba of Ḍahāla, or Ḍāhala, the modern Bundelkhand and Rīwā. This region, which was adjacent to the home provinces of the empire, would naturally be permanently annexed, as indicated by the terms of the inscription, while

[1] "So far as I have been able to follow up the enquiry, all evidence seems to point to Sirpur (or Śrīpura), on the Mahānadī, as the ancient capital of the country. It is situated on the largest river in the province; it possesses the oldest inscriptions now existing in the country; it is said by the people to have been the capital of Babhruvāhan, one of the earliest known kings of Chedi; while its extensive ruins prove that it must at one time have been a large city." (Cunningham, op. cit., p. 70; Tivaradeva's grant is No. 81 of Fleet, p. 296.)

the emperor was content with the temporary subjugation of the more southern kingdom of Mahākāntāra.

No other mention of King Vyāghrarāja is known. The early coin of Vyāghra ("Coins Med. I.," pl. ii, 22) appears to come from Northern India. Cunningham described it with the coins of the Nāgas of Narwur, but, as Mr. Rodgers has pointed out, it seems more closely related to the coins of Sunet in the Lūdiāna District of the Pañjāb. (See "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," part iii, 130, for a coin of Vyāghra Sena from Sunet.)

### 3. Mantarāja of Kerala.

The next name, Kerala, is a surprise, and its mention involves the assertion that the temporary conquests of Samudra Gupta extended to the extremity of the Indian Peninsula.

Kerala, which is placed by the *Brhat Saṁhitā* in the southern division of India,[1] is the country now known as the Malabar Coast, the narrow strip of fertile land between the sea and the Western Ghāts. In its widest signification the name Kerala was applied to the whole territory extending from the Kangarote river, near Goa in North Kanara, to Cape Comorin (Kumārin). In its more restricted signification the name applied to the southern portion of the coast, now comprised in the Malabar District, and in the Cochin and Travancore States. Very little is known of the history of the country, and no connected story has come down to us.[2] No other mention of Mantarāja has been discovered.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, pp. 180–1.

[2] Sewell, "Lists of Antiquities, Madras," i, 240; ii, 195. Balfour, "Cyclopaedia of India," *s.v.* 'Kerala' and 'Malabar.'

The inscription actually and unmistakably reads *Kaurālaka-Mantarāja*, but Dr. Fleet is probably right in emending Kaurālaka to Kairalaka in order to make sense. The mistake seems a purely clerical one ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 7, note 1). Kerala is said to mean the land of cocoanuts. The rare southern *l* is used in the inscription. The word Kaurālaka, if correct, would imply the existence of a country named Kurāla, and none such is known. It is, however, just possible that some region was named Kurala fifteen centuries ago.

### 4. Mahendragiri of Pishtapura.

The identification of Pishtapura presents no difficulty. The kingdom of that name is certainly represented by the large *zamīndārī*, or chieftainship, of Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency. The chief town of the same name is still the residence of a Rāja, and is marked as Pittapooram on sheet 94 of the "Indian Atlas," in lat. 17° 6′, long. 82° 18′. The town is "very old, with abundance of sculptured buildings and other objects of interest. How old it may be is not as yet known, but an ancient inscription of A.D. 584 of the reign of Satyāśraya, the elder brother of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana, who established the Eastern Chālukyan sovereignty, states that in that reign 'the fortress of Pishtapura was easily taken'" (*Ind. Ant.*, v, 67). A Buddhist *stūpa* has been discovered at Timavaram within the limits of the *zamīndārī* (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 34).[1] Valuable inscriptions recording grants made in the Śaka years 1108, 1117, and 1124 (A.D. 1186, 1195, and 1202), and giving genealogies of the Eastern Chālukya and Vēṅgī kings, have been found on a pillar at Pithāpuram, but no trace of King Mahendragiri has been found.[2]

The construing of the passage in question has been the subject of some discussion, and I venture to adopt a rendering different from Dr. Fleet's. The words are—

> "*Kaurāḷaka* [leg. *Kairāḷaka*] *Manṭarāja;*
> *Paishṭapuraka Mahendragiri;*
> *Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta*, etc."

The above division of the words, which, of course, are written in the original without division or punctuation, is unquestionably the natural one, and in accordance with the balance of the composition.

But Dr. Fleet feels a difficulty about the name *Mahendragiri* (modern *Mahendragīr*), because names of that form

[1] "Gupta Inscriptions," p. 7, note 2. Sewell, "Lists," ii, 262, and i, 23.
[2] "Progress Report of Archaeological Survey, Madras," Nos. 728, 729, dated Sept. 28, 1894.

appear to be nowadays restricted to Gosāins, and it is improbable that a ruling chief would be a Gosāin. Dr. Fleet, therefore, prefers to do violence to the obvious construction of the text, and to link the word *giri* with the following *Kauṭṭūraka*, and to translate the passage thus:—

> "Mantarāja of Kerala;
> Mahendra of Piṣṭapura;
> Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill."

I submit that this construction cannot be right. The compound *Koṭṭūragiri* would be normal, but the compound *Girikoṭṭūra*, though not perhaps absolutely impossible, would be most unusual, and almost unprecedented. The derivative compound *Girikauṭṭūraka* is even more awkward as an adjective than the substantive *Girikoṭṭūra* is.

The difficulty raised by Dr. Fleet about accepting the compound *Mahendragiri* as the name of a king or ruling chief is in reality unsubstantial. In the first place, we are not entitled to assume that names ending in *giri* were already in the fourth century A.D. restricted to Gosāins; and in the second place, even if such names were then so restricted, a Gosāin may be a secular chieftain. One of the most famous personages in Bundelkhand in the eighteenth century was the Gosāin, Rājā Himmat Bahādur. "Raja Himmat Bahādur, who at this time begins to play a conspicuous part in the history of Bundelkhand, was a Gosāin, who commanded a body of troops in the pay of Shujā-ud-daulah at the battle of Baksar in 1763. On the flight of the Vazīr, Himmat Bahādur entered Bundelkhand, and during the troubles that arose attained to considerable power." The treaty of Shāhpur, concluded on the 4th September, 1803, gave Rājā Himmat Bahādur an extensive territory with a revenue estimated at twenty-two lakhs of rupees.[1]

Nor was Himmat Bahādur the only powerful Gosāin chief of his time. Colonel Broughton, writing in 1809, relates

[1] "Bundelkhand Gazetteer" (Allahabad, 1874), pp. 36, 31.

that Sindhia's "army has received a considerable reinforcement . . . . . by the arrival of a body of Gosaeens under Kumpta [Kāmtā] Gir. This chief succeeded to the command of the corps, which consists of nearly 1,500 men, chiefly horse, upon the death of Ram Gir, who died about a month ago. They were both *Chelas*, or disciples, of Kunchun Gir, the Chela of Himmut Bahadoor, a celebrated Gosaeen in the service of Shumsheer Bahadur, one of the chiefs of Boondelkhund. The Gosaeens are a religious order of Hindoo mendicants who attach themselves to the service of particular chiefs, and frequently, as in the case of Himmut Bahadoor, amass great wealth, and raise themselves into consequence. . . . . When they become numerous and wealthy, and enrol themselves as a military band in the service of some prince, their leader is termed *Muhunt*; they then retain but little of their original manner and appearance, distinguishing themselves alone by the *jutta*, or long matted hair folded like a turban on the head, and having some portion of their dress dyed of a kind of orange colour, called *geroo*, peculiar to their sect. As soldiers, they are accounted brave and faithful."[1]

The Nāga and Kanphaṭī Jogī ascetic warriors of Rājasthān, described by Tod and other writers, are well known. No difficulty, therefore, need be felt in believing that Samudra Gupta found a Gosāin chief in possession of the fortress of Piṣṭapura.

### 5. Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra.

Koṭṭūra being, as Dr. Fleet observes, a very common Dravidian name, any Koṭṭūr of note might be accepted as the representative of the principality conquered by Samudra Gupta. Places with this name are found in the Tanjore, Malabar, and Belgām Districts,[2] and probably elsewhere also.

[1] "Letters from a Mahratta Camp," Constable's edition, p. 95.
[2] Sewell, "Lists," i, 249, 273; *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 69.

The commercial importance of the Coimbatore District in the early centuries of the Christian era, when the beryl mines of Padiyūr attracted the attention of Roman merchants, leads me to accept as most probable the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that the place referred to in the inscription is the Kottūr in the Coimbatore District, marked in "Indian Atlas," sheet 61, lat. 10° 32′ N. and long. 77° 2′ E. Some ancient remains exist at this place, which is eight miles south by west of Pollāci, where Roman coins of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius have been found. Beryls to the value of £1,200 sterling were obtained at Padiyūr in 1819–20.[1] No record of Svāmidatta has yet been discovered.

### 6. Damana of Eraṇḍapalla.

Neither Eraṇḍapalla nor its sovereign has yet been identified.

A place called Eḍapāḍi, with an old Śaiva temple, exists in the Salem District, which adjoins Coimbatore. Many places with names beginning with *Era-* or *Eḍa-* occur in the Salem and Malabar Districts.[2]

### 7. Viṣṇugōpa of Kāñcī.

Kāñcī is undoubtedly identical with the town well known under the modern corrupt name of Conjeeveram, which is situated in the Chingleput District, 43 miles south-west of Madras, and 20 miles west-north-west of Chingleput. It is one of the most ancient and sacred cities in India, and was the capital of the Pallava dynasty until the overthrow of that power by the Cholas in the eleventh century A.D.[3] The kingdom is called Drāviḍa by Hiuen-Tsiang, who visited it, and gives a favourable account of its inhabitants.[4]

[1] Sewell, "Lists," i, 214, 222, and references; Thurston, "Catalogue of Coins in Government Central Museum, Madras, No. 2," pp. 7–11, 21. Coins of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) appear to be specially abundant.

[2] Sewell, "Lists," i, 202, and Index.

[3] Sewell, "Lists," i, 176; ii, 264.

[4] Beal, "Buddhist Records of the Western World," ii, 228.

Viṣṇugōpa is, no doubt, one of the early Pallava kings, and is probably identical with the Pallava king Viṣṇugōpa, or Viṣṇugōpavarmā, who was one of the remote ancestors of Nandivarmā.[1] Viṣṇugōpa may possibly be identical with Viṣṇuvarmā, who is mentioned in an inscription dating probably from the fifth century A.D. as having been killed by a Kadamba king.[2]

### 8. Nīlarāja of Avamukta.

I am not able to offer even a conjecture as to the position of Avamukta. The word in Sanskrit means "unyoked, taken off."

### 9. Hastivarman of Veṅgī.

The position of the small kingdom of Veṅgī is known beyond doubt. The kingdom ordinarily extended for about 120 miles along the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Kṛṣṇa (Kistna) and Godāvarī rivers, and corresponded to the modern Godāvarī (Machlipatnam) District with part of the Rājamahendri District. It is believed that the Veṅgī territory did not extend very far inland. The capital was situated five or six miles NNW. from Ellore (Elūr), a short distance from the Kolar (Colair) lake, and is now represented by the villages Pedda (or Greater) Vegī and Chinna (or Lesser) Vegī, where there are evidences of extensive ancient buildings.[3]

The ruling dynasty appears to have been a branch of the great Pallava family or clan which also ruled at Kāñcī. At the time of Samudra Gupta's incursion the Veṅgī kingdom was apparently independent, but about a century later it seems to have been a dependency of the more considerable Kāñcī State. The ruling families both of Kāñcī and Veṅgī commonly used names ending in Varmā

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, v, 50; "South-Indian Inscriptions," ii, 343.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 22, 30, note.
[3] Balfour's "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* Vengi. Sewell, "Lists," i, 36; ii, 239.

or Varman, and were probably connected by blood. The Hastivarmā of Samudra Gupta's inscriptions may well be identical, as Dr. Hultzsch suggests, with Attivarmā, of the family of King Kandara, who made an early copperplate grant, and was evidently a Pallava. Atti is the Tamil equivalent of Hastin. The inscription of Attivarmā was obtained at Goraṇṭta in the Guṇtūr District south of the Kṛṣṇa river. From the same neighbourhood was obtained a still earlier grant made in the reign of Vijayakhandavamma (Vijayaskandavarmā), who probably belonged to the same dynasty. A grant made by King Vijayanandivarmā, son of King Candavarmā, of the Śālaṅkāyana family, expressly purports to have been issued from the victorious city of Veṅgī. This grant is supposed to date from the fourth century. Hastivarmā was probably grandfather, or great-grandfather, of Vijayanandivarmā. The kingdom of Veṅgī seems at times to have extended to south of the Kṛṣṇa river.[1]

## 10. Ugrasena of Pālakka.

Though the identity of the kingdom of Pālakka has not previously been recognized, there can be no doubt that the ancient kingdom is now represented by the division of Pālghāt, in the south of the Malabar District, the name of which is more accurately spelled Pālakkāḍu. It was also called Nedum-Puraiyur-nāḍu, or, more shortly, Purai.[2]

The chief town of the division, Pālghātcherry, is situated in lat. 10° 45′ 49″ N. and long. 76° 41′ 48″ E., at a height of 800 feet above the sea, in the only gap in the line of mountains between the Tāptī river and Cape Comorin. The Pālghāt Ghāts extend southward a distance of about 170 miles almost to the Cape.[3]

The identification of Pālakka is of interest as confirming the other statements in the inscription concerning the southern extent of Samudra Gupta's temporary conquests.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, v, 175; ix, 99–103.
[2] Hultzsch, "On the Grant of Bhaskara Ravīvarma": *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 285, 289, 291.
[3] Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Palghatcherry.'

### 11. Kuvera of Devarāṣṭra.

The kingdom of Devarāṣṭra has not yet been identified. Perhaps the name may be an equivalent for Deogiri, the famous fortress known to Muhammadan historians as Daulatābād (lat. 19° 57′ N. and long. 75° 18′ E.), which, by reason of its commanding position and natural strength, had been from time immemorial the principal stronghold of the Rājas of Mahārāṣṭra. It is possible, indeed, that Devarāṣṭra may be a synonym for Mahārāṣṭra—the "kingdom of the gods," for the "great kingdom."

Deogiri is situated in the Nizam's dominions, about twelve miles from Aurangābād, and nearly thirty miles north of the Godāvarī river.

### 12. Dhanaṁjaya of Kusthalapura.

The position of Kusthalapura is not certainly known unless the suggestion may be accepted that this name is an abbreviation, either accidental or intentional, of Kuśasthalapura, a name of the holy city Dvārikā, at the extremity of the Gujarāt peninsula, in lat. 22° 14′ 20″ N. and long. 69° 5′ E.

"Ānarta is known from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. It corresponds to modern Kāṭhiāvāḍ. Its capital was Kuśasthalī, the modern Dvārkā."[1]

The foregoing detailed examination of the southern conquests of Samudra Gupta leaves on my mind no doubt that the emperor really effected the temporary subjugation of all the leading chiefs and kings of the peninsula, inland and along both coasts, as far as Cape Comorin (Kumārin).

His southern victorious march finds an exact parallel in the expeditions of Malik Kāfūr, the adventurous general of

[1] Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, "The Inscription of Rudradāman at Junāgadh" (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 259). Benfey ("Dictionary"), referring to Mahābhārata 2, 614, notes that the name occurs both in the neuter and feminine forms.

For the omission of the syllable, compare "Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara . . . . Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names." (Bühler, "Inscriptions of Sanchi Stūpa," *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 96.)

'Alā-ud-din, in A.D. 1309–10, who took the fort of Warangal, marched by Deogiri, crossed the Godāvarī at Paithan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dvāra Samudra, the capital of Karnāta, which he captured. He reduced the whole of the eastern side of the peninsula, including Ma'ābar, on the sea-coast, as far south as Rāmeśvar, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque, which was still standing when Farishta wrote. He then returned with vast golden treasures to Delhi.[1] Like Samudra Gupta, he might have boasted that he had "captured and then liberated" the kings of the south.

## SECTION III.—THE KINGS OF THE NORTH.

Having completed his enumeration of the temporary conquests in the south, our chronicler returns to the subject of the more permanent conquests in Northern India, which had already been briefly touched upon in the poetical introduction to the inscription.

In line 21 the writer records that the emperor "abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating

Rudradeva,
Matila,
Nāgadatta,
Candravarman,
Gaṇapati Nāga,
Nāgasena,
Acyuta,
Nandin,
Balavarman,

and many other kings of the land of Āryāvarta."

The name Āryāvarta is well known to be the equivalent of the modern Hindūstān, or India north of the Narmadā river. The language of the record plainly indicates that

[1] Elphinstone, 5th edition, p. 396.

in this vast region the kings named were thoroughly vanquished, and that their dominions were included in the conqueror's empire.

Unfortunately, the historical documents for the early history of Northern India are so few and meagre that it is at present impossible to identify most of the kings named in the inscription. The names of their kingdoms are not stated.

Acyuta was probably, for the reasons given above (ante, p. 862), a king of Ahichatra in Pañchāla, the modern Rohilkhand. Nāgasena is mentioned along with Acyuta in the early part of the inscription, and the two princes may be supposed to have been neighbours. Nāgasena may perhaps have been a member of the same dynasty as Vīrasena of earlier date, whose coins are tolerably common in the North-Western Provinces and the Pañjāb.[1] Nāgadatta may belong to the same dynasty as Rāmadatta and Puruṣadatta, whose coins are obscurely connected with those of the Northern Satraps.[2]

Candravarman is probably the Mahārāja of that name whose fame is preserved by a brief inscription on the rock at Susunia in the Bānkurā District of Bengal, seventeen miles SSW. from the Rāṇīgañj railway station.[3]

Concerning the identity of Rudradeva, Matila, Nandin, and Balavarman, I am at present unable to offer even a conjecture.

The only name among the nine names in the list which can be identified with certainty is that of Gaṇapati Nāga. Cunningham has shown that this prince must be one of the dynasty of seven or nine Nāgas, whose capital was Narwar, between Gwāliār and Jhānsī. Although the coins of Gaṇapati, which have been found in thousands, do not bear the word Nāga, there can be no doubt that they

[1] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 89; "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," part iii, 128; "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum," iii, 32.

[2] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 88; J.R.A.S. for July, 1894, p. 541; "Catalogue of Coins in Lahore Museum," iii, 122; "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum," iii, 31.

[3] Proc. A.S.B. for 1895, p. 177.

were issued by a member of the Nāga dynasty. Their practical identity in type and style with the coins which bear the names of the Mahārājas Skanda Nāga, Bṛhaspati Nāga, and Deva Nāga leaves no room for scepticism. The coins of all these Nāga kings are found at Narwar.[1] The language of the inscription which describes Gaṇapati as one of the kings who were "violently exterminated" induces me to consider him the last of his dynasty.

The "kings of the forest countries" (l. 21), who were compelled to become the servants of the conqueror, and are associated in the text with the "kings of Āryāvarta," were no doubt the chiefs of the Goṇds and other wild tribes north of the Narmadā. To this day there is a large extent of forest country north of the Narmadā in Bundelkhaṇd, Central India, and the Central Provinces.

The position of the southern forest kingdom of Mahākāntāraka has been discussed above (ante, p. 866).

## SECTION IV.—THE FRONTIER KINGDOMS.

Having completed the enumeration of the kings of the North and the kings of the South, the author of the inscription proceeds, in line 22, to extol the glories of his master as exhibited in the relations of the imperial power with the kings and tribes outside, but immediately adjoining, the frontiers of the empire.

He states that the frontier kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla, Kartṛpura, and of other countries; and the tribes known by the names of Mālava, Ārjuṇāyana, Yaudheya, Mādraka, Ābhīra, Prārjuna, Sanakānīka, Kāka, and others, fully gratified the sovereign's commands by obedience, by coming to perform homage, and by the payment of all kinds of taxes.[2]

These names will now be discussed in order.

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," ii, 307–310; "Coins of Mediaeval India," pp. 21–4.

[2] Dr. Fleet (p. 14, note 1) needlessly, as it seems to me, suggests that an ambiguity lurks in the term "frontier kings" (*pratyanta-nṛpati*). I think it plain that the meaning is that which has been adopted in the text.

### 1. The Kingdom of Samataṭa.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* places this country in the eastern division of India. The name means "the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks of equal height on both sides," and denotes Lower Bengal.[1] The Ganges and other great Indian rivers in the upper parts of their courses usually have a high bank on one side, that is to say, on the concave side of each curve.[2] The name Samataṭa is thus descriptive of a marked difference between the appearance presented by the country in the swamps of deltaic Bengal and that presented by the drier regions of Bihār and the North-Western Provinces.

The same name, Samataṭa, is used by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A.D., who describes the country as being about 500 miles (3,000 *li*) in circuit, and bordering on the great sea. It lay 1,200 or 1,300 *li* (more than 200 miles) south of Kāmarūpa, and about 900 *li* (150 miles) east of the country of Tāmralipti.[3]

These indications prove that the kingdom occupied the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, of which the Jessore District forms the central portion, and in which Calcutta and Dacca are now included. The main stream of the Ganges, which now separates the Patna and Farīdpur Districts, must have been the northern boundary.

In the sixteenth century this region was known as Bhāti, and the chief town was Bikrampur, in the Dacca District.[4]

The Chinese pilgrim mentions that the capital city was between three and four miles (20 *li*) in circumference, but unfortunately does not mention its name, or indicate its position with precision. The capital was probably situated on the coast, somewhere on the tract now known as the Sunderbans. The southern portion of this tract has long

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 189.
[2] Rennell, "A Bengal Atlas," p. 3.
[3] Beal, "Records," ii, 199, 200.
[4] Cunningham, "Reports," xv, 146.

been a pestilential and almost impenetrable jungle, but old Portuguese maps show that the early European adventurers found five cities existing in it, and surrounded by extensive cultivation.[1]

## 2. The Kingdom of Ḍavāka.

The situation of this kingdom is unknown, but the insertion of the name between the names of Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa naturally suggests the inference that Ḍavāka lay somewhere on the north-eastern frontier. Possibly the kingdom actually lay between Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa, and corresponded to the modern districts of Bogra (Bagrahā), Dinājpur, and Rājṣāhi. The mere position of the name in the list must not, however, be allowed too much significance. We have seen that in the list of the kingdoms of the south the names are arranged without reference to their order in geographical position.

Dr. Fleet's suggestion (in Index, *s.v.*) that Ḍavāka may be another form of Dacca, or Ḍāka, is inadmissible. The correct spelling of Dacca is Ḍhākā (ढाका).

## 3. The Kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

Although, as is well known, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa corresponds roughly with the province of Assam, it must be remembered that the ancient kingdom and the modern province do not exactly coincide. The kingdom sometimes extended as far west as the Kāratoya river and Lāl Bāzār in the Rangpur District of Bengal, and included the State of Kūch Bihār, Tiparā, and parts of Maimansingh, as well as the territory now known as the Province of Assam. The ancient name is still preserved in the name of the district of Kāmrūp, in the central portion of Assam, which lies between lat. 25° 50′ and 26° 53′ N., and between long. 90° 40′ and 92° 2′ E.[2]

[1] Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Sunderbans.'

[2] Martin, "Eastern India," iii, 403, 626 seqq.; Balfour, "Cyclopaedia," *s.v.* 'Assam,' 'Kāmarūpa,' and 'Kāmrūp.'

Hiuen Tsiang, three centuries later than Samudra Gupta, treats "the great river," that is, the Brahmaputra, as the western boundary of Kāmarūpa. Having described the kingdom of Puṇḍra-vardhana, he gives details of certain buildings in the neighbourhood of the capital, and proceeds—"from this, going east 900 *li* or so, crossing the great river, we come to the country of Kia-mo-lu-po (Kāmarūpa)."[1]

It is, of course, impossible to be certain, whether or not the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the time of Samudra Gupta included the Rangpur territory west of "the great river"; but I consider it probable that this great river, the Brahmaputra, was the natural frontier of the empire, which must have included the minor kingdoms or principalities known to Hiuen Tsiang as Puṇḍra-vardhana, Karṇasuvarṇa, and Tāmralipti. The first of these certainly included part of the Dinājpur District,[2] the capital of the second was at Raṅgamāṭī in the Murshīdābād District,[3] and the capital of the third is represented by the decayed port of Tamlūk in the Midnāpur District.[4]

## 4. The Kingdom of Nepāla.

The kingdom of Nepāla corresponds roughly with the modern kingdom of Nepāl or Nīpāl, but it is impossible to say what its exact boundaries were in the days of Samudra Gupta.

We know that six centuries earlier the lowlands, or Tarāi, at the foot of the hills, now included in Nepāl, formed part of the dominions of Aśoka, who personally visited that region and erected pillars as memorials of his tour. It is probable that even the valley of Nepāl was brought under the sceptre of Aśoka.[5]

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 195.

[2] The references are given by Beal, "Records," ii, 194, note.

[3] J.A.S.B., vol. xxii (1853), p. 281; ibid., part 1, vol. lxii (1893), pp. 315–325.

[4] Beal, "Records," ii, 200, note. Fa-hian stayed two years at Tamlūk, and sailed thence for Ceylon (ch. xxxvii).

[5] Aśoka pillars have been recently discovered at Niglīva, the site of Kapilavastu, and Rummindeī, the site of the Lumbinī Garden, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha, north of the Bastī District. There is a tradition that the valley of

But his vast empire could not be held together by weaker hands, and in the time of Samudra Gupta the valley must certainly have been included in the frontier kingdom of Nepāl, which lay outside the empire. The imperial boundary probably included the whole Tarāi, and ran along the outermost range of hills.

Hiuen Tsiang apparently did not personally visit Nepāla. He describes the kingdom as lying among the Snowy Mountains, and says that a traveller comes to it by "crossing some mountains and entering a valley."[1] This phrase shows that he did not consider the Tarāi, or lowlands, as belonging to the mountain kingdom, and I think we may safely assume that Samudra Gupta's dominions extended to the natural frontier of the lower hills.

The kingdom of Nepāla is not mentioned by Fa-hian.

### 5. The Kingdom of Kartṛpura.

Nothing is known positively concerning the situation of this kingdom, which does not appear to be elsewhere mentioned. It may have lain in the Western Himālayas, and have corresponded roughly to the modern Almora, Garhwāl, and Kamāon.

The enumeration of the frontier kingdoms seems to proceed in regular geographical order, beginning with Samataṭa on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and proceeding northwards through Ḍavāka to Nepāla, and thence westwards to Kartṛpura.

The western provinces of the empire certainly marched with the territories of the tribes, which will be considered in the next section. The kingdoms of the forest kings must have formed to a large extent the southern frontier, the rest of which seems to have been formed by the territories of certain minor tribes. The eastern frontier

Nepāl was included in the dominions of Aśoka. (Führer, "Progress Report for 1895," p. 2; Oldfield, "Sketches in Nipal," pp. 246–9.) Other pillars are believed to exist north of the Gōrakhpur District.

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 80.

has been accounted for; and the kingdom of Nepāl must have covered a large portion of the northern frontier. It is, consequently, difficult to find any possible position for Kartṛpura, a frontier kingdom, other than that suggested.

## SECTION V.—THE FRONTIER TRIBES.

The frontier tribes who obeyed the emperor's order and performed homage are enumerated as follows:—

1. Mālava,
2. Ārjuṇāyana,
3. Yaudheya,
4. Mādraka,
5. Ābhīra,
6. Prārjuna,
7. Sanakānīka,
8. Kāka, and
9. Kharaparika.

These names will now be discussed in order.

### 1. The Mālava Tribe.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* correctly classes the Mālavas in the northern division of India.[1]

The tribe has given its name to a province which still retains it. The modern Mālwā is the extensive region bordered on the east by the Bundelkhaṇḍ districts and part of the Central Provinces, on the north by parts of the North-Western Provinces and Rājputāna, on the west by Rājputāna, and on the south by the Narmadā river. The name is, in fact, used loosely as an equivalent for Central India, that is to say, the group of native states, comprising Gwāliār, Indūr, Bhopāl, and many others, which

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 184.

are under the control of the Governor-General's Agent for Central India. In this sense Mālwā is distinct from Rājputāna, which consists of the group of states under the control of the Agent for Rājputāna.

But this distinction is an arbitrary, administrative one, based on the political arrangements rendered necessary by the chaos of the eighteenth century. In ancient times the Mālava country comprised a large part of the vast region now known as Rājputāna, and the Mālava tribe can be traced far to the north. The Mālava section of the Sikhs is located east of the Satlaj, and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the Mālavas as dwelling among the Paripātra (or Pariyātra) mountains, which seem to be the same as the Rājputāna or Āravalli hills. These hills stretch across Rājputāna, and terminate at Delhi. There is, therefore, warrant for supposing that the term Mālwā, or the Mālava country, may at times have been understood to comprise even Northern Rājputāna. The Mālava coins have been found in vast numbers at Nāgar in the Jaipur State, and this town must certainly have been included in the Mālava territory.

But the Mālava country, even in ancient times, appears to have been more ordinarily understood to mean approximately the region which still retains the name of Mālwā, with the southern parts of Rājputāna.

In this region Ujjain and Besnagar were the principal cities. Ujjain, now in the Gwāliār State (lat. 23° 11′ 10″ N. and long. 75° 51′ 45″ E.), is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, and has been famous from the dawn of Indian history. Besnagar, or Wessanagara, is the ruined city adjoining Bhīlsa in the Bhopāl State (lat. 23° 39′ N. and long. 77° 50′ E.). The famous topes of Sānci are in the neighbourhood. Cunningham considers that Besnagar was certainly the capital of Eastern, as Ujjain was the capital of Western, Mālava.[1]

The coins to which allusion has been made deserve some

[1] "Coins of Ancient India," p. 99.

further notice here, because they throw a faint light on the mention of the Mālava tribe in the inscription.[1]

These coins are found chiefly in the country about a hundred miles north of Ujjain, in Southern Rājputāna, about Ajmer, Tonk, and Chitor. Mr. Carlleyle obtained several thousands of them at the ancient city of Nāgar in the Jaipur State, forty-five miles SSE. of Tānk. They are almost all very small, ranging in weight from four to nine grains, and are evidently intended to be the sixteenth and thirty-second parts of the Indian *paṇa* of 146 grains.[2] Some are circular and some are square. Their historical value lies in the legend which occurs on many of them, and is either simply *Mālavāhṇa*, "of the Mālavas," or *Mālavāhṇa jaya*, "victory to the Mālavas," the genitive being in Prākrit (Hoernle).

This legend shows that the coinage is that of a tribe, not of a kingdom, and furnishes an interesting confirmation of Harisena's reference to the Mālavas as a frontier tribe. The types of the coins are very various, and some present other legends, which have not yet been interpreted.

Another confirmation of the fact that the Mālavas were organized under some form of tribal constitution, and not governed by monarchs, is afforded by other inscriptions.

The Mandasor (Dasor) inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇu Vardhana is dated in the year 589 "from the supremacy of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas," equivalent to A.D. 533-4.[3]

Mandasor is the chief town in the district of the same name in Sindhia's Dominions (Gwāliār State) in Western Mālwā, and is situated on the river Śiwanā, in lat. 24° 3′ N. and long. 75° 8′ E., about eighty-five miles north-west of Ujjain.

[1] The references for the coins are: Cunningham, "Reports," vi, 165, 174 seqq.; xiv, pp. 149-151, pl. xxxi, Nos. 19-25; "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 95, 96; "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum" (Rodgers), part iii, pp. 15-27, pl. ii. A few of the coins classed by the Catalogue as Mālava are really Nāga coins, e.g. Nos. 12,461 and 12,462 on page 26.

[2] 146 grains seem to be the true weight of the *paṇa*, rather than 144, the figure adopted by Cunningham.

[3] This is Fleet's interpretation of the words *ganasthiti-vaśāt*, but Kielhorn takes them as simply meaning "according to the reckoning of."

A later inscription at Gyārispur, twenty-four miles north-east of Bhīlsa, is dated in the "Mālava era"; and one from Kaṇaswa, in South-Eastern Rājputāna, is dated in the era of "the Mālava lords" (*Mālaveśānām*).[1]

Everybody now recognizes the fact that the era indicated by these various phrases is identical with that more familiarly known as the era of Vikrama or Vikramāditya, roughly equivalent to B.C. 57. The earliest known dates in this era under the later name (V.S. 428 to 898) all occur in inscriptions from Eastern Rājputāna, chiefly that part of Eastern Rājputāna which borders on, or is included in, Mālava. This fact indicates that the era, under both names, really originated in the Mālava country, which is not surprising when it is remembered that Ujjain was the principal seat of Hindu astronomical learning, and the meridian from which longitude was calculated.

All attempts to connect the establishment of the era with any definite historical event have been hitherto unsuccessful, and scholars are now agreed that no historical foundation exists for the common belief that the era was founded by a king Vikramāditya. We cannot feel any confidence that the date B.C. 57 is that of any special crisis in the history of the Mālava tribe. Professor Kielhorn holds that the inscriptions which connect the era with the Mālavas merely "show that from about the fifth to the ninth century this era was by poets believed to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India." But the inscriptions are certainly good to prove the persistence of a tradition of the existence of the Mālavas as a tribe or nation.

The rivers Betwa and Jumna may be fairly assumed as the eastern boundary of the frontier Mālava tribe, and as the western boundary of Samudra Gupta's empire. The comparatively small province occupied by the Ābhīras, who

[1] These inscriptions are discussed by Fleet, "Gupta Inscriptions," Intr. p. 67; pp. 79, 150; and by Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 404.

will be discussed presently, seems to have formed an *enclave* in the extensive territory of the Mālavas.

### 2. The Ārjuṇāyana Tribe.

The position of the territory of this tribe is not known with accuracy. The tribe is grouped in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* with the Madras, Yaudheyas, and other tribes of Northern India, but the mere collocation of names in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* lists does not, as Cunningham erroneously supposed that it did, give any information as to the relative position of the tribes named.

A few very rare coins with the legend Ārjuṇāyanām, "of the Ārjuṇāyanas," in early characters have been found. Only two or three specimens are known, of which the exact findspot does not seem to be recorded. The type is related to that of the Northern Satrap coins, and the Ārjuṇāyana country may reasonably be regarded as corresponding to the region between the Mālava and Yaudheya territories, or, roughly speaking, the Bharatpur and Alwar States, west of Agra and Mathurā, the principal seat of the Northern Satraps.[1] The frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire at this point appears to have been practically the line which now separates the British districts from the Native States.

### 3. The Yaudheya Tribe.

Whether by accident or design, the enumeration of the frontier tribes by Hariṣena appears to be made with some regard to their order in geographical position. He begins with the Mālavas at the south-west frontier, proceeds northwards to the Ārjuṇāyanas, and goes on in the same direction to the Yaudheyas and the Mādrakas. He then

[1] One of the coins is very clearly engraved in Prinsep's "Essays" (Thomas), pl. xliv, 2. Cunningham had another specimen, which is badly figured in "Coins of Ancient India," pl. viii, 20. A specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal may be that figured by Prinsep.

seems to return to the south-west corner, and beginning with the Ābhīra tribe (No. 5), to proceed eastward along the southern frontier.

We have seen that although the list of southern kingdoms is erratic, the enumeration of the frontier kingdoms appears to be made in the order of geographical position. The portion of the inscription now under discussion is in prose, and its author, being untrammelled by the difficulties of verse, would naturally follow in his mind the frontier lines when enumerating the frontier kingdoms and tribes.

The position of the Yaudheya tribe is known with sufficient accuracy. The name, which is Sanskrit, means 'warrior,' and is mentioned by Pāṇini (*circa* B.C. 300) as that of a tribe in the Pañjāb.[1] It still survives in the form of Johiya-bār, the name of the tract on the border of the Bahāwalpur State, along both banks of the Satlaj.[2] The findspots of the coins, which are all of copper or brass, with one exception, indicate that the extensive territories of the tribe comprised the southern portion of the Pañjāb, including the Sikh States and the northern parts of Rājputāna. Either the Biās or the Rāvi river was probably the north-western boundary of the tribal territory, which abutted on the territory of the Mādrakas in the Central Pañjāb. The cities of Lāhor, Bahāwalpur, Bīkanīr, Lūdiāna, and Delhi roughly indicate the limits of the tribal position.

The tribe appears to have been of an active and aggressive temper. The Satrap Rudradāmā of Surāṣṭrā, in A.D. 150 (72 Śaka), records that "he annihilated the Yaudheyas, who had become arrogant and disobedient in consequence of their receiving from all Kṣatriyas the title of 'the heroes.'"[3]

A quantity of votive tablets bearing the proud legend "of the Yaudheyas, who know how to devise victory," was found a few years ago at Sunit in the Lūdiāna

[1] Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, i, 23.
[2] Cunningham, "Reports," xiv, 140.
[3] "*sarvva-kṣatrāviṣkṛta-vīra śabda*" (*Ind. Ant.*, vii, 262).

District. These seem to date from the third century A.D., and to be contemporary with the coins of the Warrior Type.

The coins occur in several divergent types, and certainly extend over a period of several centuries. Their dates may be roughly defined as extending from B.C. 100 to A.D. 400. The tribe must have been included within the limits of the extended empire of Candra Gupta II, the son and successor of Samudra Gupta, and the tribal coinage probably then ceased.

One class of coins, which may be conveniently called the "Warrior Type," is closely related to the coinage of the great Kuṣāṇ kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, and exhibits the legend *Jaya Yaudheya gaṇasya*, "victory of the Yaudheya tribe." These coins are designed and executed with remarkable boldness and skill, and seem to date for the most part from the third century A.D. Some may possibly be as late as the time of Samudra Gupta. Certain coins of this class have in the obverse field the syllable *dvi* (apparently a contraction of *dvitīya*, 'second'), or, more rarely, the syllable *tṛ* (a contraction for *tṛtīya*, 'third'). These syllables are usually interpreted to mean that the coins in question were issued respectively by the second and third sections of the tribe.[1] The similar coins without any numeral may have been struck by the first section.

Another class of coins, more rudely executed and perhaps later in date, exhibit on the obverse the six-headed effigy of the god Kārtikeya, and the name of a chief, Svāmī Brāhmana Yaudheya.

The earliest coins are small brass pieces, with an elephant on one side and a humped bull on the other, accompanied by Buddhist symbols.[2] Probably the tribe, in common with the rest of India, gradually abandoned Buddhism and reverted to orthodox Hinduism.

[1] Bühler agrees with Cunningham in this interpretation ("Origin of Brahmī Alphabet," p. 46).

[2] The best published account of the Yaudheya coins is that in Cunningham's "Reports," xiv, 139–145. The account in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 75–9, is more confused, but the plate in that work is better than that of the "Reports." I possess a fine set of Yaudheya coins. The seals, or votive tablets, are described by Hoernle in Proc. A.S.B. for 1884, p. 137.

## 4. The Mādraka Tribe.

The Mādraka tribe is plainly the same as that called Madraka or Madra in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*[1] and the *Mahābhārata*. The capital of the country was the famous city Sangala, or Sākala, the Sāgala of the Milinda Paṇha. The tribe seems also to have been known by the names Jārtika and Bāhika. The tribal territory is still known as *Madra-deś*, the country between the Rāvi and Canāb rivers. According to some authorities, *Madra-deś* extended on the west to the Jhelam and on the east to the Biās river. In the narrower signification the country so named is equivalent to the Rīchnā Duāb only. In the wider signification it comprises also the Bārī Duāb between the Biās and Rāvi, and the Caj Duāb between the Canāb and Jhelam. The Mādrakas were, therefore, the immediate neighbours of the Yaudheyas, and occupied the central parts of the Pañjāb.

Cunningham's identification of the Mādraka capital, Sangala or Sākala, with a hill called Sangla Tibba in the Gujrānwāla District, was undoubtedly erroneous. The true site of the city is probably either Chunioṭ or Shāhkoṭ in the Jhang District, east of the Rāvi, in the Bārī Duāb. The Biās, therefore, may be accepted as the boundary between the Yaudheyas east of that river and the Mādrakas to the west.[2]

The Jalandhar Duāb, between the Satlaj and the upper course of the Biās, was probably included in Samudra Gupta's empire, of which the Biās would have been the frontier. The Mādrakas would thus be in the strict sense a frontier tribe.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 183.

[2] Cunningham's arguments in favour of his identification of Sākala with the petty hill Sangala Tibba will be found in "Reports," ii, 192–200. Those arguments were avowedly opposed to the data given both by the historians of Alexander and by Hiuen Tsiang, and have recently been conclusively refuted by Mr. C. J. Rodgers (Proc. A.S.B., June, 1896). I am indebted to that gentleman for the information that either Chunioṭ or Shāhkoṭ is probably the true site of Sākala. The formidable White Hun chief Mihirakula is known to have resided at Sākala, and his coins are numerous at both Chunioṭ and Shāhkoṭ. I possess a good set collected by Mr. Rodgers at those places.

Cunningham quotes Lassen for the mention of the Madra tribe in the Mahābhārata.

### 5. The Ābhīra Tribe.

The name of the Ahīr caste is the phonetic equivalent of Ābhīra, and this caste is so widely spread and numerous in Northern and Western India that the correct location of Samudra Gupta's frontier tribe appears at first sight a matter of some difficulty. But the fact that the tribal territory lay on the frontier of the empire gives the clue to the solution of the problem.

A very early inscription at Nāsik, NNE. of Bombay, mentions an Ābhīra king, and we know that the peninsula of Gujarāt was in ancient times largely occupied by Ahīrs.[1] Ptolemy's province of Abiria was on the western coast, and the country between the Tāptī river and Devagaṛh was known as Abhīra.[2] But the Ābhīras of the Bombay districts lay too far westward to be counted as a frontier tribe in the time of Samudra Gupta, whose south-western frontier appears to have been the river Betwa, and these western Ābhīras cannot be the tribe referred to.

The small tract called Ahraura, near Chanār in the Mirzāpur District of the North-Western Provinces, cannot be the region in Hariṣena's mind. That tract, an unimportant *pargana*, was according to tradition originally occupied by Kols. Except the name there is nothing to connect it with the Ābhīras.[3] Moreover, the whole of the Mirzāpur District must have been included within the limits of the empire.

One region, and one only, exactly suits the conditions of the problem, and can be identified with confidence as the seat of the Ābhīra frontier tribe in the days of Samudra Gupta. This region lies west of the Betwa river, and

[1] No. 12, "Buddhist Cave Temples" (Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. iv), p. 104, pl. liii. This inscription of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena may date from about A.D. 200.

[2] Quoted in Elliot's "Races of the North-Western Provinces" (ed. Beames), *s.v.* 'Ahīr.'

[3] See Beames, op. cit., and the Gazetteer of the Mirzāpur District, *s.v.* 'Ahraura.'

still bears the name of Ahīrwāra. The Ahīrs dwelling in this region still occupy a prominent position. Cunningham's description of Ahīrwāra is as follows:—

"With the accession of the Moguls, the domains of the Khichis were largely extended on the east by the accession of the two districts of Jharkon and Bahādurgarh, the former lying to the west and the latter to the east of the Sindh river. These two districts originally formed part of *the ancient Hindu province of Ahīrwāra, which extended from Ranod on the Ahirpat river to Sironj on the south, and from the Pārbatī river on the west to the Betwa on the east.* Within these limits the Ahīrs still form the mass of the population, and the land is chiefly held by Ahīr zemindars. During Jay Singh's long war with the Mahrattas, the Ahīrs asserted their independence, and were not subdued until Baptiste was sent against them." [1]

The province of Ahīrwāra thus described lies south of the British District of Jhānsī, and north of Bhīlsa, being, for the most part, included in Sindia's Dominions or the Gwāliār State.

I think no doubt can be felt that the frontier tribe of Ābhīras in the reign of Samudra Gupta occupied this province of Ahīrwāra, and formed, as already observed, an *enclave*, or inset, in the extensive Mālava country.

Sir Walter Elliot, a very competent authority, regarded the Ahīrs as the northern section of a great pastoral race, formerly holding an important place in the political constitution of India, of which the southern section was known as the widely-spread Kurumbar race.

For some hundred years before the seventh century, a period which includes the age of Samudra Gupta, the country, from the base of the tableland to the Pālar and Pennār rivers, was occupied by the Kurumbars. They appear to have formed a sort of Confederate State, under chiefs of their own, each of whom resided in a fortified stronghold, having a district of greater or less extent under

[1] Cunningham, "Reports," ii, 300. The italics are mine.

its jurisdiction, the largest of which districts was recognized as the head of the Union. Each of these twenty-four districts (*koṭṭams*) was further subdivided into lesser jurisdictions called *nāḍus* and *naṭṭams*. The tribe was successful in commerce both by land and sea, and skilled in mining, and produced notable works in literature, architecture, and sculpture. The prevailing religion of the Kurumbars was the Jaina, and this circumstance added bitterness to the hostility of the Hindu sovereigns of the Cola kingdom, who in the eighth or ninth century succeeded in crushing the Kurumbar confederation, and incorporating its lands in the Cola (Chola) territories.[1]

The above brief description of the Kurumbar organization and of its overthrow by the southern monarchy appears to me to throw considerable light on the organization and fate of the similar tribes who in the fourth century covered the western frontier of Samudra Gupta's empire.

### 6. The Prārjuna Tribe.

We have now laboriously traced the eastern, northern, and western frontiers of Samudra Gupta's empire, and have reached a point at which the southern extension of the dominions directly under his sway must have terminated, or very nearly terminated. We have seen that the kingdoms and tribes on the frontier are enumerated by Hariṣena, so far as possible, in the order of geographical position. The Bhīlsa country, which lies south of Ahīrwāra, certainly lay within the Mālava territories, and the inference necessarily follows that the Prārjuna tribe, which is the next enumerated, should be looked for to the east or south-east of Ahīrwāra. Assuming that the Narmadā formed the southern boundary of the empire, the Prārjuna tribe may be provisionally placed in the Narsiñhpur District of the Central Provinces.

[1] Sir W. Elliot, "Coins of Southern India" (Intern. Num. Or., vol. iii, part 2), pp. 36, 89; and the authorities cited in the notes.

7. The Sanakānīka Tribe,
8. The Kāka Tribe, and
9. The Kharaparika Tribe.

The exact position of any of these three tribes is not known, but we may safely assume that they lay near the Prārjuna territory, and probably in the Central Provinces, or possibly in Central India, just south of the Mālava country.

The name Kāka ('crow') may be locally associated with Kākaṇāda ('crow's voice'), the ancient name of Sānci, the celebrated Buddhist site 5½ miles south-west of Bhīlsa.[1]

The name Sanakānīka, or Sanakānika, is connected with the same region by the fact that one of the inscriptions at Udayagiri near Bhīlsa records the dedication of certain sculptures by a Sanakānika chieftain.[2]

The Kharaparika tribe may have occupied the Seoni or Mandlā District of the Central Provinces. The circuit of the boundaries of the empire is thus completed.

## SECTION VI.—FOREIGN POWERS.

We now pass from the enumeration of conquered provinces, frontier kingdoms, and frontier tribes, to a list of the independent foreign States at a distance with which Samudra Gupta maintained intercourse and friendly relations.

The passage of the inscription (l. 23) dealing with these foreign powers is thus literally translated by Fleet:—

"Whose binding together of the (*whole*) world, by means of the amplitude of the vigour of (*his*) arm, was effected by the acts of respectful service, such as offering themselves

[1] The name occurs in inscriptions of the Aśoka period ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 31; *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 87, 366, 396).

[2] The spelling Sanakānīka is used in the Allahabad inscription, and the spelling Sanakānika in the Udayagiri inscription dated G.E. 82 in the reign of Candra Gupta II ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 25). At that date the Sanakānika chief had become a subject of the empire.

as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, (*giving*) Garuḍa-tokens,[1] (*surrendering*) the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting (*his*) commands, etc., (*rendered*) by the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and by the people of Siṁhala and all (*other*) dwellers in islands."

The arrogant language of this passage of course exaggerates the deference paid to the subject of the panegyric, and may fairly be interpreted to mean nothing more than the exchange of complimentary embassies and gifts between the emperor of Northern India and the powers named.

Samudra Gupta's victorious raid into the Peninsula would naturally arouse the fears of the Sinhalese princes, and no doubt an embassy from Ceylon really visited his Court.[2]

The identification of the powers intended by the titles Daivaputra, Ṣāhi, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, Śaka, and Muruṇḍa, presents a difficult problem. I cannot pretend to solve this problem with absolute certainty, but venture to think that a reasonably probable solution may be offered with some confidence.

## 1. The Muruṇḍa King.

The Muruṇḍas may possibly have been settled in the hill country of Rīwā, along the Kaimūr range, or, more probably, further south in the Vindhyas or Northern Dakhan, or possibly in Chutia Nāgpur. This conjecture is based merely on the occurrence of the name Muruṇḍadevī, or Muruṇḍa-svāminī, in inscriptions dated G.E. 193 and 197 found near the village of Khōh in the Nāgaudh State.

The princess so named was the consort of the Mahārāja Jayanātha of Uccha-kalpa, in the neighbourhood of Nāgaudh. Her name seems to indicate that she belonged to the Muruṇḍa clan, the territory of which was probably

[1] The meaning of "Garuḍa-tokens" (*garudmat-aṅka*) is obscure. Fleet supposes it to refer to gold coins, bearing, among other emblems, a representation of the Garuḍa standard, the Gupta equivalent of the Roman eagle. I believe that the term is used in the sense of "standards."

[2] I formerly treated the allusion to Ceylon as "mere rhetoric," but think the interpretation now placed on the passage is preferable.

not very remote from the petty principality ruled by her husband.

Only one other certain mention of the Muruṇḍas has rewarded my search, but this is sufficient to show that they were a notable tribe, clan, or reigning family, worthy to be ranked with the Guptas themselves among the rulers of India. The passage referred to is in the Jaina Purāṇa, called *Harivaṁśa*, composed by the poet Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 (A.D. 637), and runs as follows:—

*Verse* 83. "And at the time of the *nirvāṇa* of Vīra, King Pālaka, the son of (*the king of*) Avanti, (*and*) the protector of the people, shall be crowned here on earth. (84) His reign (*shall last*) sixty years. Then, it is said, (*the rule*) of the kings of the country shall endure for a hundred and fifty-five years. (85) Then the earth (*shall be the*) undivided (*possession*) of the Muruṇḍas, for forty years; and for thirty, of the Pushpamitras (or Puṣhyamitras); and for sixty, of Vasumitra and Agnimitra. (86 and 87) (*Then there shall be the rule*) of the 'Ass-kings' for a hundred years. Next, (*the rule*) of Naravāhana for forty years. After (*these*) two, (*the sway*) of Bhaṭṭubāṇa (*shall last*) two hundred and forty (*years*); and the illustrious rule of the Guptas shall endure two hundred and thirty-one years. This is declared by chronologists."

Mr. K. B. Pathale, who published the above passage, quotes a couplet from the *Pârśvâbhyudaya* to show that Vatsarāja, the lover of Vāsavadattā, was a Muruṇḍa.[1]

The chronology of the Jaina Purāṇa is, of course, like that of all Purāṇas, confused, and no statement in a document of this class can be accepted with confidence. But the passage quoted has certainly so much value, that it proves the existence in the seventh century A.D. of a distinct tradition that the Muruṇḍas for a period of forty years ranked among the leading ruling races of India.

If the Muruṇḍas were identical with the Muraṇḍas, my conjecture as to the position of the Muruṇḍa kingdom must

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 142.

be abandoned. The Muraṇḍa people is said to be identical with the Lampāka people, the inhabitants of Lampaka, or Lamghān, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kābul river, bounded on the west and east by the Alingar and Kunar rivers. In the time of Hiuen Tsiang the local royal family had been extinct for several centuries, and the country was one of the dependencies of Kapiśa.[1]

## 2. The Śaka King.

The Śakas of India were undoubtedly a race of foreign origin, which entered India, like so many other races, across the north-western frontier; and Cunningham may be right in identifying them with the Su tribe, who were, in or about B.C. 125, forced into the province of Kipin or Kophene by the pressure of the advancing Yu-chi (Yue-ti), who included the famous Kuṣān clan. It is certain that the geographer, Isidorus of Charax, writing probably in the first century of our era, locates the Śakas in Drangiana, which he calls Sakastene.[2] Drangiana was the ancient name of the country along the Helmand river, and seems to have been included in Kipin. We must assume, therefore, that the Śakas entered India proper by the Qandahār route.

Isidorus of Charax called the inhabitants of Sakastene Saka-Scythians. The author of the "Periplus," writing

[1] Beal, "Records," ii, 90. The note quotes Mahābhārata, vii, 4,847, besides Cunningham, Reinaud, and Lassen.

[2] "La Sakastène ou le Sakastân tirait son nom des *Sakas*, qui avaient occupé toute l'ancienne Arachosie, et peut-être aussi la vallée du Kaboul, pendant le premier siècle avant notre ère; ils en avaient été chassés par les Kouchans vers l'an 30 av. J.-C., mais le nom de la contrée y avait été conservé, et il est resté jusqu'à nos jours sous la forme Seïstân (Sagastène, Segistân, Sedjistân). Les grands Yue-tchi en ont été maîtres pendant plusieurs siècles. D'après Agathias, le Sakastan fut conquis sur eux par Bahram II (276-294), qui conféra le titre de *sakanshah* ou prince des Sakas à son fils Bahram II.

"L'historien latin Vopiscus nous dit qu'au moment où Carus [emperor A.D. 282-3] traversa l'Euphrate dans sa guerre contre les Perses, Bahram II était occupé sur les frontières de l'Inde, c'est à dire de l'Afghanistan et du Kaboul. Le Sakastan, ainsi enlevé aux Kouchans, resta en la possession des Sassanides." —Drouin, "Monnaies des grands Kouchans": Rev. Num. 1896, p. 160. M. Drouin quotes Isidorus in edition of C. Müller, sec. 18. I have not been able to verify the reference to this author.

about A.D. 89,[1] calls the countries at the mouth of the Indus "the seaboard of Scythia," and states that Parthians were the rulers of Indo-Scythia. Probably the terms Parthian and Śaka were loosely used as interchangeable. The Parthian rulers at the mouths of the Indus were doubtless connected with the Parthian kings of the Western Pañjāb and Afghanistan, of whom Gondophares, about A.D. 30, is the best known. The kings Maues (Moas) and Azes, of slightly earlier date, who are known almost exclusively from coins, are generally considered to be Śakas, though the proof that they were really such does not seem to me satisfactory.[2]

The Satraps of Mathurā and Northern India, who seem to have reigned in the century before and in the century following the Christian era, betray a Persian origin, both by their official title and by their personal names. The official title indicates at least the recollection of a real connection with the Persian empire, which certainly existed before the conquests of Alexander, and the names of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa, both Satraps, are unmistakably Persian. The name of the Satrap Śoḍāsa, too, appears to be an Indianized form of the Persian name Zodas.

The late Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, therefore, decided to call these Satraps Pahlavas, or Persians. He was certainly quite justified in doing this.[3] But Dr. Bühler, who calls them "the Śaka Satraps of Mathurā," is also justified in his nomenclature.

The Lion Capital of Mathurā is covered with dedicatory Buddhist inscriptions of members of the ruling Satrap family. One of these is recorded "in honour of the whole

[1] Cunningham gives the erroneous date "about A.D. 160." See McCrindle's edition of the "Periplus."

[2] Cunningham ("Reports," ii, 47) believed that "the *Su* or *Śakas*, being the descendants of Scytho-Parthian Dahae, were not distinguishable from true Parthians either in speech, manners, or in dress. Their names also were the same as those of the Parthians."

[3] J.R.A.S. 1894, p. 549. "The Northern Kshatrapas." The coins of these Satraps are also discussed in "Coins of Ancient India," pp. 85–90, pl. viii. But the published accounts of the coins are far from exhaustive.

Sakastane," or Śaka country, and it is reasonable to infer that the ruling family was connected with that country.[1]

I am not aware of any other *proof* that the Northern Satraps were Śakas. If it be assumed that they were Śakas, it appears plain that the Śaka tribe had a close connection with Persia, and might properly be described as Persians (Pahlavas), and that they were also sometimes regarded as identical with Parthians.

Mathurā was certainly included in the dominions of Samudra Gupta, and the rule of the semi-Persian Northern Satraps seems to have terminated long before his day.[2] Consequently, even if it prove to be the case that the Northern Satraps were Śakas, they cannot be the foreign power in alliance with Samudra Gupta.

It is possible that in his reign Śaka settlements may still have existed in Seistān, the Qandahār country, and along the Indus, but the ruling powers of the north-western frontier seem to be fully accounted for by the terms Daivaputra, Ṣāhi, and Ṣāhānuṣāhi, which will be discussed presently, and Seistān appears to have been included in the Persian dominions (Drouin, op. cit., p. 161). The Śaka king of the inscription, therefore, cannot be the ruler of Seistān.

The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* classes the Śakas in the Western Division of India, along with the Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Jṛṅgas, Mlecchas, Pāratas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkāṇas.

The country Aparānta corresponded with the modern Konkaṇa, the district extending from Gokarṇa, in the Kārwār collectorate, to the Damān Gangā, the frontier river of Gujarāt, or perhaps even further north to the

[1] J.R.A S. 1894, "The Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscriptions," pp. 530, 531, 540. Sakastana (Śakasthāna) is identical with the Sakastene of Isidorus.

[2] The coins of the Northern Satraps, many of which I possess, are all of early date, and probably none are later than A.D. 100. An inscription of the reign of Candra Gupta II dated G.E. 82 (= A.D. 400) has been found at Mathurā ("Gupta Inscriptions," p. 25), and another inscription dated "in the fifty-seventh year" is probably to be referred to the Gupta era (Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 198, 210). If this is correct, the date will fall in the reign of Samudra Gupta.

Tāpī (Tāptī). The capital was Śūrpāraka, the modern Sopārā, near Bassein (Vasai) in the Thānā District.[1]

The Pārata, or Pārada country, must have been the Sūrat District north of Aparānta.[2]

The Haihayas occupied the upper course of the Narmadā, in the region now known as the Central Provinces.[3]

The Jṛṅgas, Śāntikas, Vaiśyas, and Vokkāṇas have not, so far as I know, been identified.

Mleccha is a general term corresponding to the Greek *βάρβαρος*, and is sufficiently explained by the following passage from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, which relates how Sagara made "the Yavanas shave their heads entirely; the Śakas he compelled to shave (the upper) part of their heads; the Pāradas wore their hair long; and the Pahlavas let their beards grow; in obedience to his commands. Them also, and other Kṣatriya races, he deprived of the established usages of oblations to fire and the study of the Vedas, and, thus separated from religious rites, and abandoned by the Brahmans, these different tribes became Mlecchas."[4]

Manu, too, classes the Śakas with the Draviḍas and certain other tribes as degraded Kṣatriyas.[5]

The date of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* is known to be about the middle of the sixth century A.D. These passages show that at that date the Śakas were known as a foreign people settled in Western India near the Pāradas and Pahlavas, or Persians, from whom they were distinguished by a different mode of wearing their hair. The contempt of these foreign settlers for the niceties of Hindu caste and ritual excited the disgust of Brahmanical writers, who

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 259; xxii, 189.

[2] Ṛṣabhadatta's Nāsik inscription, No. 5, names the rivers Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabena, and Dāhanukā. The Pārādā is the Pāradī, or Pār, river in the Sūrat District ("Archaeological Survey of Western India," iv, 109, note 2).

[3] Cunningham, "Reports," ix, 77.

[4] "Vishnu Purāṇa" (ed. Wilson), B. iv, ch. iii, vol. iii, p. 294; quoted by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 185.

[5] Manu, x, 44; quoted in "Archaeological Survey of Western India," iii, 55, note.

grouped all such unclean foreigners under the comprehensive title Mleccha, while giving them a place in the Hindu system by inventing the fiction that the strangers were degraded Kṣatriyas.

The Śaka king of the Allahabad inscription should, in accordance with the above indications, be looked for in Western rather than in Northern India.

It seems to me hardly possible to doubt that the Śaka prince referred to in the Allahabad inscription was one of the Śaka Satraps, who "held sway, from the last quarter of the first century A.D. to the end of the fourth, over a large territory in Western India, which may be said, generally speaking, to have comprised Mālwa, Sind, Kacch, Kāṭhiāwār, Gujarāt proper, and the northern Konkan . . . . Surāṣṭra was one province only of the kingdom."[1]

These powerful princes are now commonly termed the Western Satraps, to distinguish them from the Northern Satraps of Mathurā and Upper India.

It is certain that all the dates of the Western Satraps are recorded in the Śaka era, and Bhagvānlāl Indrajī thought it probable that this era was instituted in A.D. 78 by Nahapāna, the first Satrap, to commemorate his victory over the Śātakarni, or Andhra king. Most writers ascribe the foundation of the era to the Kuṣān sovereign Kaniṣka.

Usavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta), the son-in-law of the Satrap Nahapāna, appears to expressly call himself a Śaka in one of the Nāsik inscriptions, which series of records contains several other references to the Śakas collectively, and to individual members of the race.[2]

Nahapāna was succeeded by Chaṣṭana, a member of a different family though probably also a Śaka, in or about A.D. 111. "He was probably to some extent contemporary with Nahapāna, and, like him, the general of

[1] Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and Rapson, "The Western Kshatrapas," in J.R.A.S. 1890, Vol. XXII, N.S., p. 640.

[2] "Archaeological Survey of Western India," iv, pp. 101 (note 3), 104, 109, 114.

some Śaka sovereign; but, while Nahapāna held Surāṣṭra and the adjacent districts, Chaṣṭana would seem to have conquered a great part of Western Rājputāna and to have established himself at Ajmere, where the greater part of his coins are found. Subsequently he seems to have conquered the kingdom of Mālwa and fixed his capital at Ujjain; there can be no doubt that he is identical with the *Τιαστανός* mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy as ruling in this capital. After the death of Nahapāna, who had no son, Chaṣṭana seems to have succeeded to his dominions; and the Kṣatrapa kingdom for the future may be described as comprising the territories conquered by their first two Satraps."[1]

That kingdom of the Western Satraps had probably before the time of Samudra Gupta absorbed a large portion of the tribal territory of the Mālavas. The kingdom was itself conquered and absorbed into the empire by Samudra Gupta's son and successor, Candra Gupta II, and remained incorporated with it until the collapse of the imperial Gupta power near the end of the fifth century.

Samudra Gupta, whose direct conquests had reached the borders of Mālwā, must necessarily have been in communication with the Śaka Satraps of the West, and I have no doubt that those Satraps are the Śakas referred to by Hariṣena.

The Satrap Rudradāman describes himself in the year A.D. 150 as "lord of Eastern and Western Ākarāvatī, Anūpadeśa, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta, and Niṣāda." This prince is also said to have "exterminated" the Yaudheyas, and to have twice defeated the Śātakarni, or Andhra, king of the south.[2] These details justify the description of the Satrap kingdom in modern terms, as given by Bhagvānlāl Indrajī.

The twenty-sixth and penultimate Western Satrap was Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman. His coins, which are

[1] J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 644.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 258, 259, 262. Dr. Bühler identifies the various countries named.

numerous, bear dates ranging from 270 to 298, equivalent to A.D. 348 and 376.[1] Rudrasena was, therefore, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, whose reign extended approximately from A.D. 345 to A.D. 380, and must have been the Śaka prince who sent embassies to Samudra Gupta.

### 3. The Daivaputra King.

The words *Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi* in the inscription, which are, of course, after the Indian manner, written without any marks of division or punctuation, present many difficulties of interpretation, and have been differently interpreted.

Cunningham regarded the three words as forming a single compound title, designating a king of the Kuṣān tribe reigning in the Pañjāb and Afghanistan. His words are:—"At this very time, A.D. 358, the Kuṣāns were still in the height of their power, as the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar mentions the presents sent by the *Devaputra Ṣāhi Ṣāhanuṣāhi* to the Indian king. As these were the peculiar titles assumed by the great Kuṣān kings, the presents must have been sent by one of them."[2]

But it seems to me very unlikely that in the enumeration *Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍaiḥ* the first three words are to be taken as referring to a single king. The triple title would be extremely cumbrous and unusual, and this interpretation appears to destroy the balance of the sentence. It is much more natural to take each title as referring to a single sovereign.[3] It would be difficult to find any example of the use in a single inscription or coin

[1] J.R.A.S. 1890, p. 661.

[2] Num. Chron. 1893, p. 176; "Reports," iii, 42.

[3] M. Drouin takes the same view, and writes: "Les souverains qui les ont émises [*scil.* monnaies] sont ceux que Samudra-Gupta a vaincus vers l'an 390 de J.-C., et qui sont désignés sur le pillier d'Allâhâbâd sous les noms de *Daivaputras, Shâhis, Shâhânushâhis*, et *Sakas*" ("Monnaies des Grands Kouchans," in Rev. Num. 1896, p. 158). I do not think that the word *vaincus* is justified by the terms of the inscription, or by the probabilities of the situation.

legend of the cumbrous complex title *Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi*, although it is true that all three titles were used by the Kuṣān kings, and two of them may be found combined. The Śakas also used the titles *Ṣāhi* and *Ṣāhānuṣāhi*, and it would be as justifiable to connect those words in the inscription with *Śaka* as with *Daivaputra*.[1] It is just possible that the cognate titles *Ṣāhi* and *Ṣāhānuṣāhi* ought really to be treated as a single compound title, but with this reservation I have no hesitation in rejecting the interpretation approved by Cunningham, and preferring that adopted by Fleet, who translates the passage in question by the words—"the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas." It is, however, still better to treat each term as singular, and to translate—"the Daivaputra, the Ṣāhi, the Ṣāhānuṣāhi, the Śaka, and the Muruṇḍa," the word 'king' being understood in each case. I think this translation is the most correct. The passage unquestionably refers to monarchical powers.

The Sanskrit title Daivaputra could only apply to a sovereign ruling in India or on the confines of India. It is probably of Chinese origin, being the literal translation of the Chinese emperor's title, 'Son of Heaven' (*Tien-tze*).[2] Whatever be the correct interpretation of the words Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi, the application of the title Daivaputra is not open to question. It was the chosen and, so far as is known, peculiar title of the Kuṣān kings of Peshāwar and Kābul—the kingdom of Gāndhāra.

This title Devaputra (Daivaputra) was that specially affected by the great Kuṣān kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka (Hukṣa or Huṣka), and Vasudeva (or Vāsuṣka). The

[1] "We find a late, but very distinct, reminiscence of these Scythic titles in the Jain legend of Kālakācārya, which calls the princes of the Śakas—the protectors of the saint—Ṣāhi, and their sovereign lord Ṣāhānuṣāhi."—Stein, "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" (*Ind. Ant.*, xvii, 95; quoting Jacobi in *Zeitschrift* of German Or. Soc., vol. xxxiv, p. 255).

[2] "A Record of the Buddhist Religion," by I-tsing (ed. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896), p. 136, note 3. The Chinese influence on Northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era was considerable.

Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā and the Sāñci records offer numerous examples, of which a few may be quoted :—

"In the year 5 of Devaputra Kaniṣka."[1]
"In the year . . . of Devaputra Huviṣka."
"of Devaputra Hukṣa."[2]
"of the Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣāhi Vāsuṣka."[3]

It will be observed that in the first two quotations Kaniṣka and Huviṣka call themselves simply Devaputra, whereas the later Vāsuṣka, in the year 78 (= A.D. 156), adds the Persian title Ṣāhi and the Indian title Rājātirāja, the equivalent of Ṣāhānuṣāhi. He does not, however, actually combine Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi.

Fa-hian, travelling about A.D. 403, distinguishes the region of Gāndhāra from the Peshāwar country, which lay four days' journey further south, but does not note whether or not both districts were under the same government.[4] At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, about A.D. 631, Peshāwar was the capital of Gāndhāra, which was then ruled by a governor sent from Kapiśa, north of Kābul, the local royal family of Gāndhāra having become extinct.[5] In the interval between the two Chinese pilgrims the irruption of the White Huns had effected a revolution in all political arrangements.

The names of the successors of Vasudeva are known from coins only. The coins struck in the Pañjāb and Afghanistan agree closely in form, standard, and style with those of the famous kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vasudeva. Some of the names are monosyllables in the Chinese fashion, such as *Mi* and *Bhu*. Others have been Indianized, and a prince, who probably ruled about A.D. 300, assumed the purely Indian name Samudra. The coins occur in four metals—gold, silver, brass, and copper or bronze. Some of these pieces may have been struck by provincial

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, i, p. 382, inscription No. 1.
[2] Ibid., ii, p. 206, Nos. xxv and xxvi.
[3] Ibid., ii, p. 369; a Sāñci inscription.
[4] Chapters x–xii.
[5] Beal, "Records," i, 97.

governors or viceroys of Gāndhāra or Peshāwar, and some were probably issued by the greater Kuṣān sovereign whose capital was at or near Kābul.[1] One of these Kuṣān kings is the Devaputra of the inscription.

## 4. The Ṣāhi King.

Subject to the reservation already noted that the words Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi may possibly be interpreted as forming a compound title referring to one king, though preferably interpreted as referring to two distinct sovereigns, I now proceed to attempt their interpretation on the latter supposition.

The title Ṣāhi was, as we have seen, used by the Devaputra Kuṣān kings of Gāndhāra in the first and second centuries A.D. It continued in use on the north-western frontier of India up to the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] The problem before me is to ascertain the prince to whom the title was considered specially applicable in the fourth century.

Contemporary documents of that period are clearly the best available evidence, and the only strictly contemporary documents at present accessible are coin legends, on which, therefore, my argument will be based.

It seems to me that the Ṣāhi king of the inscription was one of those Kidāra Kuṣān princes who took the simple title of Ṣāhi without addition, and whose money is approximately contemporaneous with Samudra Gupta.

[1] These coins of the so-called Later Indo-Scythians, or Later Great Kuṣāns, are described and discussed by Cunningham (Numismatic Chronicle for 1893, pp. 112 seqq.); V. A. Smith (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal for 1897, part i, p. 5); E. Drouin (Revue Numism. for 1896, p. 154). M. Drouin observes (p. 160): "La capitale ou une des capitales des grands Yue-tchi ou grands Kouchans (car ce vaste empire, qui s'étendait encore, à l'époque Sassanide, de la mer Caspienne à l'Indus, devait avoir plusieurs résidences royales) était Kâboul."

[2] Alberuni, "Indica" (Sachau's translation, ii, 10; quoted by Stein, "Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kâbul"). The last of the Turkish Ṣāhi kings of Kābul was Laga-Tūrmān. These kings were succeeded by a Hindu dynasty, who also took the title of Ṣāhi, and lasted till A.D. 1021 (A.H. 412), when Trilocanapāla was killed. See also "Coins of Mediaeval India," p. 55. Cunningham follows Thomas in reading *Al Kitormān* instead of Laga-Tūrmān. In Kāśmīr the title *Ṣāhi* lingered till A.D. 1100. Cunningham says that Trilocanapāla was alive in A.D. 1027 (V.S. 1084).

Two silver coins issued by one of these princes are thus described by Cunningham:—

"Kidāra Ṣāhi.

"*Obv.* Bust of the king to the front, with bushy hair on both sides of the face, like the Sassanian kings; crown with triple ornament; long earrings. Indian inscription in early Gupta letters, *Kidāra Kuṣāna Ṣāhi*, the last letter, *hi*, being close to the face on the right.

"*Rev.* Fire-altar, with two attendants carrying drawn swords, or perhaps the *barsom*. Below the altar are three characters, which I take for numerals. They are the same on all my three specimens, although the coins are from different dies. I read them as 339, which if referred to the Śaka era would be 339 + 78 = A.D. 417."[1]

The weight of each of the two specimens described in detail was 56 grains, and the diameter 1·10 inch. These coins, which have a very Persian appearance, in spite of the Indian legends, appear to me to be probably the coinage of the Ṣāhi dynasty with which Samudra Gupta had relations. The coins of which I have quoted the technical descriptions are evidently the earliest of a long series which ultimately merges into the coinage of the kingdom of Kāśmīr. The kings of Kāśmīr intermarried with the Ṣāhi dynasty of Kābul. In the above quoted description Cunningham gives the date read on the coins as 339, but from a passage a few pages earlier it is plain that he really read the date as 239, and adopted the date a century later in deference to supposed historical necessities. He says: "The reverse has the Sassanian fire-altar, with three letters or numerals on the base, and the usual attendant priests at the side. *I read the three characters as numerals forming* 239, *or perhaps* 339, which, referred to the era of A.D. 78, would give either A.D. 317 or 417. The latter is the preferable date, as the period of Kidāra can be fixed with some certainty in the first half of the

[1] Num. Chron. 1893, p. 199, pl. vi (xv), 1, 2.

fifth century A.D."[1] He then proceeds to determine the date according to his interpretation of Chinese authorities, the correctness of which interpretation I shall not now stop to discuss. Cunningham does not explain his reasons for reading the three characters as the numerals 239, and I am unable to read them; all I can say is, that no two of the characters seem to be identical.

Kidāra is supposed to be identical with the Ki-to-lo of the Chinese writers. The word is evidently a family or dynastic title. A Ki-to-lo chief of the Little Yuchi (Kuṣāns) established himself at Peshāwar about A.D. 430.[2] But, in the time of Samudra Gupta, the Devaputra dynasty of Kuṣān (Greater Kuṣān) princes was still reigning in the Northern Pañjāb, and the Ṣāhi Kidāra (Ki-to-lo) must apparently be placed further south, somewhere in the direction of Qandahār. The Ṣāhi Kidāra princes were probably subordinate to the kings who took the higher title of Ṣāhānuṣāhi.

## 5. The Ṣāhānuṣāhi King.

The Ṣāhānuṣāhi, or King of Kings, with whom Samudra Gupta had diplomatic relations, was probably the Sassanian king of Persia, Sapor, or Shāhpur II, whose long reign (A.D. 309 to 380 or 381) was almost exactly conterminous with that of Samudra Gupta.

The relations of Sapor II with the Kuṣān princes on the Oxus and on the Indian frontier were close and intimate. Sapor's predecessor, Hormazd II, married the daughter of a Kuṣān king, and has left numismatic memorials of his pride in the alliance. He struck coins in which he described himself as "the Mazdean, divine Hormazd, of the royal family of the Great Kuṣāns, king of kings [*scil.* of Irān]." Another coin of his presents the

[1] Op. cit., p. 184. The italics are mine.

[2] This is the date adopted by Stein in his pamphlet "Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul," p. 4 (Stuttgart, 1893). He quotes Von Gutschmid, "Geschichte Irān's." Cunningham (op. cit., p. 184) takes the date as A.D. 425–430.

obverse device used by his contemporary Basana [Bāṣana], coupled with the Sassanian fire-altar as reverse device.[1]

When Sapor II besieged Amida, the modern Diarbekir, on the Tigris, in A.D. 359, about the middle of the reign of Samudra Gupta, his victory over the Roman garrison was won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kuṣān troops. The aged Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, occupied the place of honour in the army of the Great King, and he was supported by the Segestani, or Śakas, of Sakastene, or Seistān.

Cunningham is almost certainly right in interpreting the term Chionitae as the Greek translation of Tushāra or Tukhāra (Tokhari), an alternative name of the Kuṣāns, with the meaning "men of the snows."[2]

The term Ṣāhānuṣāhi in the inscription may possibly designate not the Great King of Persia, but the Great King of the Kuṣāns on the Oxus. We have seen that the Persian sovereign was so proud of his alliance with the Kuṣān royal family that he struck coins specially to commemorate the event, and claimed to have become a member of his wife's clan. The Kuṣān and the Persian sovereigns appear to have met on equal terms, and both assumed the title of "King of Kings." Certain coins found near the Oxus, though of purely Sassanian style and fabric, have purely Indian reverse devices, and the ordinary Indo-Kuṣān obverse device; that is to say, the obverse, like the coins of Kaniṣka, exhibits the king throwing incense on a fire-altar, and the reverse exhibits the figure of Śiva and his

[1] Cunningham's readings and translations (Num. Chron. 1893, p. 179, pl. xiii (iv), figs. 2, 6) are corrected by M. Drouin ("Monnaies des grands Kouchans," Rev. Num. 1896, p. 163). Neither Hormazd nor any other Sassanian sovereign was ever "king of kings of the Kuṣāns," and Hormazd, consequently, could not have assumed that title, as Cunningham supposed him to have done. The late historian Mīrkhond, or Khondamīr (Rehatsek's translation, ii, 340), is the only writer who mentions the marriage of Hormazd with the Kuṣān princess, but, as M. Drouin observes, the coins prove that Mīrkhond had good authority for his statement. I have not had the opportunity of verifying the reference to Mīrkhond. The Basana coin has been published by the writer in J.A.S.B. 1897.

[2] Num. Chron. 1893, pp. 169-177. Gibbon (ch. xix) gives A.D. 360 as the date of the siege of Amida; Cunningham adopts the date A.D. 358. Gibbon notes a certain amount of confusion in the chronology of the original authority, Ammianus. Drouin gives A.D. 359.

bull, with other Indian symbols. The legends of these coins are in corrupt Greek. Cunningham supposed that these pieces (e.g. his No. 12, op. cit.) were struck by the Sassanian kings after the conquest of a province from the Kuṣāns. M. Drouin rejects this hypothesis, and denies the supposed conquest. He prefers (op. cit., p. 168) to suppose that the Kuṣān kings adopted Persian names along with Persian costume and headdress, just as in India Kuṣān princes adopted Indian names, such as Samudra. The coins in question bear the title Ṣāhānuṣāhi in a corrupt Greek form. Whether the Kuṣān king on the Oxus was identical with or distinct from the Kuṣān king of Kābul, I cannot pretend to affirm.

## SECTION VII.—CONCLUSION.

The weary reader will probably welcome a concise summary of the principal historical results of the foregoing dissertation. In some points my conclusions do not exactly agree with those set forth in the article on the history of Samudra Gupta. The opinions now enunciated are the outcome of further study, and are believed to be more correct.

Pāṭaliputra (Patna) was the capital of Samudra Gupta's father and predecessor, Candra Gupta I (A.D. 318 to 345), the first independent sovereign of the Gupta family. The dominions of that prince, though considerable, were of moderate extent. They appear not to have extended farther east than Bhāgalpur (Campā), and not much farther west than Lucknow. They comprised the whole of Bihār, both north and south of the Ganges, Oudh, and the eastern districts of the North-Western Provinces, the northern boundary being probably the first range of hills.

Samudra Gupta (A.D. 345 to 380) devoted his reign to the enlargement of his father's boundaries. He found Pāṭaliputra no longer suitable as a permanent residence, and after the early part of his reign his headquarters

were probably fixed most often either at Ayodhya or Kauśāmbi, which latter city was not very far from Allahabad.[1]

In the course of a long reign, which must have lasted at least thirty-five years, Samudra Gupta reduced to complete subjection nine kings of Northern India, and incorporated their dominions in his empire. He brought under his control the wild chiefs of the forest tribes along the Narmadā river and in the recesses of the Vindhya mountains, and so extended his sway that his empire was bounded on the east by the Brahmaputra, on the north by the Himālaya, on the west by the Satlaj, Jamnā, and Betwa, and on the south by the Narmadā. Beyond these limits he held in subordinate alliance the frontier kingdoms of the Gangetic delta, and those of the southern slopes of the Himālaya, as well as the free tribes of Mālwa and Rājputāna. A brilliant and successful raid brought his victorious armies to the extremity of the Peninsula, and effected the humiliation and temporary subjugation of twelve kingdoms of the south. On his north-western frontier the Indian emperor maintained close diplomatic relations with the Kuṣān princes of Kābul and Qandahār, and probably with the Great King of Persia. The fame of the southern raid penetrated to Ceylon and other islands, and brought to the victor's court embassies and complimentary presents from many strange and distant lands.

[1] Kauśāmbi is usually identified with Kosam, a village about twenty-eight miles west of Allahabad. The identification is in this sense correct that Kosam has been believed by local residents since at least A.D. 1824 to be the ancient Kauśāmbi (*Epigraphia Indica*, ii, 244). But Kosam *is not* the Kauśāmbi visited by Hiuen Tsiang, which lay much farther south. Bharhut corresponds fairly well with the position of Kauśāmbi as described by Hiuen Tsiang. The proof of these observations, which attack a cherished belief, must be reserved for another *Prolegomenon*.

# THE ELEVENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

PARIS, 1897.

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The Congress was held, as announced, at Paris, from the 5th to the 12th of September. The attendance was unusually large, about eight hundred members having given in their adhesion, of whom nearly a hundred were ladies.

The following were the Sections organized :—

SECTION I (*a*), INDIA.

*President*—Lord Reay.

*Vice-Presidents*—Hofrath Dr. Bühler, Professor Kern, and Professor Pischel.

SECTION I (*b*), IRAN.

*President*—Professor Hübschmann.

*Vice-President*—M. Esoff.

SECTION I (*c*), ARIAN PHILOLOGY.

*President*—Professor de Gubernatis.

*Vice-Presidents*—MM. Kretschmer and Oulianov.

SECTION II (*a*), CHINA AND JAPAN.

*President*—His Excellency Tshing Tshang.

*Vice-Presidents*—Mr. Tomii, Professor Schlegel, and Professor Douglas.

SECTION II (*b*), INDO-CHINA.

*President*—Professor Kern.

*Vice-Presidents*—General Horace Browne and Mr. St. John.

SECTION III, MOSLEM LANGUAGES AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

*President*—Professor de Goeje.

*Vice-Presidents*—Hofrath Dr. Karabacek and Professor V. Radloff.

SECTION IV (*a*), SEMITIC.

*President*—Professor Guidi.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Kautsch and Monsignor Lamy.

SECTION IV (*b*), ASSYRIOLOGY.

*President*—Professor Tiele.

*Vice-Presidents*—Mr. Pinches, Professor Hommel, and Professor Haupt.

SECTION V, EGYPT.

*President*—Professor Naville.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Lieblein and Professor Erman.

SECTION VI, GREECE AND THE ORIENT.

*President*—Mr. Bikelas.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor Krumbacher and Professor Strzygowski.

SECTION VII, ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE.

*President*—Professor Vambéry.

*Vice-Presidents*—Professor de Gubernatis, Professor Radloff, M. de Claparède, and Professor V. Schmidt.

The Indian Section and Sections III and IV were especially crowded, and a large number of papers was submitted. We have drawn up a full list of all these papers, but as it would occupy about eleven pages in print, and the bare titles would afford very little indication of the contents and value of the papers, it has been considered better after all not to print it.

The Congress, meeting as a whole, performed two duties of considerable interest for Oriental scholars. It settled, in the first place, the rules under which future meetings of the Congress should be held, and it formally passed certain resolutions on Oriental matters considered at the moment to be of pressing importance. As each of these resolutions embodies the considered opinion of those most competent to judge on the particular matters referred to in them, it is hoped they will have due weight with the Governments or bodies to whom they are addressed. They are as follows:—

### Resolutions passed by the Congress.

1. Le Congrès adresse au Gouvernement de l'Inde ses remerciements au sujet des mesures qu'il a pris pour assurer la conservation des monuments de la sculpture bouddhique qui subsistent dans les montagnes et les vallées du Swat et dans la région avoisinante.

   Il reconnait particulièrement les heureux efforts de Sir Charles Elliott, qui, en qualité de lieutenant-gouverneur du Bengale, a pu en préserver et en disposer à Musée de Calcutta quelques specimens des plus intéressants.

   En même temps, le Congrès désire insister auprès du Gouvernement de l'Inde sur la nécessité qu'il y aurait à exercer une surveillance effective sur les collectionneurs et les amateurs, qui, en s'appropriant des fragments de sculpture, causent à leur insu des dommages considérables à ces précieux monuments. Il estime que cette recommandation est des plus urgente.

2. Le Congrès exprime le vœu que le Gouvernement de l'Inde ait connaissance de la haute estime qui professe la Section des Langues et de l'Archéologie des Pays Aryens, pour les services éminents rendus par le Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., Political Agent, Swat, Dir, and Chitral, à l'archéologie et à l'épigraphie indiennes, par la protection qu'il a exercée et qu'il

exerce encore à l'égard des monuments anciens de la vallée du Swat et de la région avoisinante.

3. Considérant que des fouilles méthodiquement conduites dans le sol de l'Inde promettent les découvertes les plus précieuses; considérant combien il importe que, pour une pareille tâche, l'initiative privée et le concours de l'Occident s'associent aux vues si libérales et si éclairés du Gouvernement de l'Inde, l'Onzième Congrès des Orientalistes émit le vœu qu'il soit fondé le plus tôt possible, une Association internationale pour l'exploration archéologique de l'Inde, "India Exploration Fund," qui aurait son siége à Londres.

   Il délègue à un Comité, composé du Très-Honorable Lord Reay, de Sir Alfred Lyall, de MM. Em. Sénart, professeurs Hofrath G. Bühler et R. Pischel, Serge d'Oldenburg, et Comte F. Pullé, le soin de faire les démarches et de prendre les decisions qui paraîtront nécessaires pour assurer la constitution définitive et le fonctionnement utile de la Société.

4. Le Congrès adresse au Gouvernement de l'Inde ses remerciements pour la part qu'il a pris dans les récentes découvertes faites sur le lieu de naissance de Bouddha.

   Il exprime l'espoir que des mesures pourront être prises, de concert avec le Gouvernement du Népal, pour procéder à des nouvelles fouilles pendant la prochaine saison d'hiver.

5. Le Congrès adresse au Gouvernement du Népal ses vifs remerciements pour les facilités qu'il a accordées aux recherches faites à Kapilavastu et à Lumbini, et les secours précieux qu'il a ainsi prêté à une des découvertes archéologiques les plus importantes du siècle.

6. Le Congrès exprime sa vive gratitude pour la munificence avec laquelle le Gouvernement du Bengale, sous l'administration de Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Gouverneur, a ouvert à l'Indian Museum une "galérie Aśoka," rendant ainsi accessible aux Savants, à l'aide de cette collection de plâtres, les principales inscriptions d'Aśoka.

7. Le Congrès émet le vœu que M. le Dr. Pope soit mis en état de publier les travaux intéressants auxquels il a consacré ses talents.
8. Le Congrès estime qu'il y a urgence à publier une édition critique des textes sacrés de Jainas.
9. Le Congrès exprime ses vifs remerciements au Gouvernement de l'Inde pour avoir mis à exécution le vœu présenté au Congrès de Vienne (1886) demandant une statistique des langues de l'Inde. Il tient à signaler les services qui pourra rendre à la linguistique cette entreprise, quand elle aura été complètement menée à bien.
10. Attendu la haute importance que présente l'inscription murale de la pagode d'Oodeypor pour l'histoire, la linguistique, la religion, et la chronologie de l'Inde; mais, considérant qu'il existe deux traductions contradictoires de cette inscription transcrite du pali en sanscrit, celle du brahme Kamala-Kanta (interprète de la Société Asiatique de Calcutta) et celle du R. P. Barthey (de la Compagnie de Jésus). Le XI[e] Congrès des Orientalistes émet le vœu: Que la Société Asiatique de Calcutta veuille bien faire le nécessaire pour produire à l'appui de la copie du texte de cette inscription, donnée par Princeps, et publiée dans ses Annales, la photographie ou l'empreinte du dit texte mural.
11. Le Congrès exprime au Gouvernement de Ceylan ses remerciements pour les encouragements qu'il a donnés aux recherches historiques, par la publication des "Archaeological Reports," ainsi que par la publication du "Mahāvamsa" et des autres documents anciens de Ceylan. Il espère que le Gouvernement poursuivra l'œuvre si heureusement commencée.
12. Le Congrès exprime ses remerciements à l'Université du Panjab et au Gouvernement du Kachemire, pour les précieux secours que, sur la recommandation du Congrès de Genève, ils ont prêté aux travaux de M. le Dr. Stein, lui permettant d'achever sa traduction de la Rājatarangini et de poursuivre ses recherches topographiques.

En même temps, il exprime de vœu que les moyens lui soient donnés de compléter l'ouvrage par une introduction historique.

13. Le Congrès des Orientalistes de 1897 adresse aux Sociétés de Géographie des différents pays, et à l'India Office, la demande d'entreprendre la classement chronologique et la publication des cartes qui, à différentes époques, ont été tracées sur les différents pays d'Orient.
14. Le Congrès estime qu'il y a urgence à publier une édition critique des textes sacrés de Jainas.
15. Le Congrès invite le Gouvernement de Birmanie à faire faire des fouilles sur les emplacements où étaient situées les anciennes villes, et à confier ce soin à des personnes compétentes.
16. Le Congrès renouvelle avec instances le vœu déjà formulé au 7e Congrès des Orientalistes de Vienne, à l'instigation de MM. Müller et Noeldeke, qu'une édition critique du Talmud voie le jour le plus tôt possible.
17. Le Congrès des Orientalistes, réunie à Paris en 1897, exprime le vif intérêt qui lui inspire la publication projetée sous le titre de "Monuments de l'Art byzantin," et croit devoir recommander instamment cette publication à la libérale sollicitude du Gouvernement français.
18. Le Congrès, considérant l'importance historique et archéologique des monuments anciens de l'Indo-Chine française, émet le vœu que des mesures de conservation soient prises sur place pour empêcher la dissemination des pièces.
19. Le Congrès adopte la projet de decision présentée par la Commission de l'Encyclopédie musulmane, et confirme M. Goldziher dans ses fonctions de directeur-général de l'entreprise. Le nom du M. le Baron Rosen est adjouté à la liste des membres de la Commission.

There was an unusually large attendance from England at this Congress. But notwithstanding that fact, the preponderance, both in scholarship and influence, was unmistakably on the side of foreign scholars. This is not owing to the want of ability in Englishmen to undertake this kind of work. The manner in which the foreign scholars expressed their appreciation of the work of the few Englishmen who have been able to devote their lives to Oriental study, is quite enough to show that this is not the case. But whereas the foreign Governments have established and equipped large and important Oriental schools in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, the English Government, which has larger interests at stake, is content to drift along, under the new conditions of modern days, with the same scant provision of all such incitements to study it has considered sufficient in the past.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE REMAINS NEAR KASIA IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT. By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S. pp. 26, with three Plans. (Allahabad, 1896. Price, Rs. 1 8 0.)

The author says "a study of the remains on the spot has convinced me that Kasia cannot possibly be the site of Kuśanagara or Kusinārā, and that the identification is largely based upon misstatements of fact and fallacious reasoning."

In support of this he first describes the remains at Kasia, as they are, giving a plan and pointing out the inaccuracies and inconsistencies in General Cunningham's "Reports." He then sets out what the Chinese pilgrims said about Kusinārā, combining the results in a plan. Neither the two accounts nor the two plans can be made to agree; and the conclusion is inevitable that Kasia is not the place described as Kusinārā by the pilgrims.

The best thanks of scholars are due to the author for this detailed exposure of a blunder that ought never to have been made.

The point which seems to have chiefly led to it was the discovery of a statue at Kasia, supposed by Carleylle and Cunningham to represent the dying Buddha; and the fact that Yuan Thsiang refers to the existence in the seventh century A.D. of such a statue at Kusinārā. But the statue found at Kasia does not represent the dying Buddha at all. It is a colossal *seated* figure, whereas the pilgrim distinctly states that the statue he saw at Kusinārā

was a recumbent statue, the figure lying with its head to the north, as if asleep. The representation of a dying man would naturally be a recumbent, not a seated, figure; and the distinction between the two, which are well-established types, ought to have been unmistakable by anyone claiming to be an Indian archaeologist.

It is a pity that Indian archaeologists ignore the details given in the most ancient records concerning the places they attempt to identify. Before writing about Kusinārā, it would seem almost a matter of course that not only the descriptions of a traveller in the seventh century A.D., but also all that can be gathered from the words—at least a thousand years older—of the Pali Pitakas, should be in the writer's mind. We there learn from Mahāvagga, vi, 34–38, that the Buddha journeyed along the following route: Vesāli, Bhaddiya-nagara, Āpaṇa, Kusinārā, Ātumā, Sāvatthi. The contrary route from Sāvatthi to Vesāli is given at Sutta Nipāta, p. 185. The name of the grove of Sālā-trees under which the Buddha died is the Upavattana, "on the further side of the river Hiraṇyavatī" ("Buddhist Suttas," S.B.E., xi, p. 85); and the route by which it was reached was Vesāli, Bhaṇḍagāma, Amba-gāma, Jambu-gāma, Bhoga-nagara, Pāvā (these two last also mentioned in the same order in the Sutta Nipāta, p. 185), and across the river Kakuṭṭhā, to Kusinārā ("Buddhist Suttas," pp. 64–74, 82). There is no reference in the oldest texts to its being a walled town; it is called a "wattle and daub town, a village in the midst of the jungle" (ibid., pp. 100, 248). Other references are Anguttara, 2. 274; Udāna, p. 37.

Mr. Vincent Smith is inclined to identify Kasia with the site of the Stūpa erected by Asoka's ancestors, the Moliyas of Pipphalivana, over the embers that remained after the burning of the pyre on which the Buddha's body was consumed (see "Buddhist Suttas," S.B.E., xi, pp. 134, 135). And he gives practical suggestions as to how archaeological investigations at the place could best be carried out. It is needless to state how important and interesting might be the discoveries resulting from the thorough exploration

of such a site as Pipphalivana, and we trust that Mr. Smith's able report will lead to something being done, more especially as the work would be greatly facilitated by the presence, on the spot, of so competent a scholar as Dr. Hoey.

A. A. MACDONELL VEDIC MYTHOLOGY. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philology und Altertumskunde, herausgegeben von GEORG BÜHLER. (Strassburg: Karl F. Trübner, 1897.)

The latest contribution to that great encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan research, which is now in course of publication under the editorship of Hofrath Dr. Bühler, is Professor A. Macdonell's "Vedic Mythology." Since our first acquaintance with the remnants of the religious poetry of ancient India, the difficult problems of Vedic mythology have occupied a prominent place among the different branches of Indian and even of Indo-European philology. None of the European nations can indeed boast of possessing an equally large number of hymns, composed by priests and leaders of religious thought in the remotest period of their history, and of as vast a religious literature as that which surrounds those venerable documents of the beliefs of ancient India. Of the songs that were composed in honour of Thor, of Woden, or of Swantowid, we have none; Vedic hymns we reckon by hundreds. The extent of these materials, the simplicity of the conception of some Vedic gods, and the compound character of others, have given this branch of Sanskrit philology a particular charm, which even for the future will not fail to attract the mind of students of history of religion. Vedic mythology has to teach a lesson of its own. I think that a just appreciation of the contents of Vedic literature on the part of modern scholars would have prevented some fashionable fallacies, such as the over-estimate of ancestor-worship or totemism, which are by some regarded as the very base or source of religious life. There exists among Vedic scholars, with perhaps one or

two exceptions, no disagreement as to the necessity of deriving most of the old Indian deities from physical phenomena, however much they disagree as to the interpretation of the original meaning. Ancestor-worship has certainly been one side of ancient mythology, but it is not the only or even the most prominent one. How is it possible that the great lights of heaven, which regulate the course of time, create summer and winter, dispel the darkness of night, should have influenced the mind of primitive man less than the belief in the power of the deceased or in malign spirits? These so-called savages, whatever they may have been, herdsmen or husbandmen, were not entirely troglodytes, and felt more than we do the influence of those forces that regulated their daily life—of Sun and Moon, of Storm and Weather. I cannot help thinking that a more sympathetic attention paid to the facts as represented by the Veda, than has been paid by some authorities, would have assigned to ancestor-worship and fetishism the limited share in mythology which alone they deserve.

It is the knowledge of Vedic facts which give M. Müller's position its strength over his opponents. It might be argued to the contrary, that the great difference of opinion between scholars as to the true character of many a Vedic god, and the difficulty of arriving at an understanding with regard to method, cannot be said to be in favour of this position claimed for the Vedic mythology. But it is the great extent of the literature, the knowledge of its historical evolution, which create the great difficulties that beset our way in Vedic mythology. I fear the seeming absence of historical development in the mythology of savage tribes, the simplicity of its scanty materials, are but delusive as to its real value, and would prove imaginary if we could have access to its unrecorded history. Because we know little of this history we think we tread upon firmer ground.

Professor Macdonell's careful exposition of facts will, amidst the many important additions that have been made within the last few years to our knowledge of the subject,

maintain a position of its own. The contributor to an encyclopedia has to carry out his task under certain restrictions imposed upon him by the somewhat retrospective character of his work. He is more expected to give us an account of the present line of research than to advance science or to solve problems on his own part. Professor Macdonell has not only fulfilled this first duty, but also given a detailed description of Vedic gods and heroes which is entirely based upon the original texts, and this makes his work an especially valuable source of information. It is this painstaking statement of facts which forms its main feature and will ensure it a conspicuous rank. It begins with an introduction dealing with general problems, such as "Religion and Mythology," "Method to be pursued"; treats in the second chapter of the "Vedic conceptions of the world and its origin"; in the third of the "Vedic gods," divided by him into celestial, atmospheric, terrestrial, and abstract gods, besides points of smaller importance as goddesses, dual divinities, groups of deities, and lower deities, which are separately represented under four more headings. This division recommends itself from a practical point of view, and I could offer no better one; but is theoretically liable to some objection, as the limits between celestial, atmospheric, and terrestrial gods are constantly shifting, according to the varying interpretation given to the original character of the gods by different scholars. Bṛhaspati, for instance, whom the author himself considers as "an aspect of Agni as a divine priest presiding over devotion," is reckoned by him among the terrestrial gods, while others think him a mere representation of priestly action, the abstraction of the powers of prayer. I still hold to my conviction, that the starting-point of this personification was the moon. The spiritual character imputed to this luminary by Vedic times has, I believe, not been taken sufficiently into account when dealing with this divine personage of the Old-Indian Olympos. I may refer to a well-known verse of the Puruṣa hymn, saying that from the eye of Puruṣa the

sun was born, and from his mind the moon, and to further evidence collected in my "Ved. Myth.," i, p. 404. Besides that, we find in the Upaniṣads two passages reflecting a similar view.[1] Indra, the Kṣatriya among the gods, has developed from a physical phenomenon into a god-warrior, and the prototype of earthly kings; likewise has Bṛhaspati, the heavenly Brahman or Purohita, taken his origin from the moon as the presiding deity of the Brahmanas. I may here quote — though I generally do not think that Pali will help us much in the understanding of Vedic mythology, and has even already caused some misunderstanding — a passage of the Dhammapada (No. 387) exhibiting exactly that train of thought which, in my opinion, underlays the Vedic development of the Sun into a warrior, and of the Moon into Bṛhaspati.[2]

Though I did not wish to leave this objection unnoticed, which theoretically might be made against Professor Macdonell's above-mentioned division, which is, in fact, a very old one and goes back to Hindoo writers, I willingly confess that he has done all he could to avoid all disadvantages which might accrue from it, by giving first the characteristic features of each god, independent of any interpretation, and adding at the end a review of all different opinions brought forward with regard to his original meaning. The last four chapters, dealing with mythical priests and heroes (IV), animate and inanimate objects (V), demons and fiends (VI), and eschatology (VII), are worked out with Professor Macdonell's usual care.

A few mistakes might be noticed in conclusion. At § 33 I should have expected to find a few words with regard to Samudra, whose personification is dimly foreshadowed in Vedic hymns. Vedic *svarṣā* and Avestan *hvaresa* (?) cannot be identified (p. 114). It is not *Roth*

[1] See Deussen, "Sechzig Upaniṣad's," Index, s.v. 'Mond.'

[2] *divā tapati ādicco*
*rattim ābhāti candimā |*
*sannaddho khattiyo tapati*
*jhāyī tapati brāhmaṇo |*

who explained Aditi as imperishable celestial light (123). B.R.I., which is omitted in the List of Abbreviations, means: Barth, "Les Religions de l'Inde."

A. HILLEBRANDT.

*Breslau, Monhauptstrasse* 14, *July*, 1897.

DAS LEBEN DER VORISLAMISCHEN BEDUINEN NACH DEN QUELLEN GESCHILDERT, von Dr. GEORG JACOB. pp. 179. (Berlin: Mayer & Mueller, 1895.)

ALTARABISCHE PARALLELEN ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT ZUSAMMENGESTELLT, von Dr. GEORG JACOB. (Parts III and IV of "Studien in Arabischen Dichtern.") pp. 25. (Berlin, 1897.)

In the first of the treatises mentioned above the author endeavours to give as complete a picture of ancient Bedouin life and culture as may be pourtrayed from the different traits depicted in their poems. Greek and Latin writers still form the chief sources from which many students draw instruction on this subject, but these must be regarded as only accessory to the direct information to be found in Arab literature itself and to the autopsy of modern travellers. The unparalleled conservatism of life in the desert fortunately allows these two factors to work hand in hand. Thus, whilst modern experiences tend to confirm the statements of ancient poets, they also help to give us a more correct understanding of the same.

Other authors have already published their researches on kindred subjects; and in matters connected with religious customs, Dr. Jacob's work runs parallel with Wellhausen's "Reste altarabischen Heidenthums," from the first edition of which he quotes. This is unfortunate, as the second edition, published this year, has many alterations. Certain items are also to be found in the writings of the late Professor W. Robertson Smith, Wilken, Goldziher, and others. Yet Dr. Jacob has treated his material quite

independently, and his results often differ from those of his predecessors. Considering the nature of the sources on which he has chiefly relied, it must be admitted that he has been on the whole successful in coping with difficulties which tax all the learning and critical tact of accomplished Arabic scholars. His extensive knowledge of ancient Arab poetry render him well qualified to write on this subject.

Although in the title the author only refers to the Bedouins, much that the book contains also holds good for the tribes settled in towns and villages. It must not be implied that because a certain amount of culture is to be found among the Bedouins, that this had originated with them. They rather adopted such customs as presupposed certain forms of social life. It is, therefore, almost impossible to describe the habits of the Bedouins alone, to the exclusion of Arabs in general, or to restrict the sources to be drawn upon for information to their poems. In Judges, viii, 21, 26, e.g., we find references to golden moons and chains hung round the necks of the Ishmaelites' camels, as well as to articles of men's dress. I may add here that a kind of camel's bridle is known to the Mishnāh (Sabbath, v, 2), under the Persian name *afsār* (see Levy, W. B.), as also a little bolster (*m'ṭūṭēleth*) hanging down the camel's tail as a kind of amulet. These seem to have been introduced by travellers. If we find the word *ḥānūt* used in Bedouin poetry to designate a wine-stall it was brought from the north country, although both in Syriac and the language of the Mishnāh it signifies a shop in general (Abhōth, iii, 16; Ṭa'anith, i, 6. See also Fraenkel, "Aram. Fremdw.," p. 172). Agh., iv, p. 16, gives a graphic description of a scene in the house of a Syrian wine merchant (*bait khammār*) in which the poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, who was not a Bedouin, participated. In the verses attached to the tale Ḥassān speaks of the *ḥānūt* (ed. Tunis, p. 35, l.q.; Agh., ib., has *lilkhammār*), which word occurs again in his verses three times (pp. 60, 73, 90). Dr. Jacob is at pains to prove that the Mohammedan prohibition of wine was dictated by the prophet's desire to injure the

Jewish wine trade in Medina. This motive would scarcely have sufficed if the wine trade had entirely been in the hands of the Jews, which it was not; apart from which Mohammed could easily have inhibited the purchase of their goods. It seems more likely that the prohibition of wine is in some way connected with the very strict rabbinical decree forbidding the use of wine obtained from pagan hands for fear of its having been contaminated by contact with idolators (Mishn. Abh. Za., ii, 3; v, i). In the Qorān (v, 92), wine is placed on a par with the *maisīr* game, statues, and the divining arrows. The final prohibition in the verse quoted is certainly later than the year 4 H., and was not revealed until some time after the expedition to Kheibar, when Jewish trade in the Ḥijāz was out of question.

For the comparison of battle to a mill see also the verses of Ka'b b. Al Ashraf Ibn Hish, p. 548 (Agh., xix, p. 106), "The mill of Badr has crushed the warriors," etc. The notion that a child inherits the qualities of its maternal uncle (see Wilken, "Das Matriarchat," p. 44 sqq.), also exists among Jews even at the present time. Writing, or rather epigraphy (*alwaḥy*), is also mentioned by Zoheir, 17, 6, and *Delectus, V. C. A.*, p. 107, l. 7.

The smaller volume on the *Parallelen* forms a kind of supplement to the first book, although compiled with different purpose. To give an aphoristic character to Gen. xxv, 32, is hardly justified, as it more probably refers to the speaker's perilous calling. The author's addition, *schliesslich doch*, is not to be found in the original. For further examples for the use of the idea of threshing as a simile for fighting, see Is. xxv, 10; Micah, iv, 13. The call *asmi'īnā* (*Beduinenleben*, p. 51) may be compared to Cant. ii, 14. The author's explanation of *taltallīm* (Cant. v, 11) = Arab. *talātil*, is not quite satisfactory. The *tertium comparationis* seems to be the shaking movement for which the paragraph in *Lisān al Arab* furnishes strong proofs. *Delectus*, p. 2, l. 8, also, should represent the *turmoil* of war. Here are one or two more instances—"Oh

that I had been given the black poison to drink"—Ḥassān b. Th. Diwān, p. 24, l. 8: cf. Jer. ix, 15; xxiii, 15; Ps. lx, 3. *Delectus*, p. 2, l. 15, cf. also Ps. cxxxvii, 5.

H. H.

Die Araber als Vermittler der Wissenschaften in deren Uebergang vom Orient in den Occident, von Prof. Dr. H. Suter. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. 32. (Aarau, 1897.)

This is a lecture delivered by Professor Suter in Zürich, describing the position of the Arabs as a connecting medium between Oriental and Occidental learning. Being designed for an audience whose main interest centred in the latter, it contains little that is new. The author has a fair knowledge of the literature in question, although he does not seem to have always drawn from the chief sources. Of Steinschneider's bulky works and innumerable articles, nearly all of which are devoted to the subject, he seems not to have heard. Many famous Arab names have escaped him, and too little is said on the achievements of the Arabs in mechanics and the manufacture of astronomical instruments. No mention is made of music, and the inferior branches of studies such as magic, etc., which also had some influence on European thought.

H. H.

Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum. By C. J. Rodgers. 4 Parts. (Calcutta, 1893–6.)

In this book Mr. Rodgers catalogues the Collection of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which was formed by donations of duplicates from the British Museum, coins formerly in the Calcutta Mint, from the De Loessoe Collection of the Afghan Boundary Commission, from the Archaeological Surveys, from treasure trove, and a few gifts.

The Catalogue shows that the collection is very defective in classes of coins in which it might easily be especially

strong; has many duplicate coins, and of some many specimens. All this shows the need of a Curator with a knowledge of Oriental Numismatics, and some inclination towards that branch of study; and it is hoped that the newly-appointed Curator of the Museum will become, if he is not already, interested in the subject, so that the collection may be made what it ought and might easily be—a, or the only, tolerably complete one of the coinage of India. One who knows what are the wants, what and where to collect, and what could be judiciously exchanged, might, with the opportunities for acquiring coins given to the Government Museum, effect this before it is too late, for some classes of coins are getting much scarcer as years go on. It has been the practice to number each coin added to the collection, and to give it the next vacant number in the list of additions. They were then arranged in drawers according to the numbers given them, and without any regard to the region, date, dynasty, or people to which they belonged. A glance at any page of the Catalogue will show this—e.g., page 3, where the first coin is numbered 8,713, and the second, a duplicate of it, 12,776. Hence the work of compiling the Catalogue must have been very heavy, and Mr. Rodgers is probably the only man who would have undertaken it and completed it as he has done.

Part I contains the coins of the Sultans of Dehli and their contemporaries. The early Sultans are well represented, but some others not so, and the coinages of Malwa, Gujarat, Kulburga, Bengal, Kashmir, etc., need many additions, some of which might be easily got.

Part II contains the Moghul Emperors of India, the E.I.C., the Native States, and the Indian (British) Empire. In this part the description of the coins of the Native States is especially valuable, as but little work has as yet been done with that class of coin, but here, again, but comparatively few States are represented.

Part III contains Ancient and Mediaeval Coins of India; Part IV, Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Greek, Roman, Parthian, Sassanian, Miscellaneous Muhammadan, Ghazni,

Durrani, Modern Asiatic, European, and American. In both these Parts there are some valuable and interesting coins, but also some remarkable deficiencies.

The work would have been more valuable had references been given throughout to some other catalogues or lists. It is noticed that in the first pages references are given to Thomas' "Pathan Kings," but beyond that there are none. There are, as might be expected in such a work, mistakes in the text, and one may be mentioned as a specimen. On the majority of the horseman and bull coins the word श्री is correctly so spelt, though in some it is spelt स्री; but the latter spelling is given throughout in this Catalogue. The illustrations are good, but there is an unlucky jumble of figures in plates iv, v, and vi of Part II, by which one student, at least, has been already confused. The figure marked p. 143, No. 8,216, i.e. a coin of Baroda, should be marked p. 159, No. 12,243, a coin of Jaipur; that marked, p. 159, No. 12,243, i.e. the above-mentioned Jaipur coin, is really p. 172, No. 12,272, a coin of Navanagar; and that marked p. 172, No. 12,272, the Navanagar coin, is really the p. 143, No. 8,216, Baroda one. The errors are unfortunately also made in the description of the plates, p. 254.

O. C.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS COLLECTED BY C. J. RODGERS AND PURCHASED BY THE PANJAB GOVERNMENT. (Calcutta, 1894–6.)

Part I of this Catalogue, "The Moghul Emperors of India," was noticed in the Journal in 1894. Since then the remaining three parts have been published.

Part II, Miscellaneous Muhammadan.—Of these the most remarkable are the series of coins of Governors of Sind; Sultans of Ghazni; Sultans of Dehli, of which Mr. Rodgers has made a special study and here describes many novelties; Persian Kings; Durrani and Afghan; and coins of the Sikhs.

Part III, Graeco-Bactrian and other Ancient Coins.—In this volume the most important series are the Indo-Scythic

and the ancient coins of India, of both of which there is a good collection, with many varieties.

Part IV, Miscellaneous.—The coins of Kashmir and Kangra, Mediaeval India, and the autonomous coins are the most noteworthy in this volume.

Each volume has a preface, containing much interesting matter connected with the coinage of the dynasties described in it; and all the work has been carefully done. The Catalogue would have been more useful if more notes and references had been given, and of course it is a defect when there are no plates in a coin book. It is difficult to identify many Oriental coins, on which the inscriptions are often imperfect, by description only; and especially does the reader wish for a phototype of the coin when he sees it marked unique, and yet from the verbal description it appears to be the same as one he himself described years ago, or is quite familiar with from the writings of others. But the author is not to be blamed for these defects.

The study of these Catalogues of Mr. Rodgers makes one regret afresh that his services as an Archaeologist have not been retained by Government, and that one so earnest and enthusiastic is now amongst the unemployed when there is so much he might be doing, and would doubtless well do as before when so employed in the Panjab.

O. C.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

## 1. Pedro Teixeira.

Dear Sir,—Mr. W. F. Sinclair's letter appearing on pp. 624–628 of the July number of the R.A.S. Journal appeals for information about Teixeira.

First, as to Pedro Teixeira's book. There are four copies of the original edition of 1610 in the British Museum Library, one being in the Grenville collection. Of the three former, one has been copiously annotated by its previous (scholarly) owner. There is also a copy of the French translation of 1681 (1621 is a misprint in the "Biographie Universelle"). The British Museum Library, moreover, contains several copies of the English translation, by Captain John Stevens, of Teixeira's Voyage from India to Italy, published in 1710 (?) in vol. ii of "A New Collection of Voyages and Travels" (reissued in 1711 with new title-pages and a dedication by Stevens). It has also a copy of Stevens's translation of the History of Persia, published separately in 1715. (In this last, Teixeira's first name is erroneously given on the title-page as "Anthony.") I have compared Stevens's translations somewhat cursorily with the originals; and they appear to be, on the whole, faithful versions, though in many places strange words and proper names are misprinted or transformed. It is curious that Sir Henry Yule did not enter Teixeira's name in the index to his "Book of Ser Marco Polo." In the list of authorities at the end of vol. ii, however, he gives the full title of Teixeira's book, but with the misprinted date 1619.

He also enters it in the list of works at the beginning of "Hobson-Jobson," and quotes from it in the body of this book. It is remarkable that he makes no mention of Stevens's translations, though he could hardly have been ignorant of them.[1]

As regards the man, little seems to be known of him beyond what is to be gathered or inferred from his book. To J. J. Benjamin's "Eight Years in Asia and Africa" (1863) is prefixed a biographical notice of Pedro Teixeira by Dr. M. Kayserling, but it does not add much to our knowledge of the traveller. The most important fact that Dr. Kayserling gives us is, that Pedro Teixeira was a Jew, or, rather, of Jewish parentage (born probably in Lisbon)[2]; for Dr. Kayserling infers "from his narrative that during a great part of his life—during his travels—that preceded his arrival in Antwerp he was a Christian, and was a devout Catholic." Dr. Kayserling adds:—"It was at Antwerp, the oldest Dutch settlement of the Spanish-Portuguese exiles, that Pedro took up his abode after the termination of his journey. There he published his valuable work on the origin and order of succession of the kings of Persia and Harmez; there he wrote his 'Travels from India to Italy'; and there, not at Verona, most probably towards the middle of the seventeenth century, he died in the Jewish faith, and was gathered to his fathers in a better world." In a footnote Dr. Kayserling mentions several writers who give Verona as the place where Teixeira died,

[1] It is evident that the quotations from Teixeira in "Hobson-Jobson" were made by Dr. Burnell, all being translations from the original Spanish. Dr. Burnell includes Teixeira's work in his "Tentative List of Books and some MSS. relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper." Mr. Albert Gray, in his translation of Pyrard (Hakluyt Society), vol. ii, part 1, p. 242, note, also refers to the *Relaciones*. The late Mr. P. A. Tiele, in his "Mémoire Bibliographique sur les Journaux des Navigateurs Néerlandais" (p. 255, note), says that the additional matter relating to Persia, Ormuz, etc., inserted after Hendrick Hagenaer's travels in Commelin's collection, was probably compiled by Commelin, chiefly from Teixeira's work, the title of which he quotes.

[2] Dr. Kayserling refers to the fact that there were several noted men of this same name, and this is also pointed out in a footnote on p. 59 of the "Viaje del capitán Pedro Teixeira aguas arriba del rio de las Amazonas (1638–1639)," by Mancos Jimenez de la Espada (Madrid, 1889); but, in spite of this, the British Museum Library Catalogue enters this last book with the works of our author.

but thinks Barbosa Machado, who says that Teixeira remained in Antwerp until his death, more worthy of credence. In his "Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica" (1890), however, Dr. Kayserling leaves the matter an open question.

From the many digressions made by Teixeira in his histories of Persia and Ormuz, it is evident that he had for a number of years travelled in the East, and was a keen observer. In many cases, where he relates facts that came under his own observation, he mentions no date; but I have picked out those passages where dates are given, and the result is as follows:—In lib. i, cap. xxxiii, he refers to a great inundation of the sea that took place along the north-west coast of Ceylon in 1585; but he does not say where he himself was at the time. The first date that he gives in connection with his own travels is 1587. This occurs in cap. xxix, lib. i, where, after referring to the "vast Plenty of Fish" in "the Bay of *Mascate*," he relates an incident that "hapned to me in that very Bay, in the year 1587, when coming thither with Ships of War, . . . ." A reference to De Couto's *Dec.* x, part ii, shows us how our author must have come to Muscat. In liv. viii, cap. x, of De Couto's work, we are told of the dispatch from Goa to Melinde (in reply to a request from the king of that place) of a fleet under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello, the object of which was to punish the King of Mombasa and other native rulers who were intriguing with the Turks. This fleet sailed from Goa on January 9, 1587; and in the first chapter of liv. ix we are given details of the punishment inflicted on the intriguers. In cap. ii we are told of the arrival at Mombasa, in a sorely shattered condition, of the ship "Salvador," one of the fleet, under D. Jeronymo Coutinho, which had left Lisbon in March, 1586. This vessel having a valuable cargo on board, Martim Affonso resolved to try to bring it to Ormuz (and succeeded in doing so). The fleet, having sailed from Melinde (when, is not stated), called at the *aguada de Teive* (watering-place of Teive), which, apparently, was the Portuguese name

for some point off Muscat. Thence the ships left for Ormuz; and, after a few days' stay, sailed for the *estreito* (Strait of Ormuz); but, on arriving at Kishm, Martim Affonso became so ill that the fleet returned to Ormuz, where the commander died and was buried. The fleet remained in the strait until September, when it returned to Ormuz, and under the command of Simão da Costa, Martim Affonso's father-in-law, sailed for Goa, where it arrived in October, 1587. One of the objects of the above-mentioned expedition was the erection of a fortress at Muscat, which work was intrusted to Belchior Calaça, chief engineer, and captain of one of the vessels, who, after consulting with the Captain of Ormuz, left this place for Muscat, and accomplished his task. I have given these details, as they serve to throw some light on Pedro Teixeira's movements, regarding which he gives us only the solitary fact I have quoted. Whether he came from Portugal in the unfortunate "Salvador," or whether he was already in India, and accompanied the punitive expedition under Affonso de Mello, we have nothing to show. From his language, it seems more probable that he was with the whole fleet when he visited Muscat, than that he accompanied Belchior Calaça thither from Ormuz. It seems also certain that he returned to Goa with the fleet in October, 1587, judging from what he tells us in connection with his next datum.

In cap. xxii of the same book he says (I quote Stevens's translation here and elsewhere):—"When I came from the Island of *Ceylon*, for *Goa*, in the Year 1588, with one that was presently after Viceroy of *India*, our Fleet came to an Anchor off of *Barcelor*, being desirous to see that *Portuguese* Fortress, and the City of the same Name, which they call, the upper *Barcelor*, Capital of *Canara*, and the Kingdom of the *Chatins*, above spoken of, I got leave to go a shore, . . . . This was at the latter end of *March*, . . . ." How and when he came to Ceylon does not appear, nor whether he made any stay in the island at this time. (That he did stay in Ceylon on one

occasion at least, we know from his own statement.) The person whom he accompanied from Ceylon to Goa, "that was presently after Viceroy of *India*" (or rather Governor), was Manoel de Sousa Coutinho, who, as we learn from De Couto (*Dec.* x, liv. x, cap. xiv), had been despatched by the Viceroy from Goa on February 4 with a fleet for the relief of Colombo, which had been enduring a prolonged siege at the hands of "Rajú" (Rāja Sinha I). The siege having been raised, and the enemy's forces having been driven back with great loss, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho sailed for Goa, calling at Cochin, and visiting the fortresses of Cananore and Canara (the latter including Barcelor, referred to by Teixeira). He arrived at Goa at the end of March, and was received in great style by the citizens and the Viceroy, Dom Duarte de Menezes. Pedro Teixeira must have been an eye-witness of all these grand doings; but he is strangely silent on the subject. Dom Duarte de Menezes dying soon afterwards (on May 4, 1588), Manoel de Sousa Coutinho succeeded him as Governor; Mathias de Albuquerque, who was the first in succession, having left for Portugal the previous year.

In cap. xxix Teixeira refers to an incident that occurred "in the Year 1590, when *John Correa Brito* was Governor of the Fortress of *Columbo*, in *Ceylon*"; but again does not state where he himself was. In cap. xxxiii, however, he gives us another definite statement. Referring to the virtue of the "Porcupine Stone," he says:—"Of this I am an Eye Witness, having seen the Effects of it in several Places, at sundry times, and particularly at the City of *Cochin*, in the Years 1590, and 1591, where the Governor that then was, spent Two Porcupines Stones he had, in the Service of the poor, and needy, doing wonders against a Disease more dangerous and violent than the Plague, which reign'd Two whole Years, and carry'd off People in Four or Five Hours. This Distemper was a *Cholerica Passio*, by the Indians call'd *Moxxy*, and by the *Portugueses Mordexim*,[1] being a Sort of Colick."

[1] Cf. "Hobson-Jobson," s.v. 'Mort-de-chien.'

In cap. vi of the same book Teixeira speaks of a monstrous piece of ambergris found on the Zanzibar coast, near the town of Brava, in 1593; and in his "Breve Relacion de las Provincias . . . . de la Persia" he mentions a terrible earthquake that occurred in the city of Lar in September of the same year; but in neither case does he specify where he was. The same remark applies to cap. xxi, lib. i, where he describes a rebellion that took place in "the Province of *Gueylon*" in 1593 and 1594. In the same chapter, speaking of "the Five Governments the Province of *Gueylon* is divided into," he says: "The First is call'd *Raxt*, a Name taken from its chief City, which in the Year 1595, when I writ this [quando esto iua escrivēdo], was in the Possession of *Iamshced Khan*." From what he says in his Preface, it is evident that Teixeira was then residing in Ormuz. In cap. xxii he tells us that he was at Ormuz in 1596, and in his "brief account" of that kingdom he repeats the statement. In cap. xiv, referring to the "City of *Mazandaron* . . . . seated . . . . near the *Caspian* Sea," he says: "In the Year 1597, when I was that way," etc. That he set out on a journey back (?) to India soon afterwards, we find from cap. xxix, where he says: "In the Year 1597, going from *Goa* to *Malaca*,[1] we had extraordinary calms at Sea, and I being desirous to see a small Island, lying opposite to us, call'd *Pulo Jarra*, that is, *Jarra* Island, went ashore, . . . ." At Malacca he seems to have remained for the next three years, for in the next chapter he says:—"When *Francis Silva de Meneses* was Governor of *Malaca*, he sent *Don Francis Tello de Menezes* Governor of the *Philippine* Islands, Presents, and among other Things was a small young Elephant, with his *Cornaca*, being the Indian that managed him. This Elephant feeding about in the Island of *Manila*, was thirsty, and went away to the River of *Paranaque*, which was hard by to drink. [A crocodile seized the elephant, but got the worst of it.]

[1] Apparently with the fleet under the command of Lourenço de Brito, which left Goa on September 24, 1597, for Malacca, on receipt of the rumour of an intended attack by the Dutch on that place. (See De Couto, *Dec.* xii, liv. i, caps. vii and xii.)

I was my self in *June* 1600, at the very Place, on the River *Paranaque*, where this had hapned, but a few Days before." This was when Teixeira was on his journey home by way of America, as related in the first chapter of his "Viaje de la India hasta Italia." He there states that he left Malacca on May 1, 1600, in a small vessel sent "by the Commander *Martin Alfonso de Melo's* Order, to acquaint the Governor of those Islands [Philippines] with the coming of the *Dutch* into the *Indian* Seas."

With what object Pedro Teixeira undertook his various travels, we can only surmise; but, judging from his statement, quoted above, regarding the epidemic of cholera at Cochin, and the frequent medical references in his book, I cannot help thinking that he was a physician by profession. His observations are often valuable;[1] and a reprint of Stevens's translation, competently edited, might deserve the attention of the Hakluyt Society.

There are a few errors in Mr. Sinclair's summary of Teixeira's journey, but a very serious one in the penultimate paragraph of his letter. This runs: "In one passage, in chapter vi of the 'Voyage,' he refers to 'the relation that I have made of the religious customs of the African races'; apparently a lost treatise." Here Mr. Sinclair has strangely misread Teixeira, who, in the passage in question, refers *by name* to (Giovanni) Botero, regarding whom and his works see the "Nouvelle Biographie Générale," tome vi.

DONALD FERGUSON.

5, *Bedford Place, Croydon.*
*July* 24, 1897.

[1] His derivations of words and names are, as might be expected, sometimes amusingly incorrect. For instance, he speaks of "*Coromandel*, or *Coro Bandel*, signifying the Port of Rice, because of the great Quantities shipp'd off there for other Ports." Yule quotes this in his "Hobson-Jobson" (p. 198), and says: "He apparently compounds (Hind.) *chaul* 'cooked rice' (!) and *bandel*, i.e. *bandar* (qq.v.) 'harbour.' This is a very good type of the way etymologies are made by some people, and then confidently repeated." I think that it was not Hind. *chaul*, but Tamil *cōru* (boiled rice), that Teixeira had in his mind. Similarly absurd is De Couto's explanation of "Batecalou" (Batticaloa) as "the kingdom of rice."

## 2. Arakanese Dialect.

Dear Sir,—Allow me to make a few remarks on Mr. B. Houghton's article on the Arakanese Dialect, in which I find a few points likely to lead to mistake.

He admits that the Arakanese branched off at a very early date, and that their dialect is archaic, but that it *by no means represents exactly the sounds of Burmese as it is spelt.*

As regards *final* consonants this is true, but not so as regards *initials.* Whenever ရ R ought to occur it is pronounced as R, and so written. It is only the Burman who confounds ရ R with ယ Y, and Judson, when making his Dictionary, had to consult Arakanese authorities on this point. As regards finals, it is simply impossible, in many cases, to find out which is the true one, and there are no valid reasons for supposing that a final ဥ *c* (or *ts*) was even pronounced otherwise than as a sharp *t.* The men who adapted the Pali alphabet to the Burmese speech had to supply vowel sounds which they did not find in Pali, and so they had to do it by means of final consonants. They wanted to express *i* as in *it,* and they did it by laying down the rule that *ac* = *it,* the *t* being swallowed and scarcely perceptible. Again, ည *ny,* the Pali *ñ,* has two final sounds *ñ* and *i,* one representing the *y* or *j* part of the letter and the other the *ñ.* When it is to be pronounced *ñ* a small circle is put over it, thus: ချည် *'kyi* 'to tie,' ချဉ် *'kyin* 'sour.' I consider it a mistake to say that သည် = *sañ*; it represents *si,* or, when lisped, *thi* (*θi*), and this aorist affix is commonly pronounced *de.*

Burmese is evidently undergoing changes in its pronunciation, and words beginning with *ky* are now pronounced as

if spelt with *'ky*: thus ကြက် *kyet* 'a fowl' is, I am told, now pronounced *chet* as if it were ချက် *chet* 'to cook.' *Kyun* is pronounced *chun*. The Burman says *chut* 'to deliver,' but the Arakanese sticks to *kyut*. This was not so thirty years ago.

Mr. Houghton gives *'saṅ* as the Arakanese for 'elephant'; it may be so now, but the older and rougher Arakanese pronounced it *chaṅg*.

Certain words ought not to have been put in the list: *châ-pwā* 'a Shan chief' is probably not Burmese, and the same may be said of *saṅ-kran*.

*Dâyā* should not be compared with *pat-sō*, for the former is a Bengali word, and does not mean exactly the same thing. I always understood that the word was *'dôlyā*, and Mr. Blumhardt is of opinion that it may be a form of *'dotiya*, the diminutive of *'doti*.

In comparing dialects a word borrowed from another language should always be noted as such.

In the case of *raik* 'to beat,' is it certain that the word does not exist in Arakanese? In Burmese *θat* means 'to strike with a swinging motion of the arm; to beat': *raik* 'to strike' (with something).

As regards foreign fruit, the Burman calls the guava *mālakā*, possibly because it came from Malacca; but where did the Arakanese get *kū-yain*? The Burman calls the papaya *θimb'â-θī*: 'ship-fruit,' but what is the Arakanese *padagā*? Is it Portuguese or West Indian?

Names of fish should be omitted as they have mostly been borrowed by the Burmese from the Mun (or Mōn).

*K'rē-tâ-rā* 'the presence,' is not intelligible, as I can find no such word in the dictionary, and *fox* is a misprint for *box*. In comparing dialects the greatest care is required, and every little difference should be explained if possible.—Yours truly,

R. F. St. Andrew St. John.

*July* 30.

### 3. Dawlatshah's Lives of the Persian Poets (Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā).

All those who are interested in the study of the Persian Language and Literature must have suffered grave inconvenience from the difficulty of obtaining access to many of the most indispensable books of reference, especially biographical and historical works to which the student constantly has occasion to refer. Many of the most important and most useful of these, such as the Tārīkh-i-Guzīda of Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī-i-Qazvīnī, the Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā of Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, etc., exist only in manuscript; while others, though they have been lithographed in the East, are hardly more accessible to European students, owing to the difficulty of obtaining copies, the inaccurate and illegible state of the text, and the complete absence of titles, paragraphs, and indices. To this latter class belongs the Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā of Dawlatshāh, a work which, whatever its defects, is of capital importance to the student of Persian Literature. The only edition with which I am acquainted (Bombay, 1887) is a poor lithograph, presenting in many places a corrupt text, and entirely devoid of the indices and tables of contents which are so essential in a book of reference.

Having been for several years deeply impressed with the defective character of the apparatus wherewith the student of Persian is compelled to work, I have often contemplated the possibility of beginning, even though it be on a very modest scale, to remedy this state of things, by the gradual publication of a series of selected historical and biographical texts, based on the best available manuscripts, and provided with the necessary indices of the names of all persons, places, and books referred to in the text. Dawlatshāh's Tadhkira appeared to me, for reasons which it is not necessary to enumerate, the most suitable book with which to inaugurate this projected series, and the text of this, based on three Cambridge MSS. dated A.H. 984, 979, and 1104, and the lithographed edition, and collated in the

more obscure and doubtful portions with old MSS. preserved in London, Paris, and Oxford, is now, together with the indices, completed and ready to be placed in the printer's hands. The question of how the cost of publication is to be defrayed has alone delayed thus long the appearance of the work, and I have now decided to risk a certain loss provided that sufficient support is promised to ensure the sale of 200 copies. For this support I now appeal to my fellow-students. Those who desire to subscribe are requested to signify their intention of so doing to Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street (opposite the British Museum), London, W.C. The printing will begin as soon as the necessary support is guaranteed.

The price of the book to subscribers will be Twelve Shillings (15 francs, 12 marks) nett, not including postage, the Subscription to be payable by the Subscriber on delivery of the book, or on receipt of a notification that it is ready for delivery. After publication the price will be raised to Eighteen Shillings (22·50 francs, 18 marks).

Should the support necessary to defray at least two-thirds of the cost not be forthcoming, the publication of the text will not be proceeded with. If, on the other hand, the sale of the text should eventually prove sufficient to defray the entire cost of publication, the series will be continued with other Persian texts of a similar character, especially those historical and biographical works chiefly needed for reference.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

*Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge.*

*August*, 1897.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(July, August, September, 1897.)

## I. Notes and News.

*Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā.*—We are glad to know that an edition in Sinhalese characters of this commentary on the Vinaya is being edited in Ceylon, by U. S. S. Dharmakīrti. The first quarter of the work has already appeared.

### THE KING OF SIAM.

His Majesty the King of Siam received at Taplow Court, Berkshire, on Monday, August 16, an address from the Royal Asiatic Society.

As the arrangements were made at a few hours' notice, it was only possible to communicate with those members of Council who reside in town, and of those many had already left London.

A deputation consisting of Mr. Ashburner, Professor Bendall, Mr. Robert Chalmers, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Legge, Dr. T. H. Thornton, Mr. Watters, and Professor Rhys Davids (Secretary) was introduced by Sir Raymond West (Vice-President), K.C.I.E., LL.D.

The Secretary read the following address:—

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland avails itself of the opportunity graciously afforded by your Majesty respectfully to address to you its felicitation on your presence in this country.

The Society was founded half a century ago by those few of the gentlemen in British service in the East, and others, who shared a just admiration for the treasures of Eastern thought and literature, who perceived the serious disadvantage of our ignorance of Asiatic peoples, and who desired, as the rules of the Society state, "to facilitate intercourse with Eastern peoples by an accurate interpretation of their feelings, their customs, and their beliefs."

The Society, animated always by the sentiments which led to its foundation, regards with special gratification the advent to our shores of a sovereign who has been a constant friend of education and a distinguished patron of literature, and it begs to tender to your Majesty a most cordial welcome on this your first visit to England.

Your Majesty has shown, throughout your long and beneficent career, an earnest desire to make as many as possible of your princes and people intimately acquainted with the institutions, the habits, and the thoughts of the West, and will appreciate the desire of this Society that the dazzle of Western material prosperity may not blind them to the real value of the great thoughts in that ancient literature that has been preserved, through so many centuries, by their own Siamese scholars at home.

Your Majesty, yourself a scholar of wide attainments, has, in a manner eminently befitting the only Buddhist sovereign in the world, taken the best possible steps to ensure such a result, not only by your own example and precept, but also by ordering the publication, in the alphabet of the Siamese people, of the whole of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists. And this magnificent edition of the Three Pitākas, edited with great learning and accuracy by Siamese scholars, will also be, by your Majesty's generous gifts, of the greatest assistance to those European scholars who are endeavouring to solve the important problem of the real historical meaning and value of that great religion of which your Majesty is the acknowledged head.

The attempt of European scholars, members of this Society and working together in the Pali Text Society,

to accomplish a similar work for Europe would have failed at the very outset if it had not been for your Majesty's enlightened and sympathetic support. And for the Pali Text Society's now stately list of forty volumes, and its promise for the future, European scholars have to thank therefore, in the first place, your Majesty's generous patronage.

Before these works can be adequately understood in the West, before the philosophy, the ethics, and the history of Buddhism can be as well appreciated there as are those of Europe, the books must be translated and analyzed in European languages. In recognition of this your Majesty, in spite of the ever increasing claims upon your revenue, has generously contributed to the series of translations now being published in Oxford.

In all these respects your Majesty stands alone among Oriental Sovereigns. No other has shown so enlightened a sympathy with scholarship at home and abroad, or has done so much to promote that intimate knowledge and intellectual companionship which form the most lasting basis of mutual respect and sympathy between the East and West.

Endeavouring to the best of its ability to promote similar results, this Society cannot but regard with sincerest sympathy the career of a monarch who, in these and other ways, has made so beneficent a use of his exalted position. And it begs, while tendering to your Majesty its cordial thanks for great things done in the past, to wish your Majesty health and happiness during your present journey, and a long and prosperous life in the future.

On behalf of Lord Reay (President), and the Council and the Members of the Society,

(Signed) RAYMOND WEST
(Vice-President).

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS
(Secretary).

His Majesty, in reply, said :—

I assure you, gentlemen, that I am deeply touched by the address that has been read. It is especially gratifying to me that a Society, numbering among its members so many of the most distinguished scholars both in this country and in Europe, has called me a friend of education. That I have always striven, and shall strive, to be. Reference has been made to the edition of the Three Pitākas which I have had printed. I am glad to take this opportunity of saying that the work shall not stop there. It is important to print also the commentaries, and I have already made arrangements to have not only the Aṭṭhakathās but also the Ṭīkas printed. This will be done gradually. You will understand that a work of this magnitude cannot be done in a hurry. But the undertaking is already set on foot, and I hope that when we begin, and we shall begin soon, two or three volumes a year will appear, so that in the course of time the whole will be eventually printed. I thank you, gentlemen, and the Society whom you represent for your appreciation of what has been a pleasure to me to have been able to do in the past, and for your kind wishes for the future.

His Majesty then spent some time in conversation with the members of the deputation, and has since presented to the Society a large photograph of himself with his autograph signature upon it.

*Gold Medal.*—The following subscriptions to the Gold Medal, which has been awarded to Professor E. B. Cowell, have been already received or promised :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The President, Lord Reay ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. H. Beveridge ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. E. L. Brandreth ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. E. G. Browne ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Burn ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. O. Codrington ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor E. B. Cowell ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Dr. R. N. Cust ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor Donner ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir M. E. Grant Duff ... ... ... ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. J. F. Fleet ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. R. W. Frazer ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. M. Gaster ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Gibson ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir Frederick Goldsmid ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Major-General Gosset ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Griffith ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Heap ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir W. Wilson Hunter ... ... ... ... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Mr. W. Irvine ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. H. C. Kay ... ... ... ... ... | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Mr. J. Kennedy ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| His Highness Kerala Varma ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. F. W. Lawrence ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Dr. G. W. Leitner ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. Guy Le Strange ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lewis ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. W. McDouall ... ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Professor D. Margoliouth ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. C. J. Marzetti ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Professor Barbier de Meynard ... ... ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. F. D. Mocatta ... ... ... ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Sir William Muir ... ... ... ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Professor F. Max Müller ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. A. E. Neil ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. W. J. Prendergast ... ... ... ... | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| The Marquess of Ripon ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mons. Emile Senart ... ... ... ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. R. Sewell ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. C. Tawney ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Lieut.-Colonel R. C. Temple ... ... ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Dr. T. H. Thornton ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| His Highness the Mahārāja of Travancore ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. M. J. Walhouse ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Mr. T. Watters ... ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sir Raymond West ... ... ... ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. A. N. Wollaston ... ... ... ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
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OF

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1. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland is instituted for the purpose of investigating the Arts, the History, and the Literature of Asia; and of facilitating intercourse with Eastern peoples by an accurate interpretation of their customs, their feelings, and their beliefs.

2. The Society consists of Ordinary, Special, Extraordinary and Honorary Members, each of whom may be either Resident or Non-resident.

3. Members elected in or after June, 1888, who have a residence or place of business within fifty miles of Charing Cross shall be considered Resident Members. Members elected before that date who have a residence in Great Britain or Ireland shall be considered Resident Members. All other Members shall be considered Non-resident.

## Election of Ordinary Members.

4. Any person desirous of becoming a Member of the Society must be nominated by two or more subscribing Members, who shall give the candidate's name, address, and occupation, and shall state whether he desires to be admitted as a Resident or Special or Non-resident Member. The nomination must be received by the Secretary fourteen clear days before the Meeting of Council at which the election is to be considered.

5. The nomination shall remain suspended in the Library until the next Meeting of the Council of the Society, and any objection to the election of the candidate named therein must reach the Secretary one clear week before the next Council Meeting.

6. The Council shall decide on each application for Membership, and shall determine whether the candidate, if elected, shall belong to the Resident, Non-resident, or Special class.

7. At each General Meeting of the Society the names of Members elected by the Council since the previous General Meeting shall be announced by the Secretary.

8. Should any question arise as to the application in any particular case of Rule 3 or of Rule 41, the decision of the Council shall be final.

9. The Council may in special cases elect any person as a member of the Society with the privileges of a Non-resident Member, but without payment.

### Honorary and Extraordinary Members.

10. Any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society shall be eligible for election as an Honorary Member.

11. Honorary Members shall be elected only at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, on the nomination of the Council.

12. There shall not be more than thirty Honorary Members of the Society.

13. Honorary Members shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of Ordinary Members.

14. Any representative of an Oriental Government accredited to the Court of St. James's is eligible as an Extraordinary Member.

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15. The Officers of the Society shall be a President, a Director, Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary, and a Secretary and Librarian.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall hold office for three years from the date of their election. The number of Vice-Presidents shall be fixed by the Council.

17. The Director, the Honorary Treasurer, and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected annually at the Annual General Meeting.

18. The Secretary and Librarian shall be elected by the Council.

19. The Council may also appoint an Honorary Solicitor.

## The Council.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of fifteen Members and of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The fifteen Members who are not Officers of the Society shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting.

22. Of these fifteen Members of Council, five shall retire annually, two by seniority, and three by reason of least attendance. Of the five retiring members, two shall be eligible for immediate re-election, and three for re-election after the lapse of one year.

23. Should any vacancy occur among the Officers or Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

24. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held once a month from November to June inclusive.

25. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned, under the sanction of the President or Director, or (in their absence) of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

26. Five Members of Council shall constitute a quorum.

27. At Meetings of the Council the Chair shall be taken by the President, or in his absence by the Director, or in the absence of both of them by one of the Vice-Presidents.

28. Committees may be appointed by Council to report to it on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees may be authorized to consult persons not Members of the Society.

## General Meetings.

29. The Meetings of the Society, to which all the Members have admission, and at which the general business of the Society is transacted, are termed General Meetings.

30. At these Meetings the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, either by the Director or one

of the Vice-Presidents; or, should these officers also be absent by some other Member or the Council.

31. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

32. The Meetings of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday in each month, from November to June, both inclusive the Tuesdays of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being always excepted.

33. Every Member of the Society has the privilege of introducing at an Ordinary General Meeting, either personally or by a card, visitors whose names shall be notified to the Chairman or Secretary.

34. Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be discussed at these Meetings, unless the Meeting shall have been declared Special in the manner hereinafter provided.

35. The Council may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society, on giving fourteen days' notice, to consider and determine any matter of interest that may arise; and to pass, abrogate, or amend rules. No other business shall be brought forward besides that which has been notified.

36. Such Special Meetings may also be convened by the Council on the written requisition of Five Members of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

37. Notice of Special Meetings shall be given to every Resident Member apprising him of the time of the Meeting, and of the business which is to be submitted to its consideration.

38. The course of business at General Meetings shall be as follows:—

(1) The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and on being accepted as accurate, shall be signed by the Chairman.

(2) A list of New Members shall be read (see Rule 7).

(3) Donations presented to the Society shall be announced or laid before the Meeting.

(4) Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the Meeting, and of which notice has been given according to Rule 34, shall be discussed.

(5) Papers and communications shall be read.

39. The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be a Special Meeting, and shall ordinarily be held on the second Tuesday in May to receive and consider a report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to elect Honorary Members; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society.

### Payments to be made by Members.

40. Every Resident Member (not being a Special Member under Rule 41) is required to pay at his election the sum of Three Guineas, and every Non-resident or Special Member the sum of Thirty Shillings, as his first Annual Subscription. If the election shall have taken place in November or December, the first annual payment shall be good until the December of the succeeding year.

41. Persons resident in or near London who earn their livelihood by teaching or research shall be eligible as Special Members of the Society on the same terms as Non-residents.

42. The following compositions are allowed, in lieu of such Annual Subscriptions:—

| | |
|---|---|
| For Resident Members— | |
| for life ..... | Forty-five Guineas. |
| and for Non-resident Members— | |
| for life ..... | Twenty-two Pounds Ten Shillings. |
| for four years' Subscriptions in advance ..... | Five Guineas. |

43. Any person elected as a Resident Member of the Society, who shall under the provisions of Rule 3 become a Non-resident Member, shall, so long as he continues to be Non-resident, contribute an Annual Subscription of Thirty Shillings.

44. A Non-resident Member becoming a Resident Member shall pay the Annual Subscription of Three Guineas, or the regulated composition in lieu thereof, as a Resident Member, unless we have compounded for his Annual Subscription as a Non-resident Member; in which case, on his becoming a Resident Member within the terms of Rule 3, he shall pay an Annual Subscription of Thirty-three Shillings, or an additional life composition of Fifteen Guineas.

45. Every person elected a Resident Member of the Society, or a Special Member under Rule 41, shall make the payment due from him within two calendar months after the date of his election; or, if elected a Non-resident Member, within six calendar months after his election; otherwise, his election shall be void; unless the Council in any particular case shall decide upon extending the period within which such payments are to be made.

46. Annual Subscriptions shall be due on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same should not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer or Secretary is authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Subscriber's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting-room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the Subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a Member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned.

47. The Publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

48. A Member's resignation shall not be accepted by the Council until he has paid up all his arrears of Subscription.

## Audit.

49. The Accounts shall be audited annually in April by three Auditors, chosen by the Council, of whom one shall be a Member of Council, and two Members of the Society. Provided that nothing in this Rule shall be held to prohibit the association of a professional Auditor with the Auditors of the Society.

50. The Report presented by the Auditors shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

51. Whereas the Royal Asiatic Society has been established exclusively for the purposes of science and literature, and its funds have been devoted entirely to such purposes, it is hereby declared that it is wholly inconsistent with the objects, laws,

constitution, and practice of the Society, that any division or bonus in money should be made unto or between any of its Members; and it is hereby ordered that the Royal Asiatic Society shall not, and may not, make any dividend, gift, or bonus, in money, unto or between any of its members.

### Papers and Publications.

52. The Society shall publish a Quarterly Journal, containing Papers, Illustrations, Notes, or Letters on Oriental Research, and a Summary of the principal news of the quarter relating to the objects of the Society.

53. The Secretary shall be the Editor of the Journal.

54. There shall be a Standing Committee to decide on the admission of Papers into the Journal, or on their being read at the General Meetings of the Society.

55. The Journal shall be sent post-free to each Member of the Society who has paid his subscription, and whose address is known. Members not receiving their Journal can obtain it on application to the Secretary within six months of the date of publication.

56. The Council may present copies of the Journal to learned Societies and distinguished individuals.

57. Every Original Communication read before the Society or published in its Journal becomes its property. The Author may republish it twelve months after its publication by the Society.

58. Twelve copies of each Paper published in the Journal may be presented to the Author. If application be made when his MS. is forwarded to the Secretary, the Author may be provided with additional copies to a total number not exceeding fifty.

59. Non-members can subscribe to the Journal at the rate of thirty shillings a year, if paid in advance to the Secretary.

### The Library.

60. The Library shall be open daily throughout the Session for the use of all Members of the Society, between the hours of Eleven and Four, except on Saturdays, when it shall close at Two. The Library is not open on Sundays or Bank Holidays.

61. Every Resident Member shall be at liberty to borrow any books from the Library, except such works as may have been reserved for use in the Library itself.

62. For every book so borrowed a receipt shall be signed, by the Member borrowing it, on one of the printed forms provided for that purpose.

63. The Librarian may pay from the funds of the Society for the carriage of books so borrowed by Resident Members.

64. No member shall borrow at the same time more than five volumes.

65. Volumes so borrowed may be retained for one month. If not asked for during the month, the loan can be renewed by the signature of a fresh receipt.

66. All books borrowed are to be returned to the Library before the 31st of July in each year.

67. The Council may, by special vote, grant on such terms as it thinks fit, the loan of MSS., or of the works reserved for use in the Library; and may authorize the Secretary to suspend, under special circumstances, the operation of Rules 64 and 65.

### Branch and Associate Societies.

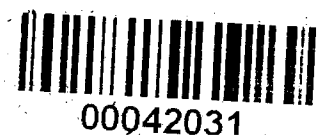
68. Societies established in Asia for objects similar to those of the Society may be admitted by the Council as Branch Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

69. The following are declared to be such Branch Societies:—

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Shanghai).
The Pekin Oriental Society.
The Asiatic Society of Japan.
The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

70. Societies established elsewhere than in Asia for objects similar to those of the Society may be admitted by the Council as Associate Societies of the Royal Asiatic Society.

71. Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of Branch and Associate Societies, are entitled to the use of the Library under Rule 60, and to attend meetings of the Society; and if desirous of becoming Members, they are eligible without the formalities prescribed by Rule 4.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